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# *Epigraphia Indica*

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

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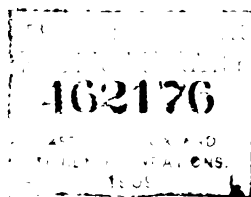
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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Page 11, last line from bottom,—for *Anapôtâ-Reddi* read *Anapôta-Reddi*.

„ 15.—Cancel footnote 1.

„ 22, note 7,—for “His enemies clenched their fists in rage” read “The palms of his enemies’ hands closed together in token of submission.”

„ 31, paragraph 2, line 7 from bottom,—for *Pravarasena* read *Pravarasēna*.

„ 58.—The date of the inscription published by Dr. Fleet on this page is intrinsically wrong, but admits of an easy and certain correction. In the date, as published, the full-moon *tithi* of *Kārttika* is joined with the *nakshatra* *Mûla* (the 19th *nakshatra*); but in *Kārttika* the moon is full in or near *Kṛittikâ* (the 3rd *nakshatra*). On the other hand, an examination of native calendars for different years shows that in the majority of cases the *nakshatra* is *Mûla* on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika*.<sup>1</sup> This observation some years ago, when I first saw the text of the inscription in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Roman text, p. 95, at once convinced me that the writer of the text erroneously must have put *suddha-puṇṇameyum* (where the word *suddha* would really be superfluous) for *suddha-pañchamiyum*. The date thus would give us for calculation the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika*, a Monday, and the *nakshatra* *Mûla*; and during the period (A.D. 989-1005), to which according to Dr. Fleet the inscription must be assigned, it would be correct for Monday, the 7th October A.D. 989, and for Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992.

Monday, the 7th October 989, was entirely occupied by the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika*, and on it the *nakshatra* was *Mûla*, by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 7 h. 13 m., and according to *Garga* for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. And on —

Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika* ended 20 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Mûla*, by the equal space system from 5 h. 16 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 11 h. 50 m., and according to *Garga* for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

Which of these two days, or whether either of them, is the true equivalent of the original date, it is impossible to say at present.— F. K.

„ 59, No. 8, l. 13,—for (Pr.) read (N.).

„ 78, text line 2,—for *Karabēnâ* read *Karabēnâ*.

„ 79, l. 5,—for *Karabēnâ* read *Karabēnâ*.

„ 82, No. 12, text line 1,—for *Dinikaputrena* read *Dinikapûtreṇa* (i.e. °putrēṇa).

„ 101, text line 1,—for युतिलेखं read युतिलेखं, and for °ग्रगारिणी read °ग्रगारिणी.

„ 104, note 1,—for चांमुख read चांमुखं.

„ 111, „ 6,—for महद्वा° read महद्वा°.

„ 115, text line 73,—for सनमखितं read सनर्नखितं.

„ 121, l. 15,—for वार read वारं.

„ 123, l. 2 from bottom,—for left side read right side.

„ 126, note 3, l. 3,—for *Baḷagāmi* read *Baligāmi*.

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<sup>1</sup> In 7 calendars out of 12 *Mûla* is joined with the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika*, and in 3 with the 4th *tithi*; in 2 (in which *Kārttika* is preceded by an intercalary month) *Mûla* goes with the 3rd *tithi*.

Page 126, note 3, ll. 5 to 12.—[Professor Hultzsch has critically edited the three Udiyāvāra inscriptions quoted here (Nos. 108, 98 and 97 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) on pp. 18, 22 and 23 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX., respectively. In the light of his remarks some alterations in this note appear necessary. In numbers 97 and 98 the alternative forms Ponvulcha and Udayapura also occur. The word *nakara*, which I took to mean 'trading classes' in both these inscriptions, is taken by Professor Hultzsch as being placed in apposition to *Pombulchada* and *Udayapurada*, and as meaning 'city.' In No. 108 the attribute *Paṭṭi-oḍeyon*, which I took as applying to Śvētāvāhana, probably refers to a Śaiva priest. It was not Svētāvāhana that fell in battle, but a servant of the Āḷuva prince Raṇasāgara, named Kāmakōḍa.—H. K. S.]

- „ 127, note 2, last line,—for *leunmolested* read *unmolested*.
- „ 128, l. 16 from bottom,—for *decidedly* read *decidedly*.
- „ 138, No. 11.—In a letter dated Nagpur, 4th October 1906, Mr. Hiranand communicated to the Editor the following extract from a letter of the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur District, to the Superintendent, Nagpur Museum, dated 15th September 1889 :—“The plate (*viz.* the plates edited on p. 138 ff) was found by Dusti Kulta, resident of *Satlama* in the Barpali Zamindari, in June 1897 (read: 1887?). He found it under a stone while he was constructing the embankment of his field near the Gandapara.” Mr. Hiranand adds :—“From this it is evident that the *Satallamā* of the inscription is the very place where the plates were found.”
- „ 147, paragraph 5,—for “*Multagi* is represented . . . . as forming the eastern boundary” read “*Multagi* figures . . . . among the boundaries.”
- „ 173, paragraph 2, l. 5,—for *Pushyavnddhi* read *Pushyavuddhi*.
- „ 183, l. 11,—for *southern* read *northern*.—Note the form of *rtha* in ll. 15 and 31 of the inscription.
- „ 200, l. 12 from bottom.—With *khattaka* Mr. Krishna Sastri compares the *Kannāḍa gaddige* and the *Hindī gaddī*, ‘a throne.’
- „ 204, l. 14 from bottom.—With *āshṭāhikā* Mr. Krishna Sastri compares the *ashṭāhnikā* of the Southern Jains; see p. 137, note 4.
- „ 216, v. 37.—Regarding this verse see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 175 ff.
- „ 216, v. 42.—Mr. Krishna Sastri remarks :—“I suggest that the word *माता* be taken as an apposition referring to *Yasôdā*, and not independently as is done in the translation. I cannot understand how *Krishna's* splendour was augmented by his mother. स्वयमधिकप्रतापस्य भगवान् न ज्ञयतस्वमुक्तायमपेक्षते.”
- „ 219, text line 2 f.—Prof. Kielhorn supplies प्रसादादात्मगुंजराचानंदले.
- „ 234, ll. 4 and 7.—In accordance with Vol. IX. p. 50, read *Karmāka-rāshṭra* and *Kammāka-rāshṭra* (without *ā*).—The same correction has to be made on p. 235, text lines 14 and 16, p. 236, ll. 14 and 17, and p. 238, l. 8 from bottom.
- „ 295, note 1, l. 7,—for *Tiruvaymoli* read *Tiruvāymoli*.
- „ 305, note 1, line 1,—for “*Sudarśanāchārya* who wrote” read “*Sudarśanāchārya*, also called *Naināra*, who was the son of *Vāgviṇaya*, and who wrote”
- „ 307, l. 2.—On “*Madras Museum*” add a footnote :—“[No. 16 of Appendix A. in the *Annual Report* for 1905-06 of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle—V. V.]”
- „ 318, l. 16,—for “three verses” read “three *Sanskrit* verses.”
- „ 318, l. 7 from bottom,—after “The second inscription,” insert “which is in *Tamil*, and.”



# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

## VOLUME VIII.

### No. 1.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 177.)

OF the numerous dates of Chôla kings sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya, I again publish seventeen. Among these, the most interesting — and, I may add, those which have given me most trouble — are perhaps the five dates Nos. 85-89 of Râjarâja [II.] Parakêsarivarman, which prove that this king, of whom no dates have yet been published here, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A.D. 1146. The date No. 99 reduces the time, previously found for the commencement of the reign of Râjendra-Chôla III., to the period from (approximately) the 21st March to the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 94, of Kulôttunga-Chôla III., is of the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the dates of his successor Râjarâja III. show that this king commenced to reign already between (approximately) the 23rd June and the 13th August A.D. 1216; and similarly the dates Nos. 96 and 97, of Râjarâja III., are of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, while the years of his successor Râjendra-Chôla III., as has just been stated, are counted from some time between (approximately) the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246. The date No. 100 belongs to a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla, who apparently commenced to reign in A.D. 1331-32.

#### A.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

84.— In the Šaranârâyana-Perumâl temple at Tiruvadi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pâ-mâdu pupara . . . . .  
9 . . . . . kô-Pparakêšaripanma-  
10 r-âna Tiribuvanachchakkaravatti[ga\*]! śrī-Vikkirama-Šôladêvar-  
11 kku yâṇ[ḍu\*] 7vadu Sim[ha]-nâyagru apara-pakshattu êkā-  
12 [di(da)]āiyun=Tiruvâdiraiyum perra [V]i[y]âla-kkilamai-nâ!

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladêva, — on a Thursday, which corresponded to (the day of) Ârdra and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

<sup>1</sup> No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

A date of the month of *Simha* (July-August) of the 7th year of *Vikrama-Chôla* would be expected to fall in A.D. 1124, and this date actually corresponds to **Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124.** This was the 12th day of the month of *Simha*, and on it the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 20 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Ārdrā*, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 1 h. 58 m., and according to *Garga* for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

#### B.—RAJARAJA II.

##### 85.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya [Ti]ru-mādum . . . . .  
 4 kō=Pparakēsaripaṇmar-ā[ṇa Tri]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga[li] śr[i]-Rājarājad[ē]vaṇku  
 yāṇḍu 4āva[du] Vṛiśchika-nāyaṇṇu apa[ra-pa]kshattu [sa]ṇṭam[i]yu[m]  
 [B]uda[ṇ]-[ki]lam[ai]yum [p]eṇṇa [P]ūra[tt]u nā[li].

"In the 4th year (*of the reign*) of king *Parakēsarivarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Rājarājadēva*,—on the day of *Pūrva-Phalguni*, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the 7th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Vṛiśchika*."

My examination of the four dates Nos. 85-88 has yielded the result that the reign of *Rājarāja Parakēsarivarman*, *i.e.* *Rājarāja II.*, commenced between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A.D. 1140.

This date, No. 85, corresponds to **Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1140**, which was the 27th day of the month of *Vṛiśchika*, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Mārgaśīrsha*) ended 14 h. 10 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Pūrva-Phalguni*, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 5 h. 55 m., and according to *Garga* for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

##### 86.—In the Karavandiśvara temple at Udaiyārkkōyil.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādum . . . . .  
 8 . . . . . k[ō=Ppara]kēsa-  
 9 [ri]patmar-āna Tribu[va]nachchak[ka]ravattiga[li] śrī-Rāja[r]ājadēvaṇku yāṇ[du]  
 āṇḍ[va]d[u] Ku-  
 10 m[bha]-nāyaṇṇu apara-paksha[t]tu pratham[ai]yu[m] Vi[y]āla-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa  
 Maga[tt]u nā[li].

"In the sixth year (*of the reign*) of king *Parakēsarivarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Rājarājadēva*,—on the day of *Maghā*, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Kumbha*."

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152**,<sup>3</sup> which was the first day<sup>4</sup> of the month of *Kumbha*, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of *Māgha*) ended 15 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Maghā*, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 7 h. 53 m., and according to *Garga* for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

##### 87.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī || Pū maruviya Tiru-mādum . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . [k]ō=Pparakēsaripaṇmar-āṇa Tir[i]bhuvanachchak[ka]ravattiga[li] śrī-  
 Rājarāja-

<sup>1</sup> No. 622 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> No. 407 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Between A.D. 1131 and 1178 this is the only day for which the date is correct.

<sup>4</sup> The *Kumbha-saṁkrānti* took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 23rd January A.D. 1152.

<sup>5</sup> No. 628 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.



- 6 dēvaṅku y[āṇ]ḍu paṇṇiraṇḍāvaḍu Mēsha-n[āya]ṅṅu apara-pakshattu navamiyum  
B[nda]n-kiḷamaiyu[m p]eṅṅa Ti-  
7 ruvōṇa[tta nā].

"In the twelfth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158, which was the 2nd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 6 h. 35 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise.

#### 88.—In the Ēkāmraṇātha temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum . . . . .  
2 . . . . . kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-  
Rājārājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu paḍiṇāṇjāvaḍu Tai-māsattu pūrvva-pakshattu  
Puṇarpūsamum chatu[r]ddaṣiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum=ā[ṇa] nāḷ.

"In the fifteenth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which was a Thursday and the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tai."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161, which was the 19th day of the month of Tai (or Makara), and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 19 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

#### 89.—In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Ālaṅguḍi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum . . . . .  
6 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar=āṇa  
7 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ  
8 śrī-Rājārājadēvaṅku yā-  
9 ṇḍu āṇāvaḍu . . . . .  
14 . . . . . Mina-nāyaṅṅu pū-  
15 rvva-pakshattu sapṭamiyum Viyāḷa-k-  
16 kiḷamaiyum peṅṅa Orōṣapi-nā-  
17 ḷ.

"In the sixth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina."

Between A.D. 1136 and 1299 the only days for which this date would be correct, are Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1159, and Thursday, the 27th February A.D. 1186, neither of which could have fallen in the 6th year of the king's reign. Guided by the results of my calculations, I therefore assume that the month of Mina has been wrongly quoted in the date instead of the immediately preceding month of Kumbha. For this month the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152, which was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 17 h. 26 m. after

<sup>1</sup> No. 9 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 79 and note 4.

<sup>2</sup> No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhiṇī, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

### C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

#### 90.—In the Pâtāṇḍrvara temple at Aridvāramangalam.<sup>1</sup>

1 ' . . . [cha]kkaṛavattigaḷ śrī ra<sup>3</sup> Madurai koṇḍ-aru[ḷ]iya śrī-Kulō[t]tuṅga-  
Śōḷadēva[r\*]kku yāṇḍu 10vadu pattāvadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyaṅṅu apara-pasha(ksha)ttu  
pañchamiyum Śevvā[y\*]-kkilamaiyum peṅṅa Uttirattādi-nāḷ.

"In the 10th — tenth — year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong. As in the dates of the inscriptions Nos. 480 and 604 of my *Southern List*, either the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadā has been quoted erroneously instead of Uttara-Phalgunī, or the second fortnight instead of the first. My calculation has shown that really the latter is the case.

The intended day undoubtedly is Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188, which was the 11th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the *bright* half (of Māgha) ended 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

#### 91.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.<sup>4</sup>

1 Svasti [ḷ\*]  
2 Tiribhuvanavi(vi)radēvaṅku yāṇḍu 35va[du] . . . . .  
3 M[i]duna-nāyaṅṅu eṭṭān=diyadiyum A[ṇu]lamum peṅṅa tiru-Nā[ya]ṅṅu-  
kkilamai-nāḷ.

"In the 35th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanaviḷadēva,—on a sacred Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the eighth solar day of the month of Mithuna."

The date should fall in A.D. 1213. In this year the Mithuna-saṁkrānti took place 3 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna. The 8th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213; and on this day the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

#### 92.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.<sup>5</sup>

1 Svasti śr[i] [ḷ\*]  
2 Tr[i]bhuvanachchakkara[va]tt[i]ga[ḷ] Maduraiyum ī[ḷa]-  
3 mum Karuvūrum Pā[ṇ]ḍiyāṅṅai muḍi-ttalaḷi[u]-  
4 ṇ=goṇḍ-aru[ḷ]i vīraṇ=abhishēkamum vi-  
5 jayar=abhishēkam[um] pappi-ar[ḷ]iya śrī-Tiri-  
6 [b]uva[na]v[ira]dēvaṅku yā[ṇ]ḍu mu[p]pat[t]āṅṅa-

<sup>1</sup> No. 611 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> The beginning of the inscription is built in.

<sup>3</sup> Cancel the syllables *śrī ra*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 557 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>5</sup> No. 631 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

- 7 vadu Mēsha-nāyaṛ[ru] pū[rva]-pakshattu  
 8 tri(tri)tiyaiyum Tiṅga[-ki]lam]aiyum peṛ-  
 9 ra Rōsapi-nā].

"In the thirty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha, i.e. the *akshaya-tṛitīyā*) ended 19 h. 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise.

93.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kaḷappāl.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tribhuvanachchakravattiga[ ] Ma]dhuraiyum Īlamuṭ-Garuvūru[m]  
 Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-ttaliyuṇ-goṇḍu [vi]rar=abhishēkamum vijai[ya]r=abhi[sh]ē-  
 2 kamu[m] paṇṇiy-aruliya śrī-Tri[bhu]va[ṇa]viradēvaṛku yāṇḍu 37du  
 Vri(vri)schika-nāyaṛ[ru] pū[rva]-pakshattu [cha]ta(tu)[r]dda[śi]yun=Diṅga[-  
 kki]lamaiyu[m] peṛra  
 3 Kārttigai-nā].

"In the 37th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrsha) commenced about sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 50 m., according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

94.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṇḍi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī][||\*] Tirib[u]vaṇachchak[k]rava[r]ttiga Madurai[yum] Īlamum Karuvūrum  
 Pāṇḍiyaṇai muḍi-ttaliyum koṇḍu virar=abhishē[k]ammum<sup>3</sup> vijayar=  
 abhishēkammum<sup>3</sup> paṇṇi[y-a]ruliya śrī-Tiribuvana[vira]dēvaṛku yāṇḍu 39āvadu  
 Kumba-nāyaṛku a[pa]ra-pakshattu prathamaiyum [Bu]daṇ-ki]lammaiym<sup>4</sup> peṛra  
 Magattu nā].

"In the 39th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217, which was the 3rd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 659 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> No. 618 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-abhishēkamum*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-ki]lamaiyum*.

## D.—RAJARAJA III.

95.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡju.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattiga[!] śrī-Rā[ja\*]rā[ja\*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvaṇḍi e[diā]m=āṇḍu Tul[ā-nā]yaṛṛu apara-pakshattu na[vami]yu[m] Tiñ-  
2 ga[!]-kiḷamai[yum] peṛra Pū[sattu] n[ā].

"In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[ja]rā[ja]dēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224, which was the 11th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina).—The result shows that, instead of the word na[vami]yu[m] of the original date, we ought to read *ashṭamiyum*.

96.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]\* Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravatt[i]ga[!] śrī-Irājarājadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 32vadu Kumba-nāyaṛṛu pū[rvva]-pakshattu tu[vāda]śiyum Vel[i]-kk[i]lamai-yum peṛra Puṇar[p]ū[sattu] nā.

"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248, which was the 15th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 21 h. 23 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

97.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [!]\* T[i]ribuvāṇachchakkaravatt[iga] śr[i]-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu 32vadu Mēsha-nāy[i]ṛṛu apara-pakshattu trayōdas[i]yum Budan-k[i]lamaiyum peṛra Irēba(va)d[i]-nā.

"In the 32nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248, which was the 29th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) commenced 6 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

## E.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98.—In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Aṇbil.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . . . T[i]r[i]bu[va]ṇachchakkaravatt[iga] śr[i]-Irā[śē]ṇḍira-Ś[ō]lādēva[r]kku yāṇḍu 4vadu Kaṇṇ[i]-nāyaṛṛu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Nāy[i]ṛṛu-kkiḷamaiyum peṛra A[ni]lattu nā[!].

<sup>1</sup> No. 629 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> No. 491 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> No. 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>4</sup> No. 596 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249, which was the 16th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āśvina) commenced 1 h. 42 m., while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

99.— In the Sākshināthasvāmin temple at Avalivanallūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . Tiribu[va]ṇaśakkara[va]-
- 2 ttigaḷ śr[i]-Irāśēndira-Ś[ō]-
- 3 ḷadēva[r\*]kku yāṇḍu 22[va]du
- 4 Mēḷa-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu
- 5 de(da)sam[i]yum Budaṇ-kiḷamaiyum [p]e-
- 6 ṟṟa [Śa]dai[yattu] n[ā]l.

"In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1267 or 1268. It actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaisākha) ended 13 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

This result reduces the time<sup>2</sup> during which Rājendra-Chōḷa III. must have commenced to reign to the period between approximately the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1246.

#### F.— TRIBHUVANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] T[r]ibhuvanavira-Śōḷadēvaṟku yāṇḍu llāvadn
- 2 Chitrabhānu-varushattu Siṁha-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu sa-
- 3 ptamiyum Ve[l]li-kkiḷamaiyum peṟṟa Urōṣaṇi-nā-
- 4 l.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṁha of the year Chitrabhānu."

If the Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva of this date were identical with Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. who bears the name Tribhuvanaviradēva, the date would fall in A.D. 1188; but for that year it is in every respect incorrect. Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 the only day for which the date is correct is Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342. This day by the southern luni-solar system fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu (Śaka-samvat 1264 expired). It was the 26th day of the month of Siṁha, and on it the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 10 h. 8 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 605 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VII. p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> No. 522 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

If correctly recorded, the date would prove that there was a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla who commenced to reign between approximately the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332 (in Śaka-samvat 1253-54).

No. 2.—TIRUVADI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN;  
A.D. 1313.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription (No. 34 of 1903) is engraved on the south wall of the Virattāṇṣvara shrine at Tiruvadi near Paṅṇuṭṭi in the Cuddalore tāluka of the South Arcot district. It consists of a passage in the Sanskrit language and the Grantha alphabet, and of a sentence in the Tamil language and alphabet.

The Sanskrit portion (ll. 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Raṅganātha inscription of Ravivarman, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> as far as the word *Kulaśēkharadēva*. The Tamil portion (l. 3 f.) records that Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Tiruvirattāṇam temple at Tiruvadigai<sup>2</sup> in the fourth year of his reign, the Kaliyuga year 4414 and the Śa[ka year 12]35, on the day of Rôhini, Saturday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of Makara.

Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that this date corresponds to Saturday, the 29th December A.D. 1313, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 14 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rôhini for about 21 hours, after mean sunrise.

In verse 4 of the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷ inscription of the same king we are told that he stayed at Kāñchi in his fourth year.<sup>3</sup> The subjoined inscription is dated in the same year, and adds the information that this year corresponded to A.D. 1313.

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī-Jayasi[m]ha ity=abhihitas=Śōmānvay-ōttamsakō rāj=āsīd=iha Kēraḷēshu vishayē nāthō Yadu-kshmābhṛitām || jātō=smād=Raviva[r]mma-bhūpatir=Um[ā]dēvyām kumāras=śivād=dēhavyāpya-Śakābda-bhāji samayē dēh=iva virō ra[sā]h ८ [1\*] Kahayan=nītvā sō=yam kali-bala[m=iv=ār]āti-nivaha[ū]=ja[ya\*]śrivat kṛitvā nija-sahacharīm Pāṇḍya-tanayām || trayastrimśad-va[r]shō yaśa i[va] yayau Kēraḷa-padam(dam) raraksha svām rāshṭra[n=na]garam=iva Kōḷambam=adh[i]pāh ८ [2\*] [Ji]tvā Saṃgrāmadhīrō nripatir=adhira[ṇa]m(ṇam) vidvisham(shaṃ) Vira-Pāṇḍyam(ṇḍyam) kṛitv=āsau Pāṇḍya-Chōḷān=naya iva tanum[ā]n Kēraḷēbhyō=py=adhi[n]ān || shaṭcha-
- 2 tvārimśad-abdas=tata-bhuvi mukutan=dhārayan=Vēgavatyāḥ kṛidām simhāsana-sthaś=chiram=akṛita mahā-kīrtti-vāṇi-ramābhīh ८ [3\*] Ā Mēṇṇr=ā Malayād=ā pūrvvād=ā cha pāśchimād=acha[ī]āt || Yadukula-sēkhara ēsha kshōpim Kulaśēkharas=svayam bubhujē || ८ [4\*] ८ Svasti śrī [||\*] Chandrak[ula-maṅgala]pradīpa || Yādava-Nārāyaṇa || Kēraḷadēsa-puṇyaparipāma || Nāmāntara-Karṇa || Kūpaka-[s]ārvvabhauma || Kulaśikhari-pratishṭhāpita-Garudādhvaja || Kōḷamba-puravar-ādhisvara [||] Śrī-Patma(dma)nābha-padakamala-paramārādhaka [||] Prapatarāja-pratishṭhāchāryya || Vimatarāja-bandikāra || Dharmmatarumūlaka[nda] || Satgu(dgu)ṇ-ālamkāra || [Cha]tushshasṭi-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> For this ancient name of Tiruvadi see above, Vol. VII. p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao.

- 3 kalā-va[lla]bha || Dakṣiṇa-Bhōjarāja | Śa[ṁ]grāmadhira || Mahārājādhirāja,  
paramēśvara || Jayasimhadēva-nandana || Ravivarṇma-mahārāja || [Ḍ] Śrī  
[Ḍ] Śrī-Kulaśēkharadēva || [Ḍ] [I]vaṅku yāṇḍu nālāvadu Kaliyuga-varṣam  
4414 idil niṅgiya Śa . . . . . 35<sup>1</sup> idaṅ mēl sellāniṅga Magara-  
nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śapi-kki[la]m[aiyum] p[e]ṭṭa  
Rōṣaṇ[i]-nāḷ Tiruvadi[g]ai nḍaiyār Tiru[vira]ṭṭāpam-nḍaiya nāyaṇār kōyil  
Vāpa-Kaiyilāya-Ttirumalai stūpi-paryyantamāga tirumañjaṇamum paṇṇi  
[pu]ṇachchārapai tirukkallum ś[ā]ti-  
4 y-arul[i]ṇār Raviva[r]mma-ma[h]ārā[ja]r-āṇa perumāḷ Kulaśēgaradēvar [Ḍ] Svasti  
śrī [Ḍ]

## TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Line 3.) (In) the fourth year of this (king),—the Kaliyuga year 4414,—the Śa[ka] year 12]35 separated from this,<sup>2</sup>—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Makara current after this (Śaka year),—Ravivarṇma-Mahārāja *alias* the lord Kulaśēkharadēva was pleased to bathe up to the pinnacle the Vāpa-Kaiyilāya-Ttirumalai<sup>3</sup> (in) the temple of the lord of Tiruvirattāpam, the god of Tiruvadigai, and to fix the stones which were bulging out. Hail! Prosperity!

## No. 3.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA;

A.D. 1345.

By J. RAMAYYA, B.A., B.L.

This inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which are deposited in the Madras Museum, and I edit it from ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Prof. Hultsch. The plates are engraved on both sides, except the first plate which is engraved on one side only. The ring and seal are missing. The letters are bold and legible. The characters are of the old Telugu type. The language is Sanskrit, except the portion describing the boundaries of the village of Ātukūru, which is in Telugu.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v. 2). In that caste was born Vēmaya, the founder of a family (*vāṁśa-kartā*, v. 3). To him was born the great hero Kōmaṭi-Prōla (v. 4), whose wife was Annemāmbā (v. 5). To Kōmaṭi-Prōla, Annemāmbā bore five sons:—Mācha, Vēma, Doḍḍaya, Annaya and Mallaya (v. 6). Of these Vēma ruled the earth (v. 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad *manne* chiefs,<sup>4</sup> a very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēcchhas<sup>5</sup> (v. 9), and bore the *biruda* Rāyachēkōluganḍa (v. 10). King Vēma restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmaṇas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēcchha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Rudra of the Kākati-vāṁśa (v. 12). King Vēma, surnamed Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghōḍerāya-Gaṅga<sup>6</sup> (v. 13). Vēma's

<sup>1</sup> Restore Śakābdam 1235.<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this expression is perhaps: 'separately stated along with this (Kaliyuga year).'<sup>3</sup> I.e. 'the holy mountain of the heavenly Kailāsa.' This seems to have been the name of the central shrine in the Tiruvirattāpam temple.<sup>4</sup> The reference seems to be to the hill-chiefs whom Vēma vanquished.<sup>5</sup> I.e. the Muhammadans.<sup>6</sup> This person seems to have been the family Guru of the Beḍḍis. He is referred to in Śrīnātha's *Bhīmakhāṇḍam* and *Kāṭikhaṇḍam* as Ghōḍerāya-Bhīmaya-Guru and Ghōḍerāya-Bhīmēśvara, respectively.



capital was the city of **Addanki** in the country of **Pūṅgi**, which extended from the eastern slopes of **Śrīgiri**<sup>1</sup> to the eastern sea<sup>2</sup> on both sides of the river **Kuṇḍi** (vv. 14 and 15). At an eclipse of the moon on **Chaitri**<sup>3</sup> in the **Śāka** year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons (6) and the suns (12),— in figures 1267,— in the presence of **Māṇḍūka-Śambhu**,<sup>4</sup> king **Vēma** gave as an *agrahāra* to several **Brāhmaṇas** the village of **Ātukūru**, which was situated on the northern bank of the river **Kṛishṇā**, and which was renamed **Vēmapuram** after the donor (vv. 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account of the boundaries of **Ātukūru**,— boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the signature *Śri-Pallava-Trinētra* (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the **Redḍi** dynasty as yet discovered. There is another inscription of **Vēma** at **Amarāvati**, also dated in the **Śāka** year 1267,<sup>5</sup> but in the month of **Kārttika**. The **Śāka** year quoted in the subjoined inscription was the expired and not the current year, and the date of the grant corresponds to **Friday, the 18th March A.D. 1845**, on which date there was, according to Professor Kielhorn, "a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 49 m. to 22 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India." In the **Amarāvati** inscription the corresponding cyclic year is given as **Pārthiva**.

I have not met with the name of **Pūṅgi** elsewhere and cannot say whether it has anything to do with **Ongole**, which is a contraction of **Vaṅgavōlu**—the town of **Vaṅga**. It would perhaps be more fanciful to derive the word from **Pāka** in **Pākanāḍu**. The country of **Pūṅgi** comprised parts of the modern districts of **Kurnool**, **Nellore** and **Kistna**. The village **Ātukūru** I identify with **Gani-Ātukūru**—west of **Bezvāda**. **Addanki** is the well-known village of that name in the **Ongole tāluka** of the **Nellore** district and is the head-quarters of a **Deputy Tahsildar**. The river **Kuṇḍi** is the **Guṇḍalakamma** of the map and is called **Brahma-Kuṇḍi** and **Kuṇḍi-Prabha** in the **Amarāvati** inscription.

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the **Redḍi** chiefs open with **Kōmaṭi-Prōla**. This inscription gives us the name of **Prōla's** father **Vēma**, after whom his illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu *Harivamśam*, which was dedicated to **Vēma**, the donor of the present grant. In this book **Vēma** is called indiscriminately **Vēma**, **Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, **Prōlaya-Vēma**, or **Annama-Vēma**. The second and third names are combinations of **Vēma's** own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from his mother. From the *Harivamśam* we learn that **Prōla's** wife **Annama** was the daughter of **Doḍḍa**, who had three sons, viz. **Pōta**, **Chiṭṭa** and **Nāga**. **Chiṭṭa** had a son named **Nūka** who is said to have been a very dear friend of **Vēma**. He is perhaps identical with **Nallanūka**, who married **Vēma's** daughter **Vēmasāni**.<sup>6</sup> From the same book we learn that **Vēma's** younger brother **Malla** took **Mōṭupalli**?—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to **Vēma**. The latter statement derives corroboration from the **Amarāvati** inscription already referred to, which says that **Vēma** fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of **Amarēśvara** for the eternal benefit (*punya*) of his younger brother **Malla-Redḍi**. Before taking leave of the *Harivamśam*, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of **Vēma**, viz. **Pōta** (afterwards called **Anapōta** or **Anavōta**) and **Kōmaṭi**. **Anavēma**, **Doḍḍāmbikā** and **Vēmasāni** were apparently not yet born when the *Harivamśam* was composed, and **Kōmaṭi** probably died while yet a boy.

<sup>1</sup> Śrīsaīlam in the Kurnool district.

<sup>2</sup> The Bay of Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the full-moon day in the month of Chaitra.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. at the Śiva temple called Māṇḍūkēśvara.

<sup>5</sup> No. 268 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 287, and the genealogical tree published in the *Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900.

<sup>7</sup> In the Bāpaṭla tāluka of the Kistna district.

The statement in the inscription that Vēma restored the *agrahāras* wrested by the Muḥammadans from Pratāparudra is, so far as I am aware, the only epigraphical reference as yet discovered to the Muḥammadan conquest of Warangal. It also shows, as has been already pointed out by Mr. V. Venkayya in his *Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, that the Redḍis were the political successors of the Kākatiyas. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence for determining exactly when the Redḍis came into power. The account of the Kākatiya dynasty compiled for Colonel Colin Mackenzie and deposited in the Madras Library of Oriental Manuscripts says that Pratāparudra's generals were all Padmanāyakas or Velamas, and this is confirmed by the poem entitled *Velugōtivarī Vamsāvalī*, i.e. 'Genealogy of the Velugōti family (of Venkatagiri).' The only reference made by the former book to the Redḍis is a short passage in which one Tērāla-Būchā-Redḍi is said to have fought for Pratāparudra in his final battle against the Muḥammadans. It is not known whether this Būchā-Redḍi had anything to do with the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu.

According to the traditional history of Koṇḍaviḍu preserved in the *Koṇḍaviṭi Daṇḍakavilī*, the Redḍis became suddenly rich in the time of one Donti-Allāḍa-Redḍi, who robbed a man named Vēma of the Kōmaṭi caste, who was his guest, of a piece of philosopher's stone (*sparsavēdi*). When the stone, in securing which he had spent the best part of his life, was stolen, the Kōmaṭi, the book says, died of broken heart, and on his death-bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the Redḍis, and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity. The account proceeds to state that, with the money thus obtained, Pōlaya-Vēma raised troops, seized Dharanikōṭa and the neighbouring country from the officers of Pratāparudra, and subsequently established himself at Koṇḍaviḍu. It is difficult to say what truth there is in this story. It may have been suggested by the fact that Kōmaṭi was a recognised name of several members of the family. From Śrinātha's *Haravilāsam* we learn that a Kōmaṭi named Avāchi-Dēvaya, son of Pāvāpi, a great merchant of Siṃhavikramapaṭṭana (Nellore), was the chief source of support (*prāpu*) to Vēma. Avāchi-Dēvaya's son Tippana, to whom the book was dedicated, was also a great merchant and was purveyor to Kumārāgiri-Redḍi. It would seem that Avāchi-Dēva supplied Vēma with the sinews of war and thereby enabled him to found and extend his kingdom, and that his descendants rendered similar assistance to the descendants of Vēma.

The original sphere of influence of the Redḍis was Pākanāḍu or Pūṅgidēśa. It may be that they originally governed this province subject to the authority of the kings of Warangal, though no proof of it exists. When the power of the Kākatiyas began to decline, the Redḍis became independent and made Addanki their capital. It seems to have been the fashion with the Redḍis to have a surname for each. Vēma signed as Pallavatriniētra, Kumārāgiri was Vasantarāja, and Kōmaṭi-Vēma was Viranārāyaṇa.

According to the *Daṇḍakavilī*, Vēma was the first independent Redḍi chief, and there is no evidence that any of his predecessors was such. The present inscription shows that Vēma himself extended his dominions at least up to the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, while the Amarāvati inscription shows that his territories extended up to the banks of the Gōdāvarī.<sup>1</sup> There are no means of knowing when the capital was removed from Addanki to Koṇḍaviḍu. That this was not done prior to the Śaka year 1283 is clear from the Amarāvati inscription of that year,<sup>2</sup> which refers to Addanki as the capital. This inscription also shows that Vēma, son of Malla, was at that time governor of Dharanikōṭa or Dhānyavāṭi under Anapōtā-Redḍi. I

<sup>1</sup> He is described as having granted to Brāhmaṇas villages on both sides of the Brahmanuḍi, the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, and also in the country between these rivers (*Brahmanuḍi-Kṛishṇavayud-Gōdāvarī-mahānadi-tatadavaya-tanmadhyadān-datt-dānā-agrahāra*).

<sup>2</sup> No. 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

presume that *Koṇḍaviṭṭu* did not become the capital till the time of *Anavêma*, and that, prior to this, *Dharaṇikôṭa* was the chief seat of *Redḍi* power in what is now the *Kistna* district. The fact of *Vêma* building steps leading to the temples at *Śrīśailam* and *Ahōbalam* is not mentioned in this inscription, though it is mentioned in the *Amarāvati* one. This omission can hardly be regarded as due to oversight, seeing that the act was considered so meritorious as to be mentioned in almost all the subsequent inscriptions of this dynasty. A more probable explanation seems to be, that the work was not finished when this inscription was composed.

*Vêma* was succeeded by his eldest son *Anapôṭa*, and he by his younger brother *Anavêma*. Both these kings were, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, wise and strong rulers, and they consolidated the kingdom founded by their father. In the *Velugôṣivārī Vamśāvaṇī*, *Anapôṭanīḍu* and *Mādānīḍu*, sons of *Siṅga* who was a general of *Pratāparudra*, claim to have defeated *Anapôṭa-Redḍi* at *Dharaṇikôṭa* about the *Śaka* year 1283, which is also the year of an inscription at *Amarāvati*,<sup>1</sup> in which *Anapôṭa*'s minister is referred to.<sup>2</sup> I know only of two inscriptions of the time of *Anavêma*, both dated in *Śaka* 1299 (expired). One of them is at *Drākahārāma* in the *Gôḍāvarī* district,<sup>3</sup> and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of *Agastyêśvara* at the junction of the *Mūsi* and the *Kṛishṇā* in the village of *Vāḍapalli* in the *Miriyālagūḍem tāluka* of the *Nallagōṇḍa* district in the *Nizam*'s dominions. The poet *Śrīnātha* seems to have first flourished at the court of *Anavêma*, in whose praise there are several verses extant.

On the demise of *Anavêma*, the crown passed on to *Anapôṭa*'s son *Kumāragiri*, who, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the *Haravildasam* we learn that *Kumāragiri* was a contemporary of *Harihara II.* of *Vijayanagara* (A.D. 1379-1399) and of the *Bahmani* king *Fīrūz Shāh* (A.D. 1397-1422). *Tippa*, to whom the book was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great annual spring-festival (*vasantōtsava*) which *Kumāragiri* seems to have instituted. It is interesting to note that, at this period, the *Telugu* country had extensive trade relations—not only with other parts of *India*, but also with foreign countries. For, *Tippa* is said to have imported camphor trees from the *Panjāb*; golden sprouts (*baṅgaru-molaka*) from *Jalanōgi*;<sup>4</sup> elephants from *Sinhala* (*Ceylon*); horses from *Hurumāñji* (*Ormuz* or *Persia*); essence (*drava*) of civet (*saṅkumada*) from *Gōva* (*Goa*); pearls from *Āpaga*;<sup>5</sup> musk from *Chōṭaṅgi*,<sup>6</sup> and silk cloths from *China*. It was in the time of *Kumāragiri* that the kingdom was divided into two and the Eastern part with *Rajahmundry* as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister *Kāṭaya-Vêma*.<sup>7</sup> This separation seems to have been effected not later than the *Śaka* year 1308; for we have inscriptions of *Kāṭaya-Vêma* issued in that year.<sup>8</sup>

*Kumāragiri* seems to have been the last of *Vêma*'s branch of the family, and on his death the crown passed to *Vêma* or *Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vêma*, grandson of *Vêma*'s elder brother *Mācha*. I know of two inscriptions of *Kōmaṭi-Vêma*, one dated in the *Śaka* year 1331<sup>7</sup> and the other in 1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of *Kistna* by the *Tahsildar* of *Guṇṭūr*. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by *Śrīnātha*, who is described as the *Vidyādhipati* to *Kōmaṭi-Vêma*. The *Danḍakavilī* says that *Kōmaṭi-Vêma* was a wise prince and walked in the ways of *Anavêma*, and it proceeds to state that *Kōmaṭi-Vêma* was succeeded by his younger brother *Bācha-Vêma*, who was the last of the dynasty. In

<sup>1</sup> No. 258 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription of *Anapôṭa* dated in the *Śaka* year 1281 is at *Mōṭupalli*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

<sup>4</sup> I am not able to identify these places.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 319.

<sup>6</sup> No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

<sup>7</sup> No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

the village of Aminābād in the Sattenapalli tāluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription<sup>1</sup> of Rācha-Vēma, son of Vēma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santāna-Sāgara, which had been dug by his mother Sūrāmbā. We know from the Phiraṅgipuram inscription<sup>2</sup> that Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's wife Sūrāmbā had a tank excavated and called it Santāna-Sāgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kōmaṭi's successor Rācha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the *Velugōṣivāri Vamśāvali*. This book says that Mācha (who was the only brother Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma seems to have had), son of Kōmaṭi, was killed in battle by Pina-Vēdagiri or Kumāra-Vēdagiri, great-grandson of Mādāniḍu who had fought with Anapōta-Redḍi at Dharapikōṭa, and that Mācha's elder brother Vēma killed Pina-Vēdagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vēdagiri's younger brother Liṅga. When Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The *Daṇḍakavilī* says that the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows:—

Pōlaya-Vēma or Vēma; Śaka 1242 to 1253 (both years inclusive).  
 Anapōta; Śaka 1253-1283.  
 Anavēma; Śaka 1284-1295.  
 Kumāragiri; Śaka 1296-1309.  
 Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma; Śaka 1310-1337.  
 Rācha-Vēma; Śaka 1338-1341.

This distribution conflicts with the dates furnished by some of the inscriptions quoted above. Taking 100 years as the approximate total of the reigns of the six Redḍi chiefs, I would redistribute it as follows, so as to make the distribution accord with the latest information available on the subject:—

Pōlaya-Vēma or Vēma; Śaka 1242-1271 (30 years).  
 Anapōta; Śaka 1272-1283 (12 years).  
 Anavēma; Śaka 1284-1299 (16 years).  
 Kumāragiri; Śaka 1300-1320 (21 years).  
 Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma; Śaka 1321-1337 (17 years).  
 Rācha-Vēma; Śaka 1338-1341 (4 years).

### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

#### First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमत्कोमलनीलनीरजवर्षिर्लीलावराहचिरं नातिप्रौढमृषालकंद-
- 2 ऋलसहस्रंजुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्भूति क्रमेण विगळत्पायोधिनीलांश-
- 3 का रागादाद्रंतनूरिव क्षणमभूदामोदिनी मेदिनी । [१\*] आसीत्सीत्सु[भर]-  
 ब्रमं-
- 4 डिततनोर्देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्विषी भगवती गंगेव पुष्पीदया ।
- 5 आकल्पस्थिरजीवना विजयतीसतारयोद्योगिनी पर्यायेष चतुर्थं-

<sup>1</sup> This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Śīsa metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock named Pullaribōḍu, north-east of Aminābād which adjoins Phiraṅgipuram. At the end of the verse are the words *Śrinātha-kṛti*, i.e. 'Śrinātha's composition.'

<sup>2</sup> No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

<sup>3</sup> From ink-impressions.

- 6 वर्षविततिर्गीभीर्यधैर्यप्रसूः । [३\*] तदंशाब्धौ सकलजनतानेवसं-  
 7 पूर्णचंद्रो जातः] कीर्ति]प्रभवसदनं वेमयो वंशकर्त्ता ॥ यस्वीदग्ने सूर-<sup>१</sup>  
 8 ति सततं भास्वतीव प्रतापे नासीत्कठेष्वरिमृगदृशां हारतारा[व]क्रिन्वीः  
 [॥ ३\*] तेना-  
 9 जनि द्विजनिकायहितावतार[ः\*] श्रेयान्गुणैस्तनुभृतां मरुतामिवेद्रः । बी-  
 10 राग्रणीर्जगति कीमटिप्रोलनामा<sup>२</sup> प्रत्यर्त्थिभूपतिभुजंगविहंगराजः । [४\*]

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 11 शंभोरद्रिसुतेव पंकजभुवो देवी यथा भारती विष्णोस्त्रागरसंभवेव सरितां प-  
 12 त्सुर्यथा जाह्नवी । सूर्यस्येव सुवर्चला शशभृतः पुण्या यथा रौहिणी रुढा  
 13 कीमटिप्रोलयस्य<sup>३</sup> सदृशी भार्यावेमांवा सती । [५\*] उत्साहाच्चिदिवीकसां  
 सुरत-  
 14 रुन् क्षीरोर्मिरेखा यथा पुत्रास्कीमटिप्रोलयाङ्गुवती<sup>४</sup> सासूत पंच क्र-  
 15 मात् । अग्ने माचनृपालसुव्रतमथ श्रीवेमपृष्ठीपतिं पञ्चाहोड्यभू-  
 16 पमन्नयनृपं श्रीमन्नयन्मापतिं । [६\*] सत्येन सत्वेन<sup>५</sup> पराक्रमेण रूपेण  
 17 बुद्ध्या<sup>६</sup> च विराजतस्तान् । चाणाय भूयोपि भुवोवतीर्णान्नूनं जनीमन्यत  
 18 पांडुपुत्रान् । [७\*] अथ सकलबुधानामाश्रयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवती-  
 19 र्णः कंसमहीव देवः । कलिसमयविदृष्यहस्यभूपाक्षिरस्यवहति सकल-  
 20 पृष्ठीं वेमयक्षोणिपालः । [८\*] दृष्टानंतरराजभूरुहमहाक्षोतीवहा-

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 21 निर्भरी मैत्रीसंगतराजकौरववनीसंपूर्णचंद्रोदयः । माद्यन्मन्त्रेनृपा-  
 22 लतूलपवनी ज्येष्ठान्विजुंभोद्भवः श्रीमान् कीमटिवेमभूपतिरसौ वीरः  
 23 कथं वर्ण्यते । [९\*] रणशिरसि विचित्रं रायचेकीलुगंडप्रकटतरुपाणक्षु-  
 24 ष्णगात्राः क्षणेन । सपदि वियति भिंदत्युद्धतास्तथ्यतापप्रतिकृतिमिनविंब  
 25 प्रत्यनीकक्षितींद्राः । [१०\*] नित्यं 'तारुण्यदर्पसुरितकुचभरोदारबृंदा-  
 26 रनारीहेलासंचारलीलासुभगसुरपुरप्रांमणारोहणा-  
 27 य । आ विंशद्दशजानामतिकरुणतया येन पूर्वापराणां [नित्यं]' दा-  
 28 नातिदानव्रतसुक्ततमहादाननिश्रेणिशिल्पं । [११\*] 'श्रीमत्काकेतवंशशेखरमणे-  
 29 रा वीररुद्रादृपात्पापैर्ज्येष्ठनराधिपैरपहृता विप्राग्रहाराः कलौ । सर्वे ये-  
 30 न समुद्धृतास्तमनघं श्रीवेमपृष्ठीपतिं वीरं विष्णुपराक्रमं कथम-

<sup>१</sup> Read स्फुरति.

<sup>२</sup> The metre requires a single instead of a double consonant after टि.

<sup>३</sup> Read सत्येन.

<sup>४</sup> Read बुद्ध्या.

<sup>५</sup> Read सत्येन.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'स्फुरति'.

<sup>७</sup> Read व्यक्तं ?

<sup>८</sup> Read श्रीमत्काकति°.

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 31 [हो] स्तोतुं समर्था जनाः । [१२\*] श्रीपञ्चवर्तिनेषांको धन्यो वेममहो-  
पतिः । श्रीघोडे-
- 32 रायगंगाख्यगुरुपादाजवद्ददः । [१३\*] आस्ते श्रीगिरिपूर्वपादनिकाटादा  
पू[र्वपा]-
- 33 घोनिधेदेशः कुण्डितरंगिणीसुभयत[:\*] श्रीपूंगिनामांकितः । तस्मिन् भासु-
- 34 रसौधगोपुरवती नित्योत्सवालङ्कता नन्दपौरजना विभाति नितरामहंकिना-
- 35 मा<sup>१</sup> पुरो । [१४\*] उहंमंडलिकमंडलकालदंडोईडविक्रमविनिर्जि-
- 36 तवैरिलोकः । सोयं बिभर्त्ति नगरीं नगराजधीर[:\*] श्रीवेमभूपतिरिमा<sup>२</sup>
- 37 जगनोन्मगंडः । [१५\*] सप्तसंतानवत्यासीन्मही वेमविभोरिति । स्वर्णयेव  
धृताः कीर्त्या
- 38 गर्भे लोकास्तुदंश । [१६\*] श्री शकाब्दे कुधरर्तुभातु १२६७ गणिते  
चैत्र्यां श-
- 39 शांके तमोप्रस्ते विप्रगणाय वेमनृपतिर्माहूकशंभोः पुरः । प्राद-
- 40 त्त स्फुटमातुकूश्मनघसौख्यभोगाष्टकं श्रीकृष्णोत्तरकूलसंस्म-

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 41 तुलं ग्रामं महाश्रेयसे । [१७\*] स्वनामचिह्नितं कृत्वा दत्तो वेमम[ही-  
भु]जा । श्रे-
- 42 षो भात्यग्रहाराणां ग्रामो वेमपुराद्वयः । [१८\*] श्री

## No. 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA;

A.D. 1422.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanarese characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr. Rice.<sup>4</sup> My edition is based on excellent inked estampages<sup>5</sup> received from Prof. Hultzsch.

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kūshmāṇḍinī-yakshi which is set up in the Brahmadēva-maṇḍapa in front of the Gummaṭa temple on the Vindhyaḡiri at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa. The inscription begins on the south face. Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two *chauris*, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised. Next come two lines of the

<sup>1</sup> Read °नाबी.<sup>2</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>3</sup> Read स्फुट°.<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 82.<sup>5</sup> No. 7 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891.

inscription, after which we have another row of figures, viz. a woman seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes, a man seated with folded hands and wearing necklaces, and again a female figure seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes. Then the inscription continues. I am unable to offer any explanation of these sculptures, and I do not even venture to decide whether they have any special reference to the events and persons spoken of in the inscription or not.

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanarese. The average height of the letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes; compare *śrī* in ll. 1 and 3, *jā* in l. 21, *jai* in l. 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l. 31, the sign for *anusvāra*, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D., medial *ś* is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in *śś* in l. 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in *dhś* in l. 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial *ai* and *ō*. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. *Tś*, e.g., shows the first form in ll. 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll. 7, 34, 77, 96, 111; *nś* the first in ll. 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll. 58, 59; *rś* the first in ll. 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll. 101, 110; *bai* the first in l. 3, the second in l. 8; *vai* the first in ll. 6, 33, 89, the second in l. 71; *mō* the first in l. 1, the second in ll. 44, 80, 100; *yś* the first in ll. 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll. 31, 109, 110; etc.—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are *jaṅghāḥlaka*, 'swift-footed,' in l. 17, *prakōpa*, 'incensed with passion,' in l. 33, *dhāt*, 'to charge,' apparently meant as the root of the noun *dhāti*, in l. 34, *prēllāsāt*, 'shining,' which owes its origin merely to the metre, in l. 39, *saustava*, 'praise,' in l. 63, *vaikhari*, 'speech,' in l. 80.—As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final *t* is changed into *d* before *j* in *jagad=jayamtaḥ* (l. 9) and *-bhavad=jagati* (l. 15), but the correct *sandhi* is found in *atanōj=jaind-* (l. 20). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in *varnaṁ* (l. 44), *ākarnnanēshu* (l. 59), *karnnair* (l. 66), *ākīrnnaṁ* (l. 68) and *-ārnnava-* (l. 94). Initial *i* appears as *yi* in *Yirugapa-* (ll. 12, 61, 105) and initial *ē* as *yē* in *supātra yēva* (l. 57). The *y* after *j* is dropped in *jāyān* (l. 24). *S* is written instead of *ś* in *śrayas* (l. 16). The spelling *sallāpī* (l. 86) instead of *samlāpī* is according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* a Kanarese peculiarity. Occasionally the groups *chchh*, *ddh*, *bbh* are spelt *chhchh*, *dhdh*, *bhbh*, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

After an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1), the inscription gives in the next 18 verses an account of a certain Irugapa. Bukkarāya, who must be identical with Bukka I. of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a minister Baicha (v. 2) or Baichapa (I.) (v. 3), who had three sons (v. 4)—Maṅgapa, Irugapa (I.) and Bukkaṇa (v. 5). Maṅgapa, the eldest of them, who was a follower of the Jaina religion (v. 6), was married to Jānaki (v. 7). They had two sons, Baichapa (II.) (v. 8) and Irugapa (II.) (v. 9), who in vv. 12, 13, 14 is called also Irugēśvara and Irugēndra. As appears from vv. 8 and 16, the two brothers were Jainas like their father. With the exception of Bukkaṇa, all the members of this family are called generals (*daṇḍētvara*, *daṇḍanētri*, *daṇḍanātha*, *daṇḍapati*, *daṇḍapa*, *daṇḍādhipati*, *daṇḍādhiśvara*, *dhvajinīpati*), and most of the verses devoted to the praise of Irugapa II. (9-19) refer in general terms to his military achievements. Twice (vv. 10, 11) Irugapa II. is given also the title of prince (*kṣhmāpa*), and twice (vv. 13, 14), with a strange blending of his two titles, he is even called *daṇḍanripati*.<sup>1</sup>

The family of Irugapa II. is partly already known to us from other records. An inscription at Vijayanagara, dated in Śaka 1307=A.D. 1385,<sup>2</sup> mentions, according to Prof. Hultzsch, a certain Chaicha or Chaichapa, the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II., and his

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. No. 152.

son, the general or prince Iruga or Irugapa, who adhered to the doctrine of the Jainas; but as the letters *cha* and *ba* closely resemble each other in the Telugu alphabet, I have no doubt that Chaicha and Chaichapa are merely misread for Baicha and Baichapa.<sup>1</sup> Two other inscriptions in the Jaina temple at Tirupparuttikugru near Conjeeveram, dated in A.D. 1382 and 1387-88 respectively,<sup>2</sup> record some donations by the general or minister Irugappa, the son of the general Vaichaya<sup>3</sup> and a follower of the Jaina religion. The two persons referred to in these three inscriptions have already been identified by Prof. Hultsch with Baichapa I. and Irugapa I. of the present record. If in the Vijayanagara inscription Baichapa is called the minister of Harihara II., the successor of Bukka I., this proves only that he remained in office after the death of his first master.

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (*yati*, *yamin*) called Paṇḍitārya. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of Śrutamuni is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this Śrutamuni stood to Paṇḍitārya. The second group of verses is added to the first quite abruptly, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that Paṇḍitārya and Śrutamuni are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jaina monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Mallishēpa,<sup>4</sup> for instance, furnishes the following parallels: Śrīpālādēva-Traividya, Hēmasēna-Vidyāadhanamjaya, Ajitasēna-Vāḍibhasimha-Vāḍibhakapṭhīra, Śāntinātha-Kavitākānta-Kāntasānti, Padmanābha-Vāḍikōlāhala, Mallishēpa-Maladhārin.

The object of the grant is stated in verses 24-26. They record that at Beluḡuḷa, in the presence of Śrutamuni, the general Irugapa gave away, for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummaṭṣēvara, the village or *tirtha* of Beluḡuḷa, supplied with a grove and a new tank built by Irugapa himself. The donation took place 'while the year Śubhakṛit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tithi* of the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase,' or, in plain language, on Viṣṇu's, i.e. the eleventh or twelfth, *tithi* in the bright half of Kārttika in the cyclic year Śubhakṛit. According to Mr. Rice, the Śubhakṛit year corresponds to A.D. 1362; but from the dates for Irugapa I. quoted above it appears that this is too early, and Prof. Hultsch has already noticed<sup>5</sup> that the true European equivalent of the year is A.D. 1422. The rest of the date does not admit of verification.

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that Beluḡuḷa is Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa itself, and that the holy Gummaṭṣēvara is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the Vindhyagiri to the south of the village.<sup>6</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

South Face.

- 1 श्रीमत्परमगंभीरस्याहादामोचलाङ्गनं [१\*] जी-
- 2 याज्ञैलोकनाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनं ॥ [१\*] ॐ ॥ ॐ
- 3 श्रीबुक्करायस्य बभूव मंत्री श्रीवैचदंते-
- 4 रनामधेयः । नीतिर्यदीया निखिलाभिन्नया नि:-

<sup>1</sup> The same mistake was made by Mr. Rice in editing the present inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 115 f.

<sup>3</sup> [This Tamil form proves that Prof. Lüders' reading *Baicha* is correct; for *v* can only correspond to *ṣ*, and not to *ch*.—E. H.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 189 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 115, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.* p. 108 and Plate.

<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Prof. Hultsch.



- 5 शेषयामास विपक्षलोकं ॥ [२\*] दानं चैकथयामि सु-  
 6 ऋपदवीं गाहेत संतानको वैदग्ध्यो यदि सा बृहस्पति-  
 7 कथा कुत्रापि संलीयते । चातिं चिदनपायिनीं जड-  
 8 तया स्पृश्येत सर्वसङ्गा स्तोत्रं वैचपदंडनेतुरव-  
 9 नौ शक्यं कवीनां कथं ॥ [३\*] तस्मादजायंत जगदुजयंतः<sup>१</sup> पु-  
 10 त्रास्त्रयो भूषितचारुशीलाः । यैर्भूषितो-<sup>२</sup>  
 11 जायत मध्यलोको रत्नैस्त्रिभिर्जैन इवापव-  
 12 र्गः ॥ [४\*] <sup>३</sup>यिरुगपदंडनाथमथ बुक्कणमप्यनु-  
 13 जो स्वमहिमसंपदा विरचयन् सुतरां प्रथि-  
 14 तो । प्रतिभट्टाजामिनीपृथुपयोधरहारहरो  
 15 महितगुणोभवदजगति<sup>४</sup> मंगपदंडपतिः ॥ [५\*] दा[fi]क्ष-  
 16 ष्यप्रथमास्यदं सुचरितस्यैकाग्रयस्सत्यवा-<sup>५</sup>  
 17 गाधारस्ततं वदान्यपदवीसंचारजंघाल-  
 18 कः [६\*] धर्म्मोपपन्नतः <sup>६</sup>स्माकुलगृहं सौजन्यसंज्ञे-  
 19 तभूः कीर्तिं मंगपदंडपोयमतनो-  
 20 ज्जैनागमानुव्रतः ॥ [६\*] जानकीत्यभवदस्य गेहिनी  
 21 चारुशीलगुणभूषणोज्ज्वला<sup>७</sup> । जा-  
 22 नकीव तनुवृत्तमध्यमा राघवस्य रमणी-  
 23 यतेजसः ॥ [७\*] आस्तां तयोरस्तमितारिवर्णी पु-  
 24 तौ पवित्रोक्तधर्म्ममार्गी<sup>८</sup> । <sup>९</sup>आयानभूतच  
 25 जगद्भिजेता भव्याग्रणीर्वैचपदंडनाथः ॥ [८\*] इ-  
 26 रुगपदंडाधिपतिस्तस्यावरजस्समस्त-  
 27 गुणशाली । यस्य यशसंद्रिकया मीलंति दि-  
 28 वाप्यरातिसुखपद्माः ॥ [९\*] वृ ॥ ब्रह्मन् भाळलि-  
 29 पिं प्रमार्ज्य न चेद्ब्रह्मत्वज्ञानिर्भवेदन्यां<sup>१०</sup>  
 30 कल्पय काल राजनगरीं तदैरिपु-  
 31 ध्वीभृतां । वेतालव्रज <sup>१०</sup>वर्धयोदरततिं  
 32 पानाय नव्यासृजां <sup>११</sup>युधायोध्वतशाच-  
 33 वैरिरुगपक्ष्मापः प्रकीपोभवत् ॥ [१०\*] याचा-

<sup>१</sup> Read जगज्जयंतः.<sup>४</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>भवत्सगति.<sup>७</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>योक्त्वला.<sup>१०</sup> Read वर्धयो.<sup>२</sup> Read यैर्भूषितो.<sup>६</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>काग्रय.<sup>८</sup> Read व्यायान.<sup>११</sup> Read युधायोध्वत.<sup>३</sup> Read इरुगप.<sup>५</sup> Read चमाकुल.<sup>९</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>ज्ञानिभवे.

- 34 यां ध्वजिनीपतेरिगपक्ष्मापस्य धाटीध-  
 35 टहोटीघोरसुरप्रहारततिभिः प्रो-  
 36 'धूतधूम्रजैः [1\*] रूध्वे<sup>३</sup> भानुकरेगम-

*East Face.*

- 37 द्विपुकरांभोजं च संकोचनं प्रापत्कीर्त्तिकुसुद्वती  
 38 विकसनं दीप्तः प्रतापनलः<sup>३</sup> ॥ [११\*] याचायामि-  
 39 रूग्णरेण सहसा शून्यारिसौधांगणप्रो-  
 40 क्षासद्भिधुकांतकांतशकलेगच्छदनेभाधिपः [1\*]  
 41 हत्वा स्वप्रतिमां प्रतिद्विपमिति क्लृप्तैकदंत-<sup>४</sup>  
 42 स्तदा चाहि चाहि गजाननेति बहुधा वेता-  
 43 ऋवृदैः[1\*] स्तुतः ॥ [१२\*] को धात्रा लिखितं ललाटफ-  
 44 लके वर्ण<sup>५</sup> प्रमार्ष्टु क्षमो वार्त्ता धूर्त्तवचो-  
 45 मयीमिति वयं वार्त्ताम मन्थामहे ।  
 46 'यध्वाच्यामिरुगेन्द्रदंडनृपतो संजा-  
 47 तमात्रे प्रियो नि[:\*]श्रोरप्यधिकत्रियाघ-  
 48 टि रिपुस्यश्रोरपश्रोकृतः ॥ [१३\*] यद्वाहाविरु-<sup>७</sup>  
 49 गेन्द्रदंडनृपतेर्बिभ्रत्यनंताधुरं<sup>८</sup> शेषा-  
 50 धीशफणागणे नियमितां स स्वांगनाया-  
 51 स्तदा । गाढालिंगनसांद्रसंभवसुखप्रोद्ध-  
 52 तरोमावलिः साहस्रीं रसनामधात्तव गु-  
 53 णान् स्तोतुं कृता<sup>९</sup>त्यः फणी ॥ [१४\*] आहारसंपदभया-  
 54 र्पणमौषधं च शास्त्रं च तस्य समजायत  
 55 नित्यदानं । हिंसानृतान्यवनिताव्यसनं स-  
 56 चौर्यं मूर्च्छां च देशवशतोस्य बभू-  
 57 व दूरे ॥ [१५\*] दानं चास्य सुपात्र येव<sup>१०</sup> करुणा  
 58 दोनेषु दृष्टिर्जिने<sup>११</sup> भक्तिर्हर्मपथे जिनेद्रय-  
 59 शसामाकर्त्तनेषु<sup>११</sup> श्रुतो । जिह्वा तद्गुणकीर्त्त-  
 60 नेषु वपुषः सौख्यं च तद्वंदने घ्राणं तच्च-  
 61 रणाजसोरभभरे सर्वं च तत्सेवने ॥ [१६\*] यि-<sup>१२</sup>

१ Read 'वृत्'.

४ Read 'क्षिप्तैक'.

७ Read 'ललाटफ'.

१० Read 'भक्तिर्हर्म'.

३ Read 'रूध्वे'.

५ Read 'वर्ण'.

८ Read 'नृपते विधत्य'.

११ Read 'कण्ठनेषु'.

९ Read 'दीप्तिं प्रतापानलः'.

६ Read 'यद्वाचा'.

१० Read 'एव'.

१२ Read 'यि'.

- 62 रुगपदंडनाथयशसा धवले भुवने  
 63 मलिनिमसौस्तवः परमधीरदृशां चिकुरे [1\*]  
 64 वहति च तस्य बाहुपरिचे धरणीवल-  
 65 यं <sup>1</sup>परमितरितराक्रमकथापि च  
 66 तत्कुचयोः ॥ [१७\*] <sup>2</sup>कर्चैर्विष्मृतकुण्डले-  
 67 रतिलकासंगैर्लला-  
 68 टस्थलैराकीर्णैरल-<sup>3</sup>  
 69 कैः पयोधरतटैर-  
 70 स्पृष्टमुक्तागुणैः । बिंबो-  
 71 छैरपि वैरिराजसदृशस्तांबू-<sup>4</sup>  
 72 लरागोष्मिर्तैर्यस्य स्फारतरं मु-<sup>5</sup>  
 73 तापमसकङ्कडाकुर्वले<sup>6</sup> सर्वतः ॥ [१८\*]

West Face.

- 74 यत्कीर्त्तिभिः सुरधुनोपरिलङ्घिनीभि धौते<sup>7</sup> वि-  
 75 राय निजबिंबगते कळंके । स्नग्धात्मकस्तुङ्गिन-  
 76 दीधितिरंगनानामव्याजमाननरुचिं कबलो-  
 77 करोति ॥ [१९\*] यत्पादाभरजःकणो<sup>8</sup> प्रसुवते  
 78 भक्त्यानतानां भुवं यत्कारुण्यकटा-  
 79 चकांतिलहरी प्रक्षालयत्याशयं ।  
 80 मोहाहंकरणं क्षिपोति विमला यद्दे-  
 81 खरोमौखरी वंद्यः कस्य न माननीयम-  
 82 ह्रीमा<sup>9</sup> श्रीपंडितार्यो यतिः ॥ [२०\*] मंदा-  
 83 रदुममंजरीमधुभरीमंजुस्फुरन्मा-<sup>10</sup>  
 84 धुरोप्रौढाङ्कतिरुडिपाटवपरोपा-  
 85 टीककाटोभटः । <sup>11</sup>नृत्यदृष्टकपर्दगत्-  
 86 विलुठत्स्वर्णककलोलिनीसजापो<sup>12</sup> खलु पं-  
 87 डितार्थयमिनो व्याख्यानकोळा-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'मितरतर'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'मसुदृश'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'नीभिर्धौते'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'कर्चैर्वि'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'प्र'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'कथाः'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'राकीर्णैर'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'कुर्वते'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'महिमा'.

<sup>10</sup> At first 'मधुजरी' was engraved, but the ज has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small म has been written above it.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'नृत्यदृष्ट'.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'संज्ञायी'.

- 88 ऋः ॥ [२१\*] कारुण्यप्रथमावतारस-  
 89 रणिष्मांतेर्निष्ठांतं स्त्रिरं वैदुष्यं तपःफ-  
 90 लं सुजनतासौभाग्यभाग्योदयः ।  
 91 कंदर्पद्विरदेद्रपंचवदनः काव्यास-  
 92 तानां 'स्वनीर्जनाध्यावरभास्करः शुत-  
 93 मुनिर्जागतिं नम्रातिंजित् ॥ [२२\*] शु-  
 94 त्थागमार्धवविलोचनमंदराद्रिः' शब्दाग-  
 95 मांबुद्धकाननबालसूर्यः । शु-  
 96 ध्वाशयः' प्रतिदिनं परमागमेन संवर्धते  
 97 'शुतमुनीर्यतिसार्धभोमः ॥ [२३\*] तत्संनिधौ  
 98 वेङ्गुळे जगदश्रुतीर्षं श्रीमानसावि-  
 99 रगपाङ्कयदंडनाथः [१\*] श्रीगुंमटेध्वर-  
 100 सनातनभोगहेतोर्गर्भामोक्षमं वेङ्गु-  
 101 ळास्थमदत्त धीरः ॥ [२४\*] शुभकृति वक्षरे ज-  
 102 यति कार्तिकमासि तिथौ सुरमय-  
 103 नस्य पुष्टिसुपजम्मुषि शीतवचौ । सदुप-  
 104 वनं स्वनिर्मितनवीनतटाकयुतं सचिव-  
 105 कुलाग्रणीरदित तीर्थवरं मुदितः ॥ [२५\*] यि-  
 106 रगपदंडाधीश्वरविमलयशःकलम-  
 107 वर्धनचेचं । आचंद्रतारकमिदं वे-  
 108 ङ्गुळतीर्थं प्रकाशतामतुलं ॥ [२६\*] ● ॥  
 109 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं<sup>१</sup> । दानात् स्वर्गम-  
 110 वाप्नोति पालनादश्रुतं पदं ॥ [२७\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरिश्च  
 व-  
 111 सुंधरां । 'षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः' ॥ [२८\*] ● ॥  
 112 मगल<sup>१०</sup> महाश्री श्री श्री श्री श्री [१\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the glorious religion of Jina be victorious,— the religion of the lord of the three worlds, the unfailing criterion of which is the most profound doctrine of possibility !

<sup>१</sup> Read 'स्वनीर्जने'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'मुनिर्य'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'वर्ध' वर्ष.

<sup>१०</sup> Read संवर्ध.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'मार्धव'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'र'.

<sup>६</sup> Read विष्टायां.

<sup>७</sup> Read पञ्चाशयः.

<sup>८</sup> Read दानाश्रेयी.

<sup>९</sup> Read क्रिमिः.

(V. 2.) There was a minister of the illustrious **Bukkarāya**, known as the illustrious general **Baicha**, whose policy, which was to be approved by everybody, completely destroyed the multitude of his enemies.

(V. 3.) If I (*want to*) speak of his liberality, the **Samtānaka** (*tree*) enters the way of the greedy; if of his intelligence, that talk of **Bṛhaspati** hides somewhere; if of his invariable patience, the earth is affected by insensibility. How on earth is it possible for poets to praise the general **Baichapa**?<sup>1</sup>

(V. 4.) From him were born three sons, conquerors of the world, who had good morals for their ornament, adorned by whom the middle world became similar to the final bliss of the Jainas (*which is adorned*) by the three jewels.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 5.) Praised in the world were the virtues of the general **Maṅgapa**, who took away the necklaces from the broad breasts of the wives of his adversaries, (*and*) who made his younger brothers, the general **Irugapa** and **Bukkapa**, still more famous by the abundance of his own glory.

(V. 6.) Being the chief seat of kindness, the only shelter of morality, the abode of veracity, always swift-footed in running on the track of the munificent, the supporting tree of religion, the noble residence of forbearance, the meeting-place of goodness, this general **Maṅgapa**, who was attached to the doctrine of the Jainas, spread his fame.

(V. 7.) His wife was **Jānaki**, shining by the ornament of her excellent moral qualities, as the daughter of Janaka with her slender round waist (*was the wife*) of the descendant of Raghū, possessed of agreeable splendour.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 8.) They had two sons, through whom the hosts of the enemies perished, (*and*) who cleansed the path of religion. The elder of them was the general **Baichapa**, a conqueror of the world, the foremost among the pious.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 9.) His younger brother was the general **Irugapa**, possessed of all virtues, through the moonshine of whose fame the lotuses of the faces of his enemies close even in daytime.<sup>5</sup>

Metre (*vṛitta*).—(V. 10.) Brahman, wipe off the writing on the forehead! Otherwise thy reputation as Brahman will suffer damage.<sup>6</sup> Build another capital, Death, for the kings hostile to him! Thou host of Vêtālas, widen the extent of your bellies to drink the fresh blood! Prince **Irugapa** was incensed with passion to fight with the haughty enemies.

(V. 11.) When on the march of the general prince **Irugapa** the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust whirled up by the continual violent blows of the hoofs of his mares charging by assault, the day-lotuses of the hands of his enemies closed,<sup>7</sup> the night-lotus of his glory opened, and the fire of his majesty became bright.

<sup>1</sup> The author wants to say that it is impossible to describe the virtues of **Baicha**, because they are not to be equalled. His liberality and his cleverness are so great that, compared to him, the tree of desires appears to be covetous and **Bṛhaspati** a mere nothing, and as for his patience, even the earth is not a fit object for comparison, because it is *jada*, which may mean inanimate or dull.

<sup>2</sup> The three jewels (*triratna*), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a Śramana who wants to attain eternal beatitude, are *jñāna* or knowledge of things as revealed in the *āgamas*, *dāṛṭana* or faith in what is taught there, and *chāritra* or *dharma*, moral discipline; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Skt. MSS.*, 1883-84, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> The attributes of **Rāma** and **Sitā** are applicable to **Maṅgapa** and **Jānaki** also, and *vice versa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhavya* must be understood here as in other Jaina inscriptions as referring to the Jaina community.

<sup>5</sup> Generally the *padma* has its flowers opened by daylight.

<sup>6</sup> Brahman's predictions of a happy lot to the hostile kings will prove false, because they will be slain by **Irugapa**.

<sup>7</sup> His enemies clenched their fists in rage.

(V. 12.) (*Once*), a huge wild elephant was reflected by a beautiful fragment of glimmering moon-stone in the court of an enemy's palace, which had been deserted in a hurry through (*fear of*) the lord Iruga (*who was*) on the march. Thinking that it was a hostile elephant, he struck his image (*and*) broke one of his tusks, (*and*) was (*therefore*) afterwards often invoked by the hosts of Vêtâlas (*with the words*): 'Have mercy, have mercy, Gajânana!'<sup>1</sup>

(V. 13.) 'Who is able to wipe off a letter written by the Creator on the surface of the forehead?' In this saying we do not believe, (*considering it to be*) a saying made up of a liar's words, because as soon as the general Irugêndra was born on earth, his friends, even if they had been without wealth, were supplied with abundant wealth, and his wealthy enemies were deprived of their wealth.

(V. 14.) While thy arm, O general Irugêndra, was carrying the burden of the earth (*originally*) laid on the group of the hoods of the lord Śêsha, that serpent, contented, the lines of his hair always bristling with joy on account of the frequent opportunities for closely embracing his wife, used his thousandfold tongue in praising thy virtues!

(V. 15.) Plenty of food, protection from dangers, medicine and instruction became his continual gift. Acts of violence, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft, and infatuation kept away on account of his ruling the country.

(V. 16.) His liberality (*was directed*) only towards worthy persons, his pity towards the poor, his looks towards the Jina, his love towards the path of religion, his two ears towards listening to the fame of the lord of the Jinâs, his tongue towards praising his virtues, the health of his body towards worshipping him, his nose towards the excessive fragrance of the lotuses of his feet, and all that was his towards serving him.

(V. 17.) While the world was made white by the fame of the general Irugapa, blackness was praised only (*in connection with*) the hair of (*women*) with rolling eyes, and while his bar-like arm was wearing the bracelet of the earth, mutual oppression also was spoken of only (*in connection with*) their breasts.

(V. 18.) By their ears with their ear-rings forgotten, by the surfaces of their foreheads with no marks fixed to them, by their dishevelled curls, by their swelling breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their *bimba*-like lips deprived of the redness (*caused*) by the betel, even the fair-eyed (*wives*) of the kings hostile (*to him*) repeatedly (*and*) thoroughly betray his excessive power.

(V. 19.) Since his fame, surpassing the river of the gods,<sup>2</sup> has washed off, at last, the spot in her disk, the moon, being (*now*) perfectly clear, really swallows the beauty of the faces of the women.

(V. 20.) Who would not do homage to the ascetic (*yati*), the venerable Paṇḍitârya, whose greatness is to be honoured; the grains of dust of whose foot-lotus produce a world for those who bow (*to him*) in devotion;<sup>3</sup> the wave of loveliness of whose compassionate side-glances purifies the heart; the faultless fluency of whose speech destroys delusion and self-conceit.

(V. 21.) The roar of the discourse of the ascetic (*yamin*) Paṇḍitârya, which is a warrior (*in cutting*) the neck of the succession of great self-conceit, fame and skill of the pleasant and distinguished sweetness of the streams of honey of the flowers of the *mandâra* tree, verily resembles the river of the celestial world,<sup>4</sup> winding through the hollows of the braids of the dancing Rudra.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Gaṇḍêśa, who has the head of an elephant, but only one tusk.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Gaṅgâ.

<sup>3</sup> The dust of the lotus-like foot of Paṇḍitârya is compared to the pollen of the lotus of Brahman which produces the world.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Gaṅgâ.

(V. 22.) Śrutamuni, the main-road for the descent of compassion, the lasting dawn of calmness, the fruit of the austerities of learning, the mountain from which benevolence and prosperity and happiness rise, a lion to the mighty elephant of passion, a mine of the nectar of poetry, the sun in the sky of the Jaina sect, is watchful, removing the distress of the humble.

(V. 23.) The pure-minded Śrutamuni, an emperor among the ascetics (*yati*), the Mandara mountain for the stirring of the ocean of the science of reasoning, the rising sun to the lotus-grove of grammar, is daily increasing (in prosperity) through the most excellent (Jaina) doctrine.

(V. 24.) In his presence, at Beḷuḡuḷa, the most sacred place of the world, that glorious brave general, called Irugapa, gave away the most excellent village called Beḷuḡuḷa for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara.

(V. 25.) While the year Śubhakṛit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tithi* of (Viṣṇu) the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase, the chief of the family of ministers gladly presented the excellent sacred place, possessing a beautiful grove (and) supplied with a new tank built by himself.

(V. 26.) May this matchless holy place Beḷuḡuḷa, a field for growing the rice of the general Irugapa's white fame, shine as long as the moon and stars!

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual imprecations.]

#### No. 5.—TALAGUNDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMAN.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered in 1894 by Mr. B. Lewis Rice, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore.<sup>1</sup> From a photograph and a transcript furnished by him, a preliminary notice of it was published by the late Prof. Bühler in September 1895, in the *Academy*;<sup>2</sup> and about the same time a summary of its contents was given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 286 f., from an ink-impression lent by Mr. Rice. The inscription has now been edited by its discoverer, with a photo-lithograph and translation, in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 200 ff. I re-edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.<sup>3</sup>

According to Mr. Rice, the inscription is engraved on a pillar of very hard grey granite, which stands in front of the ruined Prapavēśvara<sup>4</sup> temple at Talagunda, in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. The pedestal of the pillar "is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at the top, a little more at the base. The shaft is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high,<sup>5</sup> each face being 7 inches wide, but tapering slightly towards the top." Seven faces of the shaft contain each two vertical lines of writing which commences at the bottom, while on the 8th face there is only one short line (line 15 of the text), written in the same way. "The invocation at the beginning" of the inscription (i.e. the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaḥ=Śivāya* || of line 1) "is on the pedestal, and runs up connecting with the first line." In the impressions the length of lines 1-14, disregarding the words *Siddham* [||] *Namaḥ=Śivāya* ||

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Bühler's article is reprinted in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27 f.

<sup>3</sup> In October 1898 Dr. Fleet kindly gave me his own transcript of the text and the photograph which had been sent to Prof. Bühler by Mr. Rice, and my translation was prepared in the summer of 1899, at the time when I published a note on the principal metre of the inscription.

<sup>4</sup> So the name is given in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 200. On pp. 4 and 47 of the Introduction of the same volume we find, instead of it, 'Prapamēśvara.' Prapavalīṅga is the name furnished to me with the ink-impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Judging by the length of the lines, the shaft must really be slightly higher.

of line 1, varies between 5' 11" (in line 10) and 6' 5" (in lines 1 and 2); that of line 15 is only 2' 5". The size of such *aksharas* as *ja*, *ma*, *ya*, *va* is between  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{3}$ ", while the average height of *aksharas* like *a*, *ka*, *ra*, *pra*, *vya*, *jja*, *mā*, *mri* is between 2 and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription is 'most carefully written and engraved, and is generally in so perfect a state of preservation that nearly every syllable of it may be read with certainty.—The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet. Among Kadamba inscriptions, they seem to resemble most those of the Dēvagēri plates of the 4th year and the Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates of Mṛigēśavarman,<sup>1</sup> but, as is elsewhere the case with stone-inscriptions, they exhibit a more regular and artistic style of writing than is found in the copper-plates. Of initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i* (e.g. in *itya*, l. 10), *u* (in *udavarha*, l. 5), and *ē* (e.g. in *ēvam*, l. 3); and of the consonants, all excepting *jh*, *th*, *ph*, and *ḷ*, but *chh* occurs only as subscript letter (e.g. in *chchhdyā*, l. 11). Attention may perhaps be drawn here to the signs for *kh* (e.g. in *-śekharaḥ*, l. 8), *ṣ* (e.g. in *bhaṣgur*, l. 7), *j* (e.g. in *jayātī*, l. 1), *ṣ* (e.g. in *yajñā*, l. 2, and *pañchabhīr*, l. 13), *ḍ* (in *-mṛḍita*, l. 11, *-chāḍḍa-maṣayaḥ*, l. 13, and *taḍḍakam*, l. 14), *ḍh* (in *-sāmṛāḍha*, l. 3), *th* and *dh* (e.g. in *vividha-yajñā-vabhritha*, l. 2), *b* (e.g. in *brahma*, l. 4), and *l* (e.g. in *-kulam*, l. 2, and *Pallavēndra*, l. 4); and to the peculiar form<sup>2</sup> of the subscript *ṣ* in *-aparārṇav*, l. 7. As regards medial vowels, it may suffice to point out the two forms of the *akshara* *ṇā*, employed e.g. in *gurunā* and *śarmmanā*, both at the commencement of line 4, and the manner in which *ā* is written in the *akshara* *ṣā*<sup>3</sup> (of *-jaṣā*, l. 1). The alphabet includes the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* (e.g. in *-nipuṇaḥ-kaviḥ* and *-kulaḥ-prajā*, both at the end of line 9); those of final *m* (e.g. in *siddham*, l. 1, and *-maṇḍalam*, l. 2), final *t* (e.g. in *bhayāt*, l. 1, and *tat*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *yō-rin*, l. 9); and the sign of punctuation consisting of two vertical lines.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *Siddham* [||] *Namat-Śivāya* || and the words in line 15, the whole is in verse. The orthography suggests the following remarks. Within a half-verse and in the words *Namat-Śivāya* of line 1, the final *visarga* of a word before one of the three sibilants is *always* (altogether 19 times) assimilated to the sibilant. Before a surd guttural (*k* or *kḥ*) it is nine times changed to the *jihvāmūliya* and left unchanged twice, both times at the end of a Pāda (in *-līlaḥ Kākustha*, l. 10, and *-sthaḥ Kubja*, l. 14). The *jihvāmūliya* is also employed in *duḥkham*, l. 4. Before *p*—*ph* does not occur—*visarga* is changed to the *upadhmanīya* five times and left unchanged seven times (once, in *putraḥ prathita*, l. 9, at the end of a Pāda). Before the conjuncts *sm* and *st* (but not before *sv* and *śr*) *visarga* is dropped, in *brāhmaṇai smātakai stūyamānē*, l. 13. In the words *say-iḥa* (for the ordinary *sa iḥa*) of line 13 the final *visarga* of *saḥ* has by Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 (or 18) been changed to (the ordinary or the *laghuprayatnatara*) *y*.<sup>4</sup>—The final *m* of a word remains unchanged, and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in the word *siddham* in line 1 and *always* at the end of a half-verse; exceptionally (and wrongly) also at the end of the odd Pādas of verse 28. Otherwise final *m* before a consonant is changed to *anusvāra* except in *āpadan-tān-dhāra-yām-āsa* (for *āpadaṁ tāṁ dhā*), l. 6, *yan-daiva* (for *yaṁ daiva*), l. 13, *yam-mitram*, l. 7, *prithivīm-prasahya*, l. 9, *tam-bhūpāl*, l. 11, *-sambhrama*, l. 12, and *taḍḍakam-mahat*, l. 14. In

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, Plates, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, Plates; compare also Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palaeographie*, Plate VII. Col. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> In the Goa plates of Saṭyākṛaya Dhruvarāja Indravarmān (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365), the Sātārā plates of Viṣṇuvarḍhana I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309), and elsewhere, the subscript *ṣ* of *ṣaṣ* is denoted by the sign of the dental *s*. The subscript *ṣ* of the present inscription has a somewhat similar form.

<sup>3</sup> In the collotype facsimile the upward stroke, rising from the end of the top-line of the sign for *ṣ*, by which *ā* is denoted, is not clearly visible. The same sign for *ṣā* is quite clear e.g. in the word *gāṣṭā* in line 10 of the Aihole inscription, above, Vol. VI. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Hēmachandra gives as an example *kay-iḥa*, for the ordinary *ka iḥa*. With this we may compare *kay-iḥa* for *ka iḥa* in line 26 of the Kauṭhēḥ plates of Vikramāditya V., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22. In line 11 of the Bādāmi (Mahākūṭa) pillar inscription of Maṇḍalāśa (*ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 17) I would similarly suggest *say-uttā* for *saṅg-uttā*.





and has not, so far as I know, been described in any treatise on prosody. This metre may be described as a species of *mātrāsamaka*, the name of which as yet is unknown. Each verse contains four Pādas, the general scheme of which is:—

Pādas 1 and 3:  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$  (15 Mātrās);

Pādas 2 and 4:  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$  (15 Mātrās).

In Pādas 2 and 4 this scheme is uniformly adhered to. But in Pādas 1 and 3 we find it strictly observed only in 30 cases out of the 48. In 14 others of the odd Pādas a long syllable takes the place of the 6th Mātrā of the general scheme, followed in 4<sup>1</sup> out of these 14 Pādas by two short syllables instead of a long one. And in the four remaining odd Pādas<sup>2</sup> a trochee (— $\cup$ ) occurs instead of the 6th Mātrā of the above scheme. This gives us as subsidiary schemes for Pādas 1 and 3:—

$\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$  (16 Mātrās);

and  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$  (17 Mātrās).<sup>3</sup>

Examples of Pādas showing these subsidiary schemes are:—

V. 2, Pāda 3: yat-prasādas-trāyatā nityam;

V. 4, Pāda 1: atha babhāva dvija-kulam prāṇin;

V. 5, Pāda 1: vividha-yajñ-śvabhṛitha-puṇy-āmbu-;

and V. 11, Pāda 3: Kali-yugēsminn-ahō bātā kshatrāt;

V. 21, Pāda 2: Prāhar-āntām-ananyasamcharana-

I may state here that the same metre occurs in lines 1 and 2—hitherto regarded as prose—of the Tushām rock inscription (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 270), which, on palaeographical grounds, has been allotted by Dr. Fleet to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth, century A.D. The verse is:—

Jitam-abhikshnam=ēva Jāmbavati- vadanāravind-ōrjīt-ālmā |  
dānavānganā-mukhāmbhōja- lakshmi-tushārēpa Vishnuna | (H)

The metre is also found in lines 5-8 of the Ajantā Vākātaka inscription, published in *Archaeol. Survey of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 125; and from the only complete verse preserved there it appears that for the second long syllable (Mātrās 3 and 4) of the even Pādas two short syllables may be substituted. The verse is:—

[Ari]narēndra-mauli-vinyasta- mapi-kirana-lidha-<sup>4</sup>kramāmbujah [I]  
Pravarasēnas-tasya putrō=bhūd- viṣaṇnavēndivār-ēkshana [h [I]

Lastly, I find the same metre on page 4 of the *Bower Manuscript*, in a passage which by Dr. Hoernle at first was regarded as prose, but has afterwards been printed by him as a single verse (verse 36) the metre of which is stated to be irregular. Really the passage contains the following two verses which are regular in every respect:—

Iti sur-ēyam pañcha-pañch-āhād= rasa-varṇa-gandhaiḥ samavṛtā [I]  
bhavati tailam nāmatas=ch=ēdam= undram=<sup>5</sup>atyarthakārmukam [II]  
Tailam=ētad=yah surām=api vā puruṣaḥ prayujita yatnataḥ [I]  
pariharamti tam gad-ānikāny- ājau kṛit-āstrān=iv=ētarē [II]

From all this it may be inferred that from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D. the metre above described was well known in different parts of India. That it should now

<sup>1</sup> Viz. in V. 4, Pāda 1; V. 5, Pāda 1; V. 10, Pāda 3; and V. 12, Pāda 2.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. in V. 11, Pāda 2; V. 17, Pāda 2; V. 21, Pāda 3; and V. 24, Pāda 2.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. Rice a long syllable occurs in place of the second—Mr. Rice means the third—Mātrā in the third Pādas of verses 19 and 21; but this remark is due to wrong readings.

<sup>4</sup> This, not *ślīṣā*, was the reading of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, which is shown to be correct by the metre.

<sup>5</sup> The metre shows that this may not be altered to *adīṣam*.

have been rescued from oblivion is due to, and is a point of special interest in, the present inscription.

In the 7th of the introductory verses of the *Harshacharita* Bāṇa says:—

"In the North plays on words are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense; in the South it is poetical fancy; in Gaṇḍa pomp of syllables."

Judging hereby the present little poem, which the author himself in verse 34 calls a *Kāvya*, I would say that, taken as a whole, it would certainly be assigned to the West of India. There is in it no pomp of syllables, and little of poetical fancy (*utpréṣhā*) or any of those other ornaments which lend their charm to the classical *Kāvyas*. But the author presents to us a vivid picture of the persons and events dealt with, and does so in plain, but vigorous language. This, at any rate, is the case with the verses 4-24. The verses 25-32 are in a different style, approaching somewhat to that of a real *Kāvya*; but they mainly contain such conventional phrases as are met with in any ordinary *prastāvi*.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription was composed and written on the stone by Kubja, under the orders of the king Śāntivarman. And its immediate object is, to record that Śāntivarman's father Kākusthavarman constructed a great tank near a Śiva temple at which Śātakarṇi and other kings had formerly worshipped (at *Sthānakundūra*, the modern Tālagunda where the inscription is still preserved). The occasion is taken by the poet to celebrate the origin and advancement of the Kadamba family to which Kākusthavarman belonged, and to give the names of his ancestors.

The<sup>2</sup> Kadambas were a Brāhman family, devoted to the study of the Vēdas and the performance of sacrificial rites; their name, the poet says, they had received from the fact that they carefully tended a *kadamba* tree which grew near their home. Now once upon a time a member of this family, named Mayūrasarman, went with his *guru* to (Kāñchīpura,) the city of the Pallavas, to study fully the sacred writings. The poet tells how he became exasperated there with the Kshatriya Pallavas and, abandoning his priestly vocation, took up the sword, 'eager to conquer the earth.' Mayūrasarman defeated the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.<sup>3</sup> He levied tribute from the Great Bāṇa<sup>4</sup> and other kings, and caused much trouble by his raids. The Pallava kings of Kāñchī, finding it impossible to subdue him even when they had taken the field with a large army, and recognizing his valour and ability, then made a compact with him by which he entered their service and eventually received a territory of his own, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east (?) by the (?) Prēhara(?), of which he was anointed chief or king. His son was Kaṇḍavarman,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the English translation.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen from the above that in my opinion this poem, however interesting, is not 'written in the highest *Kāvya* style.' So far as I can see, its author was better acquainted with the *Mahābhārata* than with the *Kāvyas* which may have existed in his time.

<sup>3</sup> For the details, see the translation, below.

<sup>4</sup> Śrīparvata, which we also find in line 1 of the Chikkulla plates of Vitramēndravarmā II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 195), I here as there take to be the sacred Śrīśaila in the Karnul district. It is the modern Srisaḷam, situated on the west of the Eastern Ghāts, between them and the river Kistna; see Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 34, D a.

<sup>5</sup> According to Prof. Hultzsch (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89) the capital of the Bāṇa dynasty appears to have been Tiruvallam, 'as one of its names was Vāṇapuram, and as it belonged to the district of Perumbā-gappādi,' i.e. the country of the Great Bāṇa. Tiruvallam is only about 40 miles west by north of Conjeeveram (Kāñchīpura). It may be noted that the *Bṛīhad-Bāṇa* of our text exactly corresponds to the Tamil *Perumbāṇa*; *brīhat* apparently forms an essential part of the name, and is not a mere *epitheton ornans*.

<sup>6</sup> It is significant that, while the name of the founder of the family, Mayūrasarman, ends with *sarman*, the names of nearly all his descendants (Kaṇḍavarman, Kākusthavarman, Śāntivarman, Mṛigēśavarman, Māndhātṛivarman, etc.) end with *sarman*. The former is the characteristic ending of a Brāhman's name, the latter that of a Kshatriya's. In the inscriptions of the later Kadambas Mayūrasarman's name, too, appears as Mayūdravarman; see my *Southern List*, No. 210.

his son was Bhagīratha. Bhagīratha's sons, again, were Raghu and Kākustha (Kākusthavarman). Nothing of note is recorded of these later chiefs, excepting that Kākusthavarman is intimated to have married his daughters to the Gupta and other kings.

When in the course of the above story Kubja, in verse 20, tells us that Mayūrasarman, after entering the service of the Pallavas, pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles, I understand him to mean that at first Mayūrasarman became a *daṇḍanāyaka* or general of theirs; and I believe this view to be supported by the fact that in verse 3 the poet describes the Kadamba family generally as 'the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies (*sēnānī*),' as well as by the circumstance that according to verse 22 Mayūrasarman was anointed by Shadāpana (the six-faced god of war) after meditating on Sēnāpati, i.e. the general of the gods (Kārttikēya). With regard to the territory afterwards given to him, there is the difficulty that the word Prēhara or Prēharā, which indicates its boundary on apparently the east, is entirely unknown to us. The present inscription is at Tālagunda, and one of the chief places of the Kadambas mentioned in their copper-plates is Vaijayantī, i.e. Banavāsi, which is not far from the former. Assuming that the eastern boundary of their territory was about as distant from Tālagunda and Banavāsi as the sea is from them on the west, that boundary would probably have been formed by the river Tuṅgabhadra; but I cannot in any way connect the word Prēhara or Prēharā with this river,<sup>1</sup> and am in fact unable to suggest any explanation of it.

The word Gupta in verse 31, which implies that Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, has been understood<sup>2</sup> to refer in all probability to the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. But beyond the fact that Samudragupta conquered many kings of Southern India, nothing has been adduced to prove this. Granted that Kubja's account cannot be due solely to poetical exaggeration, the Gupta king or kings mentioned by him might, irrespectively of other considerations, be any of the Gupta rulers down to the seventh century A.D., and the reference to them cannot in my opinion be used to establish the time of Kākusthavarman with any degree of accuracy. When the poet Bāpa<sup>3</sup> tells us that the lotus-feet of his great-grandfather Kuvēra were adored by many Guptas, we may infer that these Guptas were kings who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century, because we know Bāpa himself to have lived at the beginning of the seventh. But if nothing were known regarding Bāpa's own time, the statement would not help us in the least to fix in any definite way the time of his great-grandfather.

Another royal family of importance is referred to in verse 33 of the inscription, where we are told that the Śiva shrine near which Kākusthavarman constructed his tank had been worshipped by Sātakarṇi (or the Sātakarṇis) and other pious kings. I need hardly say that Sātakarṇi is a well-known name or surname of several kings of the Andhrabhṛitya or Sātavāhana dynasty who ruled over part of Southern India during the first centuries of the Christian era. An inscription of a Sātakarṇi has years ago been found, not far from Tālagunda, at Banavāsi which has already been mentioned.<sup>4</sup> And Mr. Rice has been fortunate enough to discover, and has published,<sup>5</sup> another inscription of apparently the same Sātakarṇi at Maḷavalli, in the Tālagunda subdivision of the Shikārpur tāluka. The existence of these inscriptions shows that, what Kubja tells us, is not at all improbable, and that the poet really knew something of the history of his country.

Kākusthavarman is the earliest king known to us from the published copper-plates of the Kadambas. The present inscription carries the family back by three more generations; from it

<sup>1</sup> There is of course no *a priori* reason why the word should denote a river more than anything else.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27.

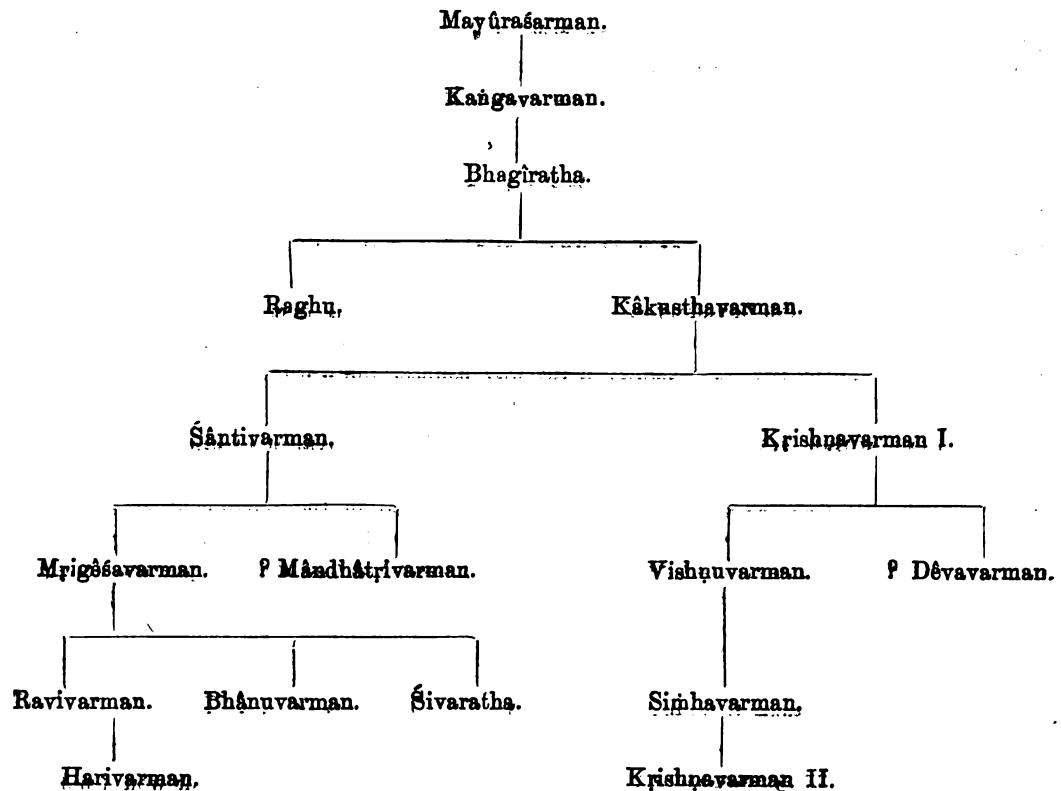
<sup>3</sup> See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kaddambari: anāka-Guṇa-archita-pāḍapaṅkajaj Kuvēra-ndad.* The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Valīyas and Śūdras.'

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 333, and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 251, No. 263, and Plate.

and the plates<sup>1</sup> I have compiled the following genealogical Table, which will be found to differ considerably from the one published by Mr. Rice in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 4.

Genealogical Table.



I ought to state that the correctness of this Table greatly depends on the reliability<sup>2</sup>—assumed here—of the Bīrūr plates, published by Mr. Rice in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 91, No. 162. These plates record a grant by the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* Viṣṇuvarman, the eldest son of the *śivamēdha-yājñin*, the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛṣṇavarman. By stating that Viṣṇuvarman was making the grant with the permission of his *jyēṣṭha-pitri* (i.e. his father's eldest brother<sup>3</sup>) Śāntivarman (Śāntivarman), they enable us to combine, as shown in the Table, the information given by the Bannahalli plates of Kṛṣṇavarman II. (above, Vol. VI. p. 17) with that furnished by various plates from Halsi and Dēvagēri (Nos. 604, 606, 608, 610-612 of my *Southern List*). What I am not sure about in the Table is, whether I have correctly placed Māndhātṛivarman and Dēvavarman. Mrigēśavarman was an eldest son, and Māndhātṛivarman

<sup>1</sup> For the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions known to us see below, p. 34, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> I have some doubts about the genuineness of the Bīrūr plates, but see no reason to question what is stated in them regarding the degree of relationship between Viṣṇuvarman and Śāntivarman.

<sup>3</sup> The word *jyēṣṭha-pitri* is synonymous with *jyēṣṭha-tāta* which in the *Vaijayanṭī* is explained by *pitri-jyēṣṭha*, 'a father's eldest brother'; and it is actually used in this sense in the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II. Jagadēkamalla, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 17a, l. 4. I may note besides that in *Rām.* VII. 25, 28, Mālyavat, the eldest brother of Sumālī, is called the *pitā jyēṣṭha* of Sumālī's daughter Kāikāśī, i.e. 'the eldest brother of the father' of Kāikāśī. (*Ibid.* verse 24 Mālyavat's granddaughter Kumbhīnāśī is called 'the sister' of Sumālī's grandson Rāvaṇa, and in verse 47 Rāvaṇa is called 'the brother' of the same Kumbhīnāśī. This shows how vaguely words denoting relationship were used already in early times in India.)

may have been his younger brother;<sup>1</sup> but there is nothing to prove this with certainty. Dēvarman, described as the son of a Kṛishṇavarman, in my opinion more probably was a son of Kṛishṇavarman I. (and younger brother of Viṣṇuvarman who was an eldest son) than of Kṛishṇavarman II.;<sup>2</sup> but of this, again, we have no definite proof. It is also not certain that Śivaratha was a younger brother of Bhānuvarman. Of the three brothers, Bhānuvarman is described as the younger brother of Ravivarman, Śivaratha as the paternal uncle of Harivarman.— It will be seen that according to the Table the number of generations is eight, not eleven, as found by Mr. Rice.

There remains the question as to the age of this inscription. The inscription itself is not dated in any way. Of the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions, four are not dated at all; ten are dated in regnal years,<sup>3</sup> varying between 2 and 11; and the plates of the Yuvarāja Kākusthavarman are dated in the 80th year, which, as intimated already by Dr. Fleet, in all probability was reckoned from the commencement of Mayūrasarman's reign. Neither in the present inscription nor in the plates is there any reference to a king whose time can be determined with any certainty; and the inscriptions of other dynasties do not mention any specific Kadamba king. That our inscription belongs to comparatively early times, there can be no doubt. I have shown that the rare metre, chiefly employed in it, is elsewhere found in records from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D.; and much the same period is indicated by Kākusthavarman's connection with some Gupta king or kings. Of the copper-plates which are later than this inscription, two—instead of quoting the ordinary lunar months which are quoted in seven others—quote fortnights of the rains and winter (*varṣā* and *hémanta*). This also would suggest a considerable antiquity, although we must not forget that we have a similar season-date in the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II. (above, Vol. III. p. 260), which have been assigned to about the beginning of the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> To what particular portion of the time from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. our inscription should be referred, seems to me extremely difficult to say. I have carefully studied all Kadamba inscriptions from a palæographical point of view, and have compared them with other inscriptions from the South, without being able to arrive at any certain and definite conclusion. My general impression is that the present inscription may be assigned to about the first half of the 6th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT.

- 1 Siddham<sup>7</sup> [1] Namaḥ=Śivāya || Jayati<sup>8</sup> viśvadē[va]-<sup>9</sup>sa[m]ghāta-nichit-aikamūrttis-saṇātanaḥ Sthānu(pu)r-indu-raśmi-vichchhurita-<sup>10</sup>dyutimaj-jatābhāra-maṇḍanaḥ || [1\*]  
 Tam=ann bhūsurā dvija-pravarās=sāma-rg-yajur-vvēda-vādinah yat-prasādas=trāyatā  
 nityaṁ bhuvana-trayaṁ pāpmanō bhayāt || [2\*] Annapadam Surēndra-tulya-  
 [va]puḥ=Kākusthavarmanā viśāla-dhiḥ bhūpatiḥ=Kadamba-sēnānī-bṛihad-<sup>11</sup>anvaya-  
 vy[ḍ]ma-chandramāḥ
- 2 || [3\*] Atha babhūva dvija-kulam prāmśu vicharad-guṇēndvāmśu-maṇḍalam  
 tryārshavartma-Hāritiputram=ṛishimukhya-Mānavya-gōtrā-jam || [4\*] Vividha-yajñ-  
 āvabhṛitha-puṇy-ambu-niyat-ābhishēk-ādra-mūrdhajam pravachan-āvagāha-nishṇātām

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Two dates, with reference to the motion of Jupiter, qualify the regnal years by the statements that they were Vaisākha and Pausa years respectively; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 83 f.

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See also Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 291.

<sup>6</sup> From impressions supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.

<sup>7</sup> This word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup> For the metre of verses 1-24 see the introduction.

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* in brackets might perhaps be read as *da* (or rather *ḍa*), but the preceding *akshara* is clearly *ḍa*, not *ḍa*.

<sup>10</sup> The reading *vichchhurita* is certain.

<sup>11</sup> The *akshara* *bri* of *bṛihad* has no superscript *r*.

- vidhivat=samiddh-āgni sōma-pam || [5\*] Prapavapūrvva-shaḍvidhāddhyāya<sup>1</sup>  
nānārdyamān-āntarālayam ||<sup>2</sup> akṛiṣa-chāturmāśya-hōm-śaṣṭi-paśu-pārvvaṇa-srāddha-  
paṇṣṭikam || [6\*]
- 3 Atithi-nityasamārit-āvasatham savanatrāy-<sup>3</sup>āvandhya-naityakam griha-samīpa-dēśa-  
samrūḍha-vikasat-kadamba-aika-pādapam || [7\*] Tad-upachāravat=tad-āśya tarōś-  
sānāmya-sādharmyam=asya tat pravavritē satīrtthya-viprāṇām prāchuryatas=tad-  
viśēṣaṇam || [8\*] Ēvam=āgatē Kadamba-kulē śrīmān=babhūva dvij-ōttamaḥ  
nāmatō Mayūrasarmm-ēti śrūta-śīla-śaṇch-ādy-alamkṛitaḥ || [9\*]
- 4 Yaḥ prayāya Pallavēndra-purīm gurupā samam Virāsarmmaṇā adhijigāmsuḥ-  
pravachanam nnikhilam<sup>4</sup> ghaṭikām vivēś-āśu tarkkukah<sup>5</sup> || [10\*] Tatra  
Pallav-āśvasamsthēna kalahēna tivrēna rōshitaḥ Kali-yugē-sminn-ahō bata  
kshatrāt-paripēlavā vipratā yataḥ || [11\*] Guru-kulāni samyag-ārāddhya  
śākhām=adhity=āpi yatnataḥ brahma-siddhir-yyadi nrip-ādhiṇā kim=ataḥ=param  
duḥkham=ity=ataḥ || [12\*]
- 5 Kuśa-samid-dṛishat-arug-ājya-charu-grahāṇ-ādi-dakṣhēna pāpinā udvavarha<sup>6</sup> dīptimach-  
chhastram vijigīṣhamāpō vasundharām || [13\*] Yō=ntapālān=Pallavēndrāpām  
sahasā vinirjitya samyugē addhyuvāsa durggamām=atavīm śrīparvvata-dvāra-  
samāritām || [14\*] Ādadē karān=Bṛihad-Bāṇa-pramukhād=babūn-rāja-maṇḍalāt  
ēvam=ēbhiḥ=Pallavēndrāpām bhṛikuṭi-samutpatti-kāraṇaiḥ || [15\*]
- 6 Svapratijñā-pāraṇ-ōthhāna-laghubhiḥ-kṛit-ārtthaiś=cha chēṣṭitaiḥ bhūṣaṇair=iv=ābabhau  
balavad-yātrā-samutthāpanēna cha || [16\*] Abhiyuyukshay=āgatēśhu bhṛiśam  
Kāñchi-narēndrēśv=arātishu vishama-[d]ēśa-prayāṇa-samvēśa-<sup>7</sup>rajanishv=avaskanda-  
bhūmishu || [17\*] Prāpya sēnā-sāgarām tēśhām prāhan=balli śyēnavat=tadā  
āpadan=tān=<sup>8</sup>dhārayām=āsa bhujakhaḍgamāttira-[vya]pāśrayaḥ || [18\*]
- 7 Pallavēndrā yaśya śaktim-imām labdhvā pratāp-ānvayāv=api n=āśya hāniś-  
śrēyas=ity=uktvā yam=mitram=ēv=āśu vavriś || [19\*] Samāritas=tadā mahīpālān=  
ārāddhya yuddhēśhu vikramaiḥ prāpa paṭṭabandha-sampūjām kara-pallavaiḥ=  
Pallavair-ddhritām || [20\*] Bhaṅgur-ōrmmi-valgitair=nṛityad-aparārṇav-<sup>9</sup>āmbhah-  
kṛit-āvadhim<sup>10</sup>Prēhar-āntām=ananyasamcharaṇa-samaya-sṭhitām bhūmim=ēva cha  
|| [21\*]
- 8 Vibudha-saṅgha-mauli-sammrīṣṭa-charaṇāravindash=Shaḍānanaḥ yam=abhihiṭtavān=  
anudhyāya Sēnāpatim mātṛibhis=saha || [22\*] Tasya putrah=Kaṇḍavarmm-ōgra-  
samar-ōddh[u]ra-prā[m]śu-chēṣṭitaiḥ prapata-sarvva-maṇḍal-ōtk[r]iṣṭa-<sup>11</sup>sita-chāmar-  
ōddh[ā]ta-śēkharah || [23\*] Tat-s[u]taḥ=Kadamba-bhūmivadhū-ruchit-aikanāthō  
Bhagīrathaḥ Sagara-mukhyas=s[v]ayam Kadamba-kulē<sup>12</sup> prach[ch]an[n]a-jan-  
[m]ā jan-ādhipaḥ || [24\*]
- 9 Atha<sup>13</sup> nripa-mahitasya tasya putrah prathita-yaśā Raghu-pārthivaḥ prithu-śrīḥ  
Prithur-iva prithivīm=prasahya yō=rin<sup>14</sup> akṛita parākkramatas=svava[m]śa-bhōjyām  
|| [25\*] Pratibhaya-samarēśv=arāti-śastr-ōllikhita-mukhō=bhimukha-dvishā[m]

<sup>1</sup> Originally *ddhyāya* seems to have been engraved; the *akṣara ddhyā* is certain.

<sup>2</sup> This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the original has *savanatrāy*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *nikhilam*; the sign of *anuvāda* of *lam* is quite clear.

<sup>5</sup> So far as I can judge, this, and not *tarkkakah*, is the reading of the original.

<sup>6</sup> Originally *udvavarha* seems to have been engraved.

<sup>7</sup> Originally *-samvēśa-* was engraved, but the lower *v* of the *akṣara vēś* is clearly struck out.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *āpadantāmadhā* seems to have been engraved.

<sup>9</sup> This word is quite clear in the original.

<sup>10</sup> The second *akṣara* of this word is distinctly *ha*, and cannot possibly be read *md*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ōtkṛiṣṭa-*.

<sup>12</sup> This reading is certain.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Pushpitāgrā.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-rin=akṛita*.

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- praharttā śrutipatha-nipunaḥ-kaviḥ pradātā vividha-kalā-kusalaḥ-prajā-priyaś-cha  
|| [26\*]
- 10 <sup>1</sup>Bhrāt=śaya chāru-vapur=abda-gabhira-nādō mōksha-trivargga-paṭur-anvaya-vatsalaś-  
cha Bhāgirathir-nnarapatir=mrigarāja-līlaḥ Kākustha ity=avani-maṇḍala-ghuṣṭa-  
kirttiḥ || [27\*] <sup>2</sup>Jyāyōbbhis=saha vighrō=rtthiśhu dayā samyak-prajā-pālanam<sup>3</sup>  
din-ābhyuddharaṇam pradhāna-vasubhir=mukhya-dvij-ābhyarhaṇam
- 11 yasy=aitat=kula-bhūṣaṇasya nripatēḥ prajā-ōttaram bhūṣaṇam<sup>4</sup> tam=bhūpāḥ=khalu  
mēnirē sura-sakhaṁ Kākustham=atr-āgatam || [28\*] <sup>5</sup>Gharma-ākkrāntā iva  
mriga-gaṇā vriksha-r[ā\*]jīm praviśya chchhāyā-sēvā-mṛḍita-<sup>6</sup>manasō nirvritim  
prāpnuvanti tadvaj=jyāyō-vihata-gatayō bāndhavās=ānubandhāḥ prāpuś=śarmma-  
āvyathita-manasō yasya bhūm[im] praviśya || [29\*]
- 12 <sup>7</sup>Nānāvidha-dravipa-sāra-samucchayēśhu matta-dvipēndra-mada-vāsita-gōpurēśhu saṁ-  
gita-valgu-ninadēśhu grīhēśhu yasya Lakshmy-aṅganā dhṛitimati<sup>8</sup> suchiram cha  
rēmē || [30\*] Gupt-ādi-pārthiva-kul-āmburuha-sthalāni snēh-ādara-prapaya-sam-  
bhrama-kēsarāṇi śrīmanty=anēka-nripa-shaṭpada-sēvitāni yō-bōdhayad=duhitṛi  
dīdhitibhir=nrip-ārkaḥ || [31\*]
- 13 <sup>9</sup>Yan=daiva-sampannam=adīna-chēṣṭam śakti-ttray-ōpētam=ath-āsana-stham śēshair=  
guṇaiḥ pañchabhir=apy=asāddhyās=sāmanta-ohūḍāmaṇayaḥ prapēmuh || [32\*] <sup>10</sup>Say-  
iha bhagavatō Bhavasy=ādi-dēvasya siddhy-ālayē siddha-gā(ga)ndharva-rakhaḥ-  
gaṇais=sēvitē vividha-niyama-hōma-dikṣā-parair-brāh[m]aṇai snātakai stūyamānē  
sādā mantra-vādais=śubhaiḥ
- 14 sukṛtibhir=avanisvarair=ātma-nisrēyasam prēpsubhis=Sātakarṇy-ādibhis=śraddhay-  
ābhyarchchitē<sup>11</sup> idam=uru-salil-ōpayōg-āsrayam bhūpatih=kārayām-āsa Kākustha-  
varmma tāḍakam=<sup>12</sup>ma[bat ||] [33\*] <sup>13</sup>Tasy=aurasasya tanaya[s]ya viśāla-kirttēḥ  
[pa]ṭṭa-ttray-ārppaṇa-virā[jita]-chāru-mūrttēḥ śrī-Śāntivarmma-nripatēr=vvara-āsana-  
sthaḥ Kubjas=sva-kāvyam=idam=aśma-talē lilēkha || [34\*]
- 15 Namō bhagavatō Sthānakundūra-vāsinē Mahādēvāya [1\*] Nandatu sarva-samant-  
āgatō=yam=adhivāsah [1\*] Svasti prajābhya iti [||]

## TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) Victorious<sup>1</sup> is the eternal Sthānu,<sup>14</sup> whose one body is framed by the coalescence of all the gods ; who is adorned with a mass of matted hair, lustrous because inlaid with the rays of the moon.

(V. 2.) After him, (victorious are) the gods on earth,<sup>15</sup> the chief of the twice-born, who recite the Sāma-, Rīg- and Yajur-vēdas ; whose favour constantly guards the three worlds from the fear of evil.

(V. 3.) And next, (victorious is) Kākusthavarman, whose form is like that of the lord of the gods (and) whose intelligence is vast ; the king who is the moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies.

<sup>1</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>2</sup> Read -pālanam.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : Mandākrāntā.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31 : Vasantatilakā.

Metre : A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specifically Chaṇḍavēga or Arṇava ; see *Ind. Stud.* Vol. VIII. p. 409.

<sup>5</sup> Read -ābhyarchchita.

<sup>6</sup> With verses 1-3 compare the first three verses of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II., above, Vol. VI. p. 4 and p. 7, note 15.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the god Śiva.

<sup>8</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>9</sup> Read bhūṣaṇam.

<sup>10</sup> The *akṣara* of this word is quite clear.

<sup>11</sup> Metre : Indravajrā.

<sup>12</sup> The reading *tāḍakam=ma* is certain.

<sup>13</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> I.e. the Brāhman.

(V. 4.) There was a high family of twice-born, the circle of whose virtues, resembling the moon's rays,<sup>1</sup> was (ever) expanding; in which the sons of Hārītī trod the path of the three Vēdas, (and) which had sprung from the *gōtra* of Mānavya,<sup>2</sup> the foremost of Rishis.

(V. 5.) Where the hair was wet from being constantly sprinkled with the holy water of the purificatory rites of manifold sacrifices; which well knew how to dive into the sacred lore, kindled the fire and drank the Sōma according to precept.

(V. 6.) Where the interiors of the houses loudly resounded with the sixfold subjects of study<sup>3</sup> preceded by the word *ōm*; which promoted the increase of ample *chāturmāsya* sacrifices, burnt-offerings, oblations, animal sacrifices, new- and full-moon and *śrāddha* rites.

(V. 7.) Where the dwellings were ever resorted to by guests (and) the regular rites not wanting in the three libations; (and) where on a spot near the house there grew one tree with blooming Kadamba flowers.

(V. 8.) Then, as the (family) tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of (these) Brāhman fellow-students, currently (accepted) as distinguishing them.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 9.) In the Kadamba family thus arisen there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūrasarman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest.

(V. 10.) With his preceptor Virasarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords,<sup>5</sup> and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the *ghaṭikā*<sup>6</sup> as a mendicant.<sup>7</sup>

(V. 11 and 12.) There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (he reflected): 'Alas, that in this Kali-age the Brāhman should be so much feebler than the Kshatriyas! For, if to one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēda, the perfection in holiness<sup>8</sup> depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this?' And so—

(V. 13.) With the hand dexterous in grasping the *kusa*-grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation-vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth.

(V. 14.) Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier-guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 29, line 5 of the text: *gṛh-dhātubhir-vyāpya jagat-samastam*.

<sup>2</sup> In the fourteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions enumerated under Nos. 602-614 of my *Southern List*, to which may now be added the Beppūr plates in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Part I. p. 594, the two epithets *Mānavya-sagōtra* and *Hārītī-putra* are six times applied to the Kadambas generally, and four times to individual Kadamba kings; in one case (No. 618) *Mānavya-sagōtra* alone is applied to a king. The word *trydśha-varman* of the text, which with *Hārītī-putra* forms a Bahuvrīhi compound, I take to be practically equivalent to *śuddhyā-charchāpdra* (-*charchika*, etc.) in the terms *pratīkṛita-śuddhyā-charchāpdra*, etc., of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 15, note 3. None of the terms mentioned here occur in my No. 602, the only plates which are earlier than the present inscription.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the six Vēdāṅgas.

<sup>4</sup> The simple meaning of the verse is that the members of the family, as they tended the Kadamba tree, came to be currently called by the specific name 'Kadamba.' I take the word *śadāmya-śādharmyam* of the text to be a Karmadhāraya, not a Dvandva compound; it literally means 'a sameness of property which appears as sameness of name' (*śadāmya-rūpam śādharmyam*).

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Kāñchīpura.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. a particular establishment for holy and learned men, probably founded by a king; see my introductory remarks, above, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> The word *tarkaka* is given in Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, v. 388, as a synonym of *yāchaka*, etc., and is explained by *yāchaka* in a gloss on *Rājatarāṅgi*, III. 254.

<sup>8</sup> The attainment of holiness was obstructed by the rage caused by the Pallava king's horseman.

(Vv. 15 and 16.) He levied many taxes from the circle of kings headed by the Great Bāṇa. So he shone, as with ornaments, by these exploits of his which made the Pallava lords knit their brows—exploits which were charming since his vow began to be fulfilled thereby and which secured his purpose—as well as by the starting of a powerful raid.

(Vv. 17 and 18.) When the enemies, the kings of Kāñchi, came in strength to fight him, he—in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault—lighted upon the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength. (So) he bore that trouble,<sup>1</sup> relying solely on the sword of his arm.

(V. 19.) The Pallava lords, having found out this strength of his as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be no advantage, and so they quickly chose him even for a friend.

(V. 20.) Then entering the kings' service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts (*pallava*) of their hands.

(V. 21.) And (he) also (*received*) a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) Prēhara,<sup>2</sup> secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it.<sup>3</sup>

(Vv. 22 and 23.) Of him—whom Shadānana,<sup>4</sup> whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, anointed, after meditating on Sēnāpati with the Mothers<sup>5</sup>—the son was Kaṅgavarman, who performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars, (and) whose diadem was shaken by the white chowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (*before him*).

(V. 24.) His son was Bhagiratha, the one lord dear to the bride—the Kadamba country, Sagara's chief descendant<sup>6</sup> in person, secretly born in the Kadamba family as king.

(V. 25.) Now the son of him who was honoured by kings was the earth's highly prosperous ruler Raghu, of wide-spread fame; who, having subdued the enemies, by his valour, like Pṛithu, caused the earth to be enjoyed by his race.<sup>7</sup>

(V. 26.) Who in fearful battles, his face slashed by the swords of the enemy, struck down the adversaries facing him; who was well versed in the ways of sacred lore, a poet, a donor, skilled in manifold arts, and beloved of the people.

(V. 27.) His brother was Bhagiratha's son Kākustha, of beautiful form, with a voice deep as the cloud's, clever in the pursuit of salvation and the three objects of life,<sup>8</sup> and kind to his lineage; a lord of men with the lion's gait, whose fame was proclaimed on the orb of the earth.

(V. 28.) Him, to whom war with the stronger, compassion for the needy, proper protection of the people, relief of the distressed; honour paid to the chief twice-born by (*the bestowal of*)

<sup>1</sup> *Viz.* the attack made on him by the Pallavas.

<sup>2</sup> See the introductory remarks, above, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> With the wording of the original text I would compare *e.g.* from the Virāṭaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*: *ajātdandam-samayam śikṣam varṣam trayōdaśam*; but there the meaning is 'the remaining 13th year, to which was attached the condition that they should dwell incognito.' The sense of the passage in our inscription I take to be similar to that of *e.g.* *asanyatśandam-murīm* in *Ragh.* I. 30, 'the earth, not ruled by any other king.'

<sup>4</sup> Shadānana and Sēnāpati are really only two different names of one and the same divine being (Skanda, Kārtikeya).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the epithet—of either the Kadambas generally or individual Kadamba kings—*Svāmi-Mahāśāna-mātrigaṇa-dandhyāt-śhishikṣita* in the copper-plates, *e.g.* above, Vol. VI. p. 14, line 2 of the text, and p. 18, line 3 of the text. See also above, p. 34, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir M. Monier-Williams's *Dictionary* under *Bhagiratha* and *Sagara*.

<sup>7</sup> With the wording of this verse we may compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 63, lines 6 and 7 of the text. The story of the earth's conquest by the mythical Pṛithu is well known from the *Pishya-purāṇa*.

<sup>8</sup> *Viz.* *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*.

pre-eminent wealth, were the rational ornament of a ruler (*who wished to be*) an ornament of his family, kings thought to be indeed Kākustha,<sup>1</sup> the friend of the gods, descended here.

(V. 29.) As herds of deer, oppressed by the heat, when they enter a cluster of trees, have their minds delighted by the enjoyment of the shade and find comfort, so kinsmen with their belongings, who were waylaid by the stronger, had their minds relieved and found shelter, when they entered his territory.

(V. 30.) And in his house which contained manifold collections of choice wealth, the gateways of which were perfumed with the rutting juice of lordly elephants in rut, (*and*) which gaily resounded with music, the lady Fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long.

(V. 31.) This sun of a king by means of his rays — his daughters — caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups — the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (*for him*), and which were cherished by many bees — the kings (*who served them*).<sup>2</sup>

(V. 32.) Now to him, favoured by destiny, of no mean energy, endowed with the three powers,<sup>3</sup> the crest-jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down (*even*) while he was sitting quiet — they who could not be subdued by the other five measures of royal policy together.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 33.) Here, at the home of perfection of the holy primeval god Bhava,<sup>5</sup> which is frequented by groups of Siddhas, Gandharvas and Rakshas, which is ever praised with auspicious recitations of sacred texts by Brāhman students solely devoted to manifold vows, sacrifices and initiatory rites, (*and*) which was worshipped with faith by Śātakarṇi and other pious kings seeking salvation for themselves, that king Kākusthavarman has caused to be made this great tank, a reservoir for the supply of abundant water.

(V. 34.) Abiding by the excellent commands of that (*king's*) own son, the wide-famed glorious king Śāntivarman whose beautiful body is made radiant by the putting on of three fillets, Kubja has written this poem of his own on the surface of the stone.

Obeisance to the holy Mahādēva<sup>6</sup> who dwells at Sthānakundūra! May joy attend this place, inhabited by men come from all the neighbourhood! Blessed be the people!

#### No. 6.—JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN; THE YEAR 72.

By PROFESSOR F. KIRLHOHN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was first edited, with a translation and small lithograph, in April 1838, by Mr. James Prinsep, in *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 338 ff. and Plate xv.,<sup>6</sup> from a facsimile which at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay had been prepared by

<sup>1</sup> The proper spelling of this word in literature is *Kākustha*. The mythical being referred to probably is Rāma.

<sup>2</sup> The general idea expressed in the above is very common; compare e.g., in a Kadamba inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, line 13 of the text, *svajana-kumudavana-prabōdhana-satdākaḥ*, and in another inscription, above, Vol. VII. p. 297, line 4 of the text, *kula-kumudavana-lakṣmī-vibōdhanaś-chandramā iva*. Whether our author has been very successful in elaborating that idea in detail, the reader may judge for himself; he may compare *Ragh.* XVII. 48, where the spies of a king are compared to the rays (*dādhiti*) of the sun; and, for the lotus-groups, filaments, bees, and the sun's rays, *Kir.* IV. 14. The word *duhitri* of the verse must of course denote the king's daughters; and what the poet wishes to say can only be that they were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings.

<sup>3</sup> *Viz.* the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy; see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> For the six *gandh*, i.e. measures of royal policy, see e.g. *Rdm.* II. 100, 69, *Ragh.* VIII. 21, *Śis.* II. 26, and *Manu* VII. 160 ff. One of them, *dsana*, 'sitting quiet, halting,' we have in the word *dsana-stham* of our verse; the five others are alliance, war, marching, dividing the army, and seeking protection.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Śiva.

<sup>6</sup> Compare also *ibid.* Plate xix.

Captain Lang of the Kāthiāvad Political Agency.<sup>1</sup> A critical essay on that edition was published in 1841 by Prof. Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. IV. p. 146 ff.; and Prinsep's translation was subsequently reprinted, with part of a revised translation by Prof. H. H. Wilson,<sup>2</sup> in Mr. Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 57 ff. A month after the appearance of Prinsep's edition fresh facsimiles of the original were taken by Lieut. Postans, but they reached Calcutta only when Prinsep, at whose instance they were made, had already left India;<sup>3</sup> and in July 1842 another facsimile, the joint labour of Captain (afterwards General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob, Mr. N. L. Westergaard and a young Brāhman, was presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and a small lithograph of it published in the Society's Journal, Vol. I. p. 148. A great advance in the reading and interpretation of the inscription was made in 1862, when, in the same Journal, Vol. VII. p. 118 ff., Dr. Bhau Daji again published the text and a translation of it, with a large lithograph reduced from facsimiles made by Bhagvanlal Indraji. Moreover, a revised version of Dr. Bhau Daji's work, by Prof. Eggeling, appeared in 1876, in *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 128 ff., with a collotype from estampages by Dr. Burgess. Two years later Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji's own text and translation were published, under the editorship of Prof. Bühler, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. And finally,<sup>4</sup> in 1890, Prof. Bühler again gave the text and a translation of part of it, in his essay *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 45 ff. and 86 ff.—Some four or five years ago Dr. Fleet most generously presented to me his excellent paper impression of the inscription and requested me to re-edit this record. In now, at last, complying with his request, I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to the labours of my predecessors. Though from the first I saw that I could add but little to the main results of their work, I have persevered in my task because I felt that, even in its more minute details, the text of this, our earliest Sanskrit inscription of importance, ought to be given in as reliable a form as possible. A careful study of the impression enables me to add that the accompanying photo-lithograph, made under Dr. Fleet's own supervision, apparently is the first facsimile of this inscription that has been prepared by purely mechanical processes.

The inscription is on the western side, near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the Aśoka edicts<sup>5</sup> as well as a long inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta,<sup>6</sup> about a mile to the eastward of the town of Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāvad, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Gīrnār.<sup>7</sup> It contains twenty lines of varying length<sup>8</sup> of well-engraved writing which covers a space of about 11' 1" broad by 5' 5" high. Of these, only the four last lines (17-20) are fully preserved, while in each of the lines 1-16, as will be seen from the facsimile, a more or less extensive part of the writing is entirely gone, through wilful damage or the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Taking the total length of the twenty lines to be about 1900", the missing portion of the writing would be about 275", or approximately one-seventh of the whole inscription. Where the surface of the rock has

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 27, and Vol. III. Part XIII. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wilson's revised translation was based on a Nāgarī transcript of the text, which Mr. Thomas 'had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob,' which will be mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 865 ff. and p. 887.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps I should mention that the inscription has also been 'edited,' with a facsimile, in *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, published by the Bhavnagar Archæol. Department, p. 18 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Some letters of the 6th edict will be seen in the upper left corner of the accompanying facsimile; compare the facsimile of that edict opposite p. 454 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II., near the upper right corner of which the first word (*siddham*) of the present inscription may be seen.

<sup>6</sup> Edited in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VII. pp. 837 and 871-73, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 57; and, for a photograph of the rock, *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. Plate ix.

<sup>8</sup> The length of line 1 is about 8' 3", of line 9 (the longest line) about 11' 1", of line 11 about 9' 8", of line 17 about 5' 2", and of line 20 only 2' 5".

remained intact, the writing is generally well preserved and may be read with confidence nearly throughout. The average size of such letters as *n*, *p*, *b*, *m* is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The characters according to Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 57) present an earlier form of the decidedly southern alphabet in the inscription of Skandagupta on the same rock. And this agrees with the opinion of Prof. Bühler who, in his *Ind. Palaeographie*, p. 42, has described the alphabet here used as one of the precursors of the southern alphabets. Some of the more characteristic features in which this alphabet agrees with the later southern alphabets, according to Prof. Bühler, are the curves at the lower end of the vertical strokes of initial *a* and *ā* and of the consonants *k*, *ñ* and *r*, the round form of *q*,<sup>1</sup> the manner in which the upper part of the vertical line of *l* is turned towards the left, and the form of medial *ri* which sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the subscript *r*. Of initial vowels the inscription contains only *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *ē* (e.g. in *Atōkasya*, l. 8, *ā garbhāt*-, l. 9, *idam*, l. 1, and *ēkārṇava*-, l. 5); of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants all excepting *ñ* and *jh*, but *chh*, *ñ*, *ṭh* and *ph* occur only as subscript letters (e.g. in *-ōchchhaya*-, l. 1, *rājñō*, l. 3, *saushṭhava*-, l. 13, and *sphuta*-, l. 14). We have besides the so-called southern *l*, in *-pālīkatvāt*-, l. 1, *-ppranālī*-, l. 2, *prandībhīr*-, l. 9 (but not in *prandīyā* in the same line), and *vyāla*-, l. 10. The signs for *d*, *q* and *qh* are throughout clearly distinguished as may be seen from e.g. *idam*, *taḍḍakam* and *driḍḍha*-, in line 1. Of final consonants only *t* occurs, in *-āsīt*, l. 7. Subscript consonants, including *y*, are written by the ordinary full forms of the letters, excepting perhaps the *l* of *Pahlavēna*, l. 19, which has a somewhat cursive form. The superscript *r* stands well above the top-line of the consonants, and in syllables like *rbhā*, *rtti*, *rshē*, etc., is the bearer of those vowel-signs which are ordinarily attached to the top of a letter. Medial *ā*, *ē*, *ai* and *ō* are mostly denoted by quite horizontal lines which are generally attached to the top of the consonant sign; (see e.g. *taḍḍakam*, l. 1, *parjjanyēna*, l. 5, *vyāmjanair*-, l. 15, and *ghōra*-, l. 7; but compare also e.g. *ṭā* in *taṭṭāṭṭalak*-, l. 6, *dhā* in *dhārāna*-, l. 13, *dē* in *śaranadēna*, l. 10, *mō* in *-āyāmōchchhaya*-, l. 1, and other instances in which the vowel-signs are not attached to the top). As regards *ā*, the chief exceptions to this are formed by *jā*—compare e.g. *[vā]jātēn*-, l. 2<sup>2</sup>—, and by *mā* where (except in *°m=Anartta*-, l. 18) *ā* is denoted by a hook-shaped line at the right top of *m* (as in *mālya*-, l. 15). For *i*, *ī* and *ri* compare e.g. *niḥsandhi*- and *-pālīkatvāt*-, l. 1, *śriṣṭa-vriṣṭind*, l. 5, and *-āvishkrita*-, l. 11. Except in *ru*, medial *u* is denoted by a subscript curved line which is turned to the right when the consonant sign (as in *g*, *t*, *ś*) is open at the bottom or (as in *k* and *d*) ends in a single down-stroke, while otherwise it is turned to the left; compare e.g. *gu* in *gulma*-, l. 7, *tu* in *śētu*°, l. 2, *ku* in *Kukur*-, l. 11, with *su* in *Sudarśanam*, l. 1, *pu* in *putrasya*, l. 4, *mu*<sup>3</sup> in *-abhimukh*°, l. 10, etc. For the corresponding forms of *ū* compare *bhū* in *bhūtāyām*-, l. 5, *dū* in *°dūrayā*, l. 12, with *sthū* in *sthūla*° and *qū* in *vaiḍūrya*-, l. 14, etc. For *ru* and *rū* see e.g. *taru*- and *-ānurūpa*-, l. 6. As in the case of *u* and *ū*, there are three forms of medial *au*, one of which appears in the *pau*<sup>4</sup> of *pautra*, l. 4, and *paura*-, ll. 16 and 18, another in the *yau* of *Yaudhṛyānām*, l. 12, and *sau* of *saushṭhava*-, l. 13, and the third in the *nau* of *dhanaughēna*, l. 16, and the *mau* of *Maurasya*, twice in line 8. The signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya* do not occur; but the characters, in line 4, include numerical symbols for 70 and 2. A sign of punctuation, consisting in a single slanting line, is employed only at the end of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> In Table III. Col. vi. of Prof. Bühler's work, where the alphabet of our inscription is given, the sign of *ḍa* (No. 18) is imperfectly drawn; it resembles the *da* rather than the *ḍa* of the inscription. The signs No. 16 (which also is mutilated) and No. 25 in the same column, which unaccountably are transcribed by *ṭa* and *ṣa*, are really *ṭa* and *ṣau*, and Prof. Bühler's remarks on them, on p. 42 of his text, are therefore incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, similarly, *rājñō* in lines 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> In the *mu* of *śamudyuktair*-, l. 17, the subscript sign is exceptionally turned towards the right.

<sup>4</sup> The *au* of *pau* is not, as has been stated, like the *au* of the *pau* given in Prof. Bühler's Table II. Col. xviii. No. 28, but differs from it in this that the shorter horizontal line is placed below, not above, the longer one.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, we may notice the use, already mentioned above, of the lingual *l* in the words *pāli*, l. 1, *prandlt*,<sup>1</sup> ll. 2 and 9 (but not in *pranādyā*, l. 9), and *vyāla*, l. 10; the exceptional doubling of *p* before *r* in *pāda-ppratīsparddhi*- and *supprativihita-ppranāli*-, both in line 2, and of *t* and *n* before *y* in *prabhṛitty=avihata*-, l. 9, and *kannyā*-, l. 15, (but not e.g. in *°rūpa-pratī*°, l. 6, *mahaty=upa*°, l. 3, and *parijanyēna*, l. 5); the insertion (occasionally found in later inscriptions from the south) of an *anusvāra* before *nv* and *my* in *marudhamnva*°, l. 8, and *abhiḡammya*, l. 9; and the use (common enough everywhere) of *tv* instead of *tiv*, in *satv-ādibhiḥ*, l. 14, and *atimahatoāda*-, l. 17. There is, besides, a certain want of uniformity in the writing, shown by the facts that, after *r*, consonants (excepting sibilants) are doubled 38 times but left single 29 times; that, in the interior of simple words before *ch*, *t*, *d*, etc., the special nasal of a class is used 12 times and *anusvāra* 8 times; and that at the end of a word, before following *s*, *visarga* is left unchanged 6 times and changed to *s* three times. With reference to the external *saṁdhi* it may also be noted that no less than 10 times the rules concerning the combination of final with following initial vowels have been disregarded, even where two words are closely connected in sense (as e.g. in *parijanyēna śkāṇava-bhūtāyām*-, l. 5, *-āv[ī]dūrayā anutsādanāt*-, l. 12); that before an initial vowel *anusvāra* is three times written instead of *m* (as e.g. in *nadinām atimātr*-, l. 6);<sup>2</sup> and that in *rājñah Chaṁdra*°, l. 8, *visarga* has been left unchanged before *ch*. And as regards the internal *saṁdhi*, the dental *n* has been wrongly used instead of the lingual *n* in *-ānurāgēna*, l. 13, and *Surāshṭrānām*, l. 18.<sup>3</sup> These two last may of course be mere clerical errors; and so no doubt are *-vōgēna* for *-vēgēna*, in line 7, *rakṣaṇ-ārtha* for *rakṣaṇ-ārtham*, in line 9, *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya* for *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya* in line 12, and very probably *tasmi*<sup>4</sup> for *tasmin*-, in line 9, and *kōśā* for *kōśān*-, in line 16. The *t* of *viśad-uttarāny*= in line 7 may be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit *viśa*; what the author intended was *viśat*-*uttarāny*-, where *viśat* would have been used for *viśati* in accordance with the practice of literary works like the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>5</sup> In *-āv[ī]dūrayā*, l. 12, for apparently *-āvidūratayā*, the syllable *ta* must have been left out by a mistake of the writer; and similarly the syllable *kṛi* may have been omitted in *Mauryaśya tē*, l. 8, for which I propose to read *Mauryaśya kṛitē*.—Looking at the language in general, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, *varitā* in line 3 and *āsīt* in line 7, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs, viz., in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another *āsīt* in line 8, and perhaps one verb in line 9. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand—and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose

<sup>1</sup> This word is ordinarily spelt *prandlt* or *prandlt*.—Attention may perhaps be drawn also to the spelling of *taḍḍka*, l. 1, and *vaidērya*, l. 14. This last word, according to the Nāgarī MSS. of Pāṇini's *Aśṭādhyāyī* and of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kaśikā-Vṛtti* on P. IV. 3, 84, would have to be spelt *vaśidērya*; but the Kāśmīr MSS. known to me derive it from *vidēra*. *Vaidērya* also is the reading of the MSS. of Hēmachandra's grammar which I have compared. In Pāli the word is *veḷuriya*.

<sup>2</sup> This use of the *anusvāra* as well as the non-observance of the rules of *saṁdhi* may be due to the influence of the Prākṛit.

<sup>3</sup> The statement that *cā* has been frequently omitted before *cā* in this inscription is incorrect; it has not been omitted once.

<sup>4</sup> See the note on the text. If the reading were really *tasmi*, the *anusvāra* here too might be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit (Pāli).

<sup>5</sup> Compare, e.g., *viśat-āhaja*, *Rām.* (Bombay ed.) III. 32, 8 (*viśati-āhaja*, but against the metre, III. 35, 9); *viśat-yājana*, V. 1, 154; VI. 39, 20; *viśat*, VI. 67, 7 and 98; *chaturviśat*, IV. 43, 20.—Either *viśat*- or *viśat*- was apparently intended above, Vol. III. p. 321, l. 15.



works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. On a rough calculation the text contains about 1,330 syllables; about 440 of them belong to 144 simple words, while the remaining 890 are taken up by 88 compound nouns, consisting variously of from two to as many as fifteen members. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence. In respect of inflection and syntax, the language is generally correct. Of grammatically wrong forms there is only the instrumental *patinā* (for *patyā*), in line 11; but this form is equally found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and similar works, with which the writer seems to have been familiar.<sup>1</sup> An unusual construction we have in *anyatra saṅgrāmēṣhu*, ‘except in battles,’ in line 10, for the customary *anyatra saṅgrāmēṣhyaḥ*;<sup>2</sup> a redundant word in *ā garbhāt=prabhṛiti*, ‘from the womb,’ in line 9, for either *ā garbhāt* or *garbhāt=prabhṛiti*; and an apparently wrong addition of *pūrva* in *anupaśriṣṭapūrva*, in line 10, used in the sense of simply *anupaśriṣṭa*.<sup>3</sup> Of words not found in dictionaries the text presents only *upatalpa*, in line 6, denoting in my opinion ‘an upper story,’ and *Svabhra*, in line 11, as the name of a particular country or people; but attention may also be drawn to the words *miḍha*, l. 3, *rāshirīya*, l. 8, and *pranaya-kriyā*, l. 16, the meanings of which will be considered below.

The author’s disposition of his subject-matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman, of the lake Sudarśana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words ‘this lake Sudarśana’ with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition (lines 1-3). It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman (ll. 3-7). All the water having escaped, the lake, from being *sudarśana*, became *durdarśana* (ll. 7-8). The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandra-gupta, and was perfected under the Maurya Aśoka (ll. 8-9). It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (*sudarśanātara*) by Rudradāman (ll. 9-16), under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suviśākha (ll. 17-20).—From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description, and a record of the exploits, of the Mahākshatrpa by whom it was accomplished (ll. 9-15). The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short, though historically important,<sup>4</sup> sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in

<sup>1</sup> That the author has used what I may call the epic *vimśat*—the text actually has *viśat*—for *vimśati*, has been already stated. The phrase *paura-jānapadam janam* in line 16 is a Pāda of an ordinary Śloka, and actually occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and we find in the text a number of words which seem peculiar to, or at any rate occur often in, epic poetry.

<sup>2</sup> *Anyatra saṅgrāmēṣhu* has been said to be the quite correct expression for ‘except in battles;’ but whether correct or no from a theoretical point of view, it is not the customary Sanskrit expression, as may be seen from the numerous quotations under *anyatra* in the St. Petersburg dictionary. In fact, the authors of that work quote only a single passage from the *Mahābhārata* in which *anyatra* “quite exceptionally” is not construed with the ablative. The case, for all I know, may be different in Pāli; but when in Aśoka’s edict VI. (Girnār, l. 14, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 456) we read *dukkaram te idam añata agena parikkramena*, ‘but this is difficult to do except by the utmost exertion,’ this in Sanskrit would have to be expressed by *dukkaram te idam=anyatr=dgryāt=parikkramati*. And I could certainly quote many passages from the *Jātakas* in which *añātara* is construed with the ablative, while theoretically another case might have been considered more appropriate. With the passage in our inscription we may to a certain extent compare *Rdm.* V. 63, 19 and 64, 32: *drishṭā na ch=anyēna Hanūmatā* for *drishṭā na ch=anyēna Hanūmataḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> I must leave it to Pāli scholars to decide whether the author could have been possibly misled by the Pāli to employ *anupaśriṣṭapūrva* for *anupaśriṣṭa* (or as *kaddchid=upaśriṣṭa*). In *Jdt.* Vol. VI. p. 76, l. 15 (*tatra maṃ amachohā pucchhissanti*: ‘*api na kho te mahārāja Himavante vasantena na kiñchi acchekhriyaṃ diṭṭhapubbantī*’) *diṭṭhapubbam* undoubtedly is equivalent to simply *diṭṭham*.

<sup>4</sup> I refer to the fact that the Mauryas Chandragupta and (his grandson) Aśoka (under this name) are mentioned in this sentence.

a piece of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Bühler<sup>1</sup> has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterization of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word *Sudarśana*, the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an *upamā*, the so-called *arthālaṃkāras* may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of *śabdālaṃkāra* which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words (as e.g. in *praharaṇa-vitarāṇa*, l. 10, *samagrāṇāṃ . . . -vishayāṇāṃ vishayāṇāṃ*, l. 11, *avidhēyāṇāṃ Yaudhēyāṇāṃ*, l. 12, *-nāmāṇā . . . -dāmāṇā . . . Rudradāmāṇā*, l. 15, *śaktēṇa dāntēṇ=āchapalēṇ=āvīṣṇitēṇ=āryyēṇ=āhāryyēṇa*, l. 19, etc.),<sup>2</sup> and he occasionally makes use of the ornament of alliteration (as e.g. in *akṛitrimēṇa sēṭubandhēṇ=ōpapannāṃ supprativihita-pprandīṭ-partivāha-miḍhavidhāṇāṃ*, l. 2, etc.).

The general purport of the inscription has been given above. It remains to point out briefly some details, the full discussion of which, after all that has already been written about them,<sup>3</sup> would necessitate a careful examination of other records some of which are in course of being re-edited critically by another scholar, and lies beyond the scope of this paper. The principal figure in our inscription is (the Western Kshatrapa,) the king (and) Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman; the name of his father (the Kshatrapa Jayadāman) was given in line 4, but has disappeared; his father's father was the king (and) Mahākshatrapa, Lord Chashtana (l. 4). From an epithet in line 15 we learn that Rudradāman himself acquired or assumed the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. Other epithets in lines 11 and 12 tell us that by his own valour he gained, and became the lord of, eastern and western Ākarāvanti,<sup>4</sup> the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories; that he destroyed the Yaudhēyas; and that he twice defeated Śātākarni,<sup>5</sup> the lord of Dakṣiṇāpātha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him.—The storm by which the lake Sudarśana was devastated is stated (in lines 4 and 5) to have taken place on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the 72nd year—according to the actual wording of the text—of Rudradāman himself; but the meaning clearly is<sup>6</sup> that it took place during the reign of Rudradāman, on the given day in the 72nd year of the era used by Rudradāman (and the Western Kshatrapas generally). With other scholars I feel convinced that this is the Śaka era,<sup>7</sup> and taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year, I find that the date would correspond to either the 18th October, or more probably the 16th November, A.D. 150. Accordingly, our inscription may be assumed to have been composed about A.D. 151 or 152.

The minister Suviśākha, by whom the work of restoring the dam of the lake was carried out, is called (in line 19) a Pahlava and the son of Kulaipa, and is stated (in line 18) to have been appointed by the king (Rudradāman) to govern (the province of) Ānarta and Surāshṭra.—The officials who in earlier times had constructed and perfected the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka respectively were (line 8) the provincial governor, the Vaiśya<sup>8</sup> Pushyagupta, and the 'Yavana king' Tushāspa, governing (the province or district under Aśoka).

<sup>1</sup> See his *Die Indischen Inschriften*, p. 51 f.

<sup>2</sup> For quite similar instances compare e.g. the first pages of the *Datavumdracharita*.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 272 ff.; M. Senart, *ibid.* Vol. XXI. p. 204 ff.; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 28 f.; Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 646 f.; the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 34 ff., etc.

<sup>4</sup> For some of these names see the Nāik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, line 2.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. one of the Andhrabhṛitya kings; but there is a difference of opinion as to which of them is here intended.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the similar dates of my *Northern List*, No. 439, etc., and of my *Southern List*, No. 602.

See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> The Vaiśyas according to Varāhamihira are a people of the western division; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 192.

Proper names, other than those given in the preceding, that occur in the inscription, are (besides the name Sudarśana of the lake itself) Girinagara in line 1, Ūrjayat, the name of a mountain, in line 5, and Suvarṇasikātā and Palāśini, the names of two rivers, in lines 5 and 6. Of these, Girinagara, 'the hill-city,' as was recognized already by Prof. Lassen, is the earlier name of the town of Junāgaḍh or its ancient representative,<sup>1</sup> while Ūrjayat denotes the mountain now called Girnār.<sup>2</sup> Of the two rivers the first, according to Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, is a small perennial stream now called Sonarēkhā; the name of the other does not seem to survive.

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Siddham [i\*] Idam taḍkaṁ<sup>4</sup> Sudarśanam Gir[i]nagarād-ap[i] [d][ū?]ram=  
a[n?][t[a] ]<sup>5</sup> . . . . . [tt]ik<sup>6</sup>-ōpala-vistār-āyām-  
ōchchhaya-<sup>7</sup>nihsandhi-baddha-driḍha-<sup>8</sup>sarvva-pālikatvāt=parvvata-pā-  
2 da-ppratisparddhi-sūślish[t]a-<sup>9</sup>[ba][ndha?]m . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . [va]jātēn=ākṛitrimēpa  
sētubandhēn=ōpapannam supprativihita-ppranā[i]-pari[v]āha-<sup>11</sup>  
3 mīdhavidhānam<sup>12</sup> cha tri-skān[dha?]<sup>13</sup> . . . . . n-ādibhir=anugrahair=mahaty=  
upachayē varttatē [i\*] Tad=idam rājñō mahākshatrapasya sugrihi-  
4 ta-nāmnah Svāmi-Chashtānasya putra<sup>14</sup> . . . . . h putrasya rājñō mahākshatrapasya  
gurubhir=abhyasta-nāmnō Rudradāmnō varshē dvisaptatitam[ē] 70 2  
5 Mārggaśirsha-<sup>15</sup>bahula-prat[i]<sup>16</sup> . . . . . h<sup>17</sup> srishta-vrīṣṭinā parjanyēna<sup>18</sup> ēkārnava-  
bhūtāyām=iva prithivyām kṛitāyām girēr=Ūrjayataḥ Suvarṇasikātā-

<sup>1</sup> The town Girinagara is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 706, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 78, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gupta Inscr.* p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> From Dr. Fleet's impression. An asterisk after a letter or syllable shows that such letter or syllable is entirely broken away. In the following notes the letter B. denotes Prof. Bühler's text, the letter I. that of Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

<sup>4</sup> B. has *taḍkaṁ*, but the second syllable is undoubtedly *da*; compare *ḍa* in *-taḍ-ḍiḍḍak*, l. 6. The word is spelt *taḍka* also in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 61, ll. 21 and 23.—It may be noted that Prinsep's wrong reading *taḍakam* is responsible for the word *taḍaka*, 'shore,' of our dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> I. and B. have *Girinagarā[drī-pāda-rama]*, but in his notes on I. Prof. Bühler stated that the reading *rādri* is very improbable. In the impression, the *akṣara* which by Bhagvanlal Indrajī was read *drī* seems undoubtedly to be only *da*; and the following *akṣara* cannot be read *pd*, but is most probably *pi*.

<sup>6</sup> The original apparently had *mrīttik*.

<sup>7</sup> I. has *-ōchhaya*.

<sup>8</sup> B. omits *driḍha*.

<sup>9</sup> From here, commencing with the *t* of *shṭa*, the lower part of the *akṣaras* is broken away. The word read *bandhaṁ* might equally well be *baddhaṁ*.

<sup>10</sup> Here there are remainders of three *akṣaras*, the second of which seems to have contained the conjunct *rk*.

<sup>11</sup> I. and B. have *-pariḍhaṁ*.

<sup>12</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* over *na* looks somewhat like the superscript *r*.

<sup>13</sup> I. and B. have *-skandhaṁ*.

<sup>14</sup> The lacuna may be filled up thus: *putra[śya rājñāḥ kshatrapasya sugrihita-nāmnah Sodmi-Jagadāmnah]*; but I should have expected five or six syllables more.

<sup>15</sup> I. and B. have *Mārga*.

<sup>16</sup> B. has *-pa*, but the *akṣara* *pra* and the *t* of *ti* are clear in the impression. The original most probably had *-pratipadi*.

<sup>17</sup> I. and B. have *srishta*; but the sign of *visarga* before *srishta* is quite clear. What remains of the *akṣara* preceding the *visarga* looks as if that *akṣara* had contained the letter *k* or *r*, or a subscript *u*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *nyēn-aitā*.

- 6 Palāśini-prabhṛitnām<sup>1</sup> nadinām<sup>1</sup> atimātr-ōdvṛittair-vvāgaiḥ<sup>2</sup> sētum=[a?] . . .  
 . . . . . [ya]mān-<sup>3</sup>ānurūpa-pratikāram=api  
 girīśikhara-taru-taṭ-ātṭālak-ōpatalpa-dvāra-śaraṇōchchhaya-<sup>4</sup>vidhvamsinā yuganidhana-  
 sadṛi-
- 7 śa-paramaghōra-vōgēna<sup>5</sup> vāyunā pramathita-salila-vikashipta-jarjjarikrit-āva[dī?] . . .  
 . . . . . [k]sh[i]pt-āsma-vriksha-gulma-latāpratānam<sup>6</sup> ā nadī-[ta]-  
 lā[d]-ity=udghāṭitam=āsīt [i\*] Chatvāri hasta-śatāni viśad-<sup>7</sup>uttarāny=āyatēna<sup>8</sup>  
 ētāvamty=<sup>9</sup>eva vistrjṛṇēna
- 8 pañcha-saptatim<sup>10</sup> hastān=avagādhēna bhēdēna nissṛita-sarvva-tōyam marudhamnvaka-<sup>11</sup>  
 lpam=atibhṛīśam durd[d]a<sup>12</sup> . . . . . [s]y=[ā]rthē Maurya-  
 aya<sup>13</sup> rājñā<sup>14</sup> Chamdrag[u][pta\*][s][ya\*] [r]āshṭriyēna [V]aiśyēna<sup>15</sup> Pushya-  
 guptēna kārītām<sup>16</sup> Aśōkasya Mauryasya tō<sup>17</sup> Yavanarājēna Tush[ā]sphēn-<sup>18</sup>  
 ādhiaṣṭhāya
- 9 prajātibhir=ala[m]kṛita[m] tat-kāritayā oha rāj-ānurūpa-kṛita-<sup>19</sup>vidhānayā tasmi<sup>20</sup>  
 bhēdē dṛiṣṭayā pranādyā<sup>21</sup> vis[tri\*]ta-sēt[u] . . . . . nā<sup>22</sup>  
 ā garbhāt=prabhṛitty=avihata-samud[i][ta?]-<sup>23</sup>r[ā]jalakshmi-dh[āra]ṇā-guṇatas=sarvva-  
 varṇair=abhiḡammya<sup>24</sup> rakṣaṇ-ārtha<sup>25</sup> patitvē vṛitēna<sup>26</sup> ā prāṇ-ōchchhvāsāt=  
 puruṣavadhanivṛitti-kṛita-
- 10 satyapratijñēna<sup>27</sup> anya[t]ra saṅgrāmēshv=abhimukhāgata-sadṛiśa-śatru-praharaṇa-  
 vitaraṇatv-āvigūṇa-ri[pu?]. . . . . ta-<sup>28</sup>kārunyēna  
 svayamabhiḡata-<sup>29</sup>janapada-pranipati[t?]-ā[y][u?]sha-<sup>30</sup>śaraṇadēna dasyu-vyāḷa-  
 mṛiga-rōg-ādibhir=anupasīṣṭapūrvva-<sup>31</sup>nagara-nigama-

<sup>1</sup> Read *nadinām*.<sup>2</sup> I. and B. have *ryamān*.<sup>3</sup> Read *vōgēna*, which is the reading of I. and B.<sup>4</sup> Read *viśad* (for *viśaty*).<sup>5</sup> I. has *vōgēna*.<sup>6</sup> Read *marudhamva*, which is the reading of I. and B.<sup>7</sup> I.e., probably, *durdartanam=dit*, with two or three words introducing the following sentence.<sup>8</sup> I. and B. have *Mauryasya*.<sup>9</sup> Read *rājñā*.<sup>10</sup> The initial consonant, the lower part of which is damaged, has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī.<sup>11</sup> Read *kārītām*.<sup>12</sup> For *t* Dr. Bhanu Daji proposed *tēna*, and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī *tat*. I would suggest *kṛit*.<sup>13</sup> I. and B. have *Tushāspēna*, but the sign for *ph* is distinct in two impressions of this passage. Compare also Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 195.<sup>14</sup> B. omits *kṛita*.<sup>15</sup> The original may possibly have *tasmi*, as read by Prinsep. Read *tasmin*.<sup>16</sup> I. has *prandīd*, and B. *prandīd*; but *prandīd* is quite distinct.<sup>17</sup> This *akshara* has been hitherto read *nō*, but the back of the impression clearly shows that *nō* was engraved; this must be the last syllable of a noun in the instrumental case. Read *nōd garbhāt*.<sup>18</sup> The vowel *i* over *d* appears to be quite certain; of the *akshara* which follows upon *di* the upper part is gone, and what remains looks like the remnant of *pa* or *sha* rather than of *ta*. But I consider *samudita* to be certain; *samudaya* would be impossible.<sup>19</sup> Read *abhiḡamya*, which is the reading of I. and B.<sup>20</sup> Read *ārtham*, which is the reading of I. and B.<sup>21</sup> Read *vṛitēna*.<sup>22</sup> Read *jñāna*.<sup>23</sup> I. and B. have (*dhṛi*)*ta* and *dhṛita*, but the *akshara* preceding *ta* is quite illegible.<sup>24</sup> Over the *ta* of *gata* is a mark which might be taken for the sign of *anusvāra*.<sup>25</sup> I. and B. have *pranipati* [*viś*] *sha*, I. with the sign of interrogation after *viś*. In my opinion, the *akshara* read *ti* by them is undoubtedly *ti*, with, below it, an accidental scratch (which, if it were really *t*, would stand under the right, not the left, vertical line of the upper *t*). Again, what remains of the consonant of the *akshara* preceding *sha*, does not look at all like a remnant of *s*, but seems to be an almost fully preserved *y*.<sup>26</sup> I. and B. have *śīṣṭapūrvva*, but two impressions of this passage have clearly *shṭa*, not *shṭd*.

- 11 janapadānām svaviry-ārjitānām-anurakta-sarva-prakṛitnām pūrvv-āpar-ākāśvanty-  
Anūpanivṛid-Ānartta-Surāshṭra-Śva[<sup>1</sup>h<sup>2</sup>]ra-[<sup>1</sup>Ma]ru-[<sup>1</sup>Kach]ohha-[<sup>1</sup>S]i[n]dhu-S[<sup>1</sup>au]-  
v[<sup>1</sup>]ra-Kukur-Āparānta-Nishād-ādīnām samagrānām tat-prabhāvād=[<sup>1</sup>y]a . . .  
. . . . . r[<sup>1</sup>ttha]-<sup>3</sup>kāma-vishayāpā[m] vishayāpām patinā<sup>3</sup> sarva-kshatr-  
āvishkṛita-
- 12 viraśabda-jātotsāk-<sup>4</sup>avidhēyānām Yaudhēyānām prasahy-ōtsādakēna Dakshināpatha-  
patēs-Sātakarṇēr=dvir=api nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya<sup>5</sup> sambandh-āv[i]ddūrayā<sup>6</sup>  
anutsādanāt=prāpta-yasasā mā[d<sup>7</sup>] . . . . . [pta]-<sup>7</sup>vijayēna bhrashta-  
rāja-<sup>8</sup>pratiśṭhāpakēna yathārtha-<sup>9</sup>hastō-
- 13 chchhray-<sup>10</sup>ārjit-ōrjita-dharm-ānūrāgēna<sup>11</sup> śabdārttha-gāndharva-nyāy-ādyānām vidyā-  
nām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-āvāpta-vipula-kīrtinā turaga-gaja-  
rathacharyy-āsi-charma-<sup>12</sup>niyuddh-ādyā . . . . . [ti]-para-  
bala-lāghava-saushṭhava-kriyēpa<sup>13</sup> ahar-ahar-ddāna-<sup>14</sup>mān-āna-
- 14 vāmāna-śīlēna sthūlalakshēpa yathāvat=prāptair=bali-śulka-bhāgaiḥ kanaka-<sup>15</sup>  
rajata-<sup>16</sup>vajra-vaiddūrya-<sup>17</sup>ratn-ōpachaya-vishyandamāna-kōśēna sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-  
chitra-kānta-śabdāsamayōdār-ālamkṛita-gadya-padya . . . . .  
na pramāṇa-mān-ōnmāna-svara-gati-varṇa-<sup>18</sup>sāra-satv-<sup>19</sup>ādibhiḥ
- 15 parama-lakṣhaṇa-vyāmjanair=upēta-kānta-mūrtinā<sup>20</sup> svayamadhigata-mahākshatrapa-  
nāmā narēndra-kannya-<sup>21</sup>svayamvar-ānēka-mālya-prāpta-dāmn[ā] mahākshatrapēna  
Rudradāmna varsha-sahasrāya gō-brāh[m]a . . . . .  
r[<sup>1</sup>ttha]m dharmma-kīrti-<sup>22</sup>vṛiddhy-artham cha<sup>23</sup> apīdayit[v]ā kara-viśṭi-
- 16 prapayakriyābhiḥ paura-jānapadām janām svasmāt=kōśā<sup>24</sup> mahatā dhan-aughēna<sup>25</sup>  
anatimahatā cha kālēna trig[<sup>1</sup>u]pa-dṛiḍhatara-vistār-āyāmām sētum vidhā[ya]  
[sa P]r[v]va-ta[<sup>1</sup>t]ā<sup>26</sup> . . . . . [s]u-  
darśanatarām kārītam=i[t]i [i<sup>27</sup>] [A P][s]minn-<sup>28</sup>arthē<sup>29</sup>
- 17 mahākshatrapa[s]ya matisachiva-karmasachivair-<sup>30</sup>amātyaguna-samudyuktair=apy-  
atimahatvād-<sup>30</sup>bhēdasya-ānutaśha-vimukha-matibhi[ḥ] praty[ā]khyāt-ārambhām

<sup>1</sup> From *dhra* to *Sawet* the upper portion of the *aksharas* is broken away. The text has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji to whom the word *Sindhu* was suggested by Prof. Bühler. Of the first *akshara* of the word *Maru* enough remains to show that the *akshara* was not *bha*.

<sup>2</sup> I. omits this, and B. has *rova*; but the *akshara* is undoubtedly the same which we have in *r[<sup>1</sup>ttha]*m, l. 15, only without the *anusvāra*.—B. proposed to fill up the lacuna by reading *ya[<sup>1</sup>thēpīdēdpta-sarva]kēma*; I myself would read *ya[<sup>1</sup>thēvatprāpta-dharm-dṛittha]-kēma*.

<sup>3</sup> The grammatically correct form would be *patyā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *t* of the syllable *tō* of this word looks as if *tā* or *tā* had been originally engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Read *nirvyājam=avajity-dvajitya*.

<sup>6</sup> I. and B. have *ācādēra[<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>]yā*, but there are clear traces of the vowel *i* above the sign for *v*. The top of the *akshara* *dē* is slightly damaged. Read *-āvidēra[<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>]y=dmā<sup>3</sup>*.

<sup>7</sup> I. and B. have *[<sup>1</sup>tta]*.

<sup>8</sup> B. has *bhrashtardya*, but the reading *bhrashtardya* appears to me to be quite certain.

<sup>9</sup> I. has *yathārtha*.

<sup>10</sup> I. has *chhhray*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ānūrāgēna*.

<sup>12</sup> This *akshara* is *rma*, not *rmma*, but the top part of it looks as if some other *akshara* had been originally intended to be engraved.

<sup>13</sup> Read *-kriyēpa-dhar*.

<sup>14</sup> I. has *-ddāna*.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly *kānaka* may have been actually engraved.

<sup>16</sup> B. omits *rajata*.

<sup>17</sup> I. and B. have *vaiddūrya*, but the sign for *ḍ* is most distinct in the impression. Besides, the sign for the *ā* of *dā* differs, as has been shown above, from the sign for *ā* which is here used; compare the *dā* of *-dṛi[<sup>1</sup>t]dērayā*, above, l. 12.

<sup>18</sup> I. has *-varṇa*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *-satv*.

<sup>20</sup> I. has *-mūrtinā*.

<sup>21</sup> I. and B. have *-kannya*, but the *akshara* *nyā* is quite clear in the impression.

<sup>22</sup> I. has *-kīrti*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *chādpt*.

<sup>24</sup> Read *-kōśāna*.

<sup>25</sup> Read *-aughēna-dnati*.

<sup>26</sup> I. and B. have *[sarva]naga[ra]*, but the *akshara* read *na* by them is clearly *ta*.

<sup>27</sup> The *ā* of *asmin* is very doubtful, but I consider it more probable than the *ā* of *asmin* in I. and B.

<sup>28</sup> I. has *-arthē*.

<sup>29</sup> I. has *-karmma*.

<sup>30</sup> Read *-mahatvād*.



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J. F. FLEET, I. C.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.





- 18 punaḥśetubandha-nair[ā]śyād-hāhābhūtāsu prajāsu<sup>1</sup> ih-ādhishtānā paṭra-jānapada-  
jan-ānugrah-ārthanā<sup>2</sup> pāthivēna kṛtsnānām-Ānartta-Surāshṭrānām<sup>3</sup> pālan-  
ārthan=<sup>4</sup>niyuktēna
- 19 Pahlavēna<sup>5</sup> Kulaipe-putrēn-āmātyēna Suviśākhēna yathāvad-artha-dharma-<sup>6</sup>  
vyavahāra-darśanair-anurāgam-abhivarddhayatā śaktēna dāntēn-āchapelēn-āvismitēn-  
āryyēn-āhāryyēna<sup>7</sup>
- 20 svadhitiśṭhatā dharma-kīrtti-<sup>8</sup>yaśāśmāsi bhartur=<sup>9</sup>abhivarddhayat-ānushṭhitam=iti |(II)

## TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished !

(Line 1.) This lake Sudarsana, from Girinagara [even a long distance ?] . . . . .  
of a structure so well joined as to rival the spur of a mountain, because  
all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length and height constructed without gaps as they  
are of stone, [olay], . . . . . furnished with a na-  
tural<sup>10</sup> dam, [formed by ?] . . . . ., and with well-  
provided conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter,<sup>11</sup> . . . . .  
. . . . . three sections . . . . . by . . . . . and other  
favours is (now) in an excellent condition.<sup>12</sup>

(L. 3.) This same (lake)<sup>13</sup>— on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the  
seventy-second — 72nd — year of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman whose name is  
repeated by the venerable,<sup>14</sup> the son of <sup>15</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Read *prajāsu-ih*.<sup>2</sup> I. has *-ārthanā*.<sup>3</sup> Read *śhṛṣṭānām*, which is the reading of I. and B.<sup>4</sup> I. has *-ārthanā*.<sup>5</sup> I. and B. have *Pahlavēna*.<sup>6</sup> I. has *-dharma*.<sup>7</sup> I. and B. have *āhāryyēna*.<sup>8</sup> I. has *-kīrtti*.<sup>9</sup> I. has *bhartur*.<sup>10</sup> Literally 'non-artificial.'

<sup>11</sup> The word *mūḍha* of the original text has been translated only by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji. Taking *mūḍha-vidhānam* as a separate epithet of the lake, he rendered it by 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine,' to which Prof. Bühler added the note that *mūḍhā* is a common expression in Gujarātī for "crooked." Both scholars apparently took *mūḍha* to be synonymous with *gōmūḍhā*; but this could hardly be approved of. Besides, *mūḍha-vidhānam*, as we now see, really forms part of the Bahuvrīhi compound commencing with *supra-* *viśākhā*, and therefore either *mūḍha* by itself or *mūḍha-vidhānam* must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In my opinion *mūḍha* is identical with the Pāli *mūḍha* (e.g. in *mūḍha litta*, *Jātaka*, Vol. III. p. 244, l. 18, *mūḍha-littā mahāpatham*, *ibid.* p. 525, l. 27, *mūḍha taṃ vaddhissamī pāṭi haṇṇāta pāṭi*, Vol. II. p. 211, l. 25, *mūḍhaddano mūḍham adenti bāḍa*, Vol. VI. p. 112, l. 2), meaning 'excrements' or 'dirt, foul matter' generally; according to the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary *mūḍha* is used in this sense also in the *Lalitavistara*, e.g. in *mūḍha-giri*, 'a dunghill,' Calcutta ed. p. 240, l. 4. Now since foul matter would not have been provided for the lake, that which was so provided must be denoted by *mūḍha-vidhānam*, and I feel no hesitation in explaining this word to mean 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities.' By the context *vidhānam* here as elsewhere becomes practically equivalent to *parihāra* or *pratikriyā*; on *Edm.* III. 24, 11 *andgata-vidhānam* is explained by *ajigamishitasya-dnishṭasya pratividhānam parihāra*, and on VII. 21, 5 *vidhānam* is similarly paraphrased by *pratikriyā*.

<sup>12</sup> If it were possible to say so with reference to a lake, I should have translated: 'is (now) in a highly prosperous state.'

<sup>13</sup> The sentence is continued below, in the words 'with stones, trees, bushes,' etc.

<sup>14</sup> As has been pointed out by Prof. S. Lévi (*Jour. Asiatique*, 1902, p. 100), the use of *abhyas* and the statement that Rudradāman's name was repeated by *gurus* at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages the name was like another Vēda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit. *Gurubhir-abhyasta-nāman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *gurvābhyasta-nāman* which will be mentioned presently.—In *gurvābhir-abhyasta-nāman* (for the more logical *gurvābhyasta-nāman*) we have one of those constructions which Indian grammarians impeach by the statement *āpṛkṣham-asamartham dhavati*, but after all justify by *gamakatvā-samāsa*; similar constructions occur elsewhere in the text.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. 'the son of the king, the Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman;' see the note on the text. In inscriptions and on coins Jayadāman is called Kshatrapa, not Mahākshatrapa; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 157; *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. II. p. 140; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 32; and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 645.



. . . . ., (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Lord Chashtana the taking of whose name is suspicious.<sup>1</sup>

. . . . . when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean,<sup>2</sup> by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarṇasikata, Palāśini and other streams of mount Ūrjayat the dam . . . . .

. . . . ., though proper precautions [were taken], the water—churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter<sup>3</sup>—scattered, broke to pieces, [tore apart] . . . . .,—with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus<sup>4</sup> laid open down to the bottom of the river:—

(L. 7.) By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, [became] extremely ugly [to look at].<sup>5</sup>

(L. 8.)<sup>6</sup> . . . for the sake of . . . . . ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor<sup>7</sup> of the Maurya king Chandragupta; adorned with

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of *sugrihita-nāman* is well indicated by a passage in the *Harshacharita*, Bombay ed. p. 210, l. 6, which shows the result of uttering a bad man's name: *nām-āpi grihṇatō 'sya pāpakārīṇaḥ pāpamālīṇa lippata iva mē jīhrā*, 'as I take merely the name of this miscreant, my tongue seems soiled with a smirch of sin.' *Sugrihita-nāman* itself often occurs in the *Harshacharita*, applied to royal or noble personages, both living and deceased; compare p. 30, l. 6; p. 85, l. 13; p. 101, l. 6; p. 179, l. 3; p. 200, l. 1; p. 246, l. 20; p. 261, l. 23; and p. 278, l. 19. From inscriptions I can quote only *sugrihita-nāmadhīya* which occurs in the Bādāmi pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa, applied to Maṅgalēśa's grandfather Banarāga, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, l. 3 of the text.

<sup>2</sup> For the notion of the earth's being converted into one ocean (*dhārṇava-bhūṭāyām-iva*) compare e.g. *Rām.* V. 49, 20: *ayam hy-utsahatē kruddhaḥ kartum-ekārṇavam jagat*. I may add that nouns ending in *bhūta* like *dhārṇava-bhūta* are most common in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; I have noted *dīcharya-bhūta*, *triṇa-bh.*, *dahana-bh.*, *nimittā-bh.*, *nyāsa-bh.*, *ratna-bh.*, *Rāma-bh.*, *mṛita-bhūta iva* (III. 36, 33), and others.

<sup>3</sup> My translation of *upatalpa* and *uchchhṛaya* requires some justification. Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji has translated the former by '(pieces of) the neighbouring ground,' Prof. Bühler by 'Tempelsinnen' (i.e. pinacles of temples); and both scholars, I do not know on what authority, have rendered *uchchhṛaya* by 'pillars of victory.' To me it seems highly probable that the words *atṭḍalak-ōpatalpa* of our text are identical in sense (as they are closely connected in form) with *talp-ḍṭta* in *Ragh.* XVI. 11, *viśṭṛṇa-talp-ḍṭta-fatō nicṣṭaḥ*; there *talpa* is explained to mean 'a room on the top of a house' or 'upper story,' and the same meaning I would claim for *upatalpa*. *Uchchhṛaya* in line 1 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'height,' and in line 13 in that of 'raising, lifting up, elevation.' The word also (see e.g. the commentary on *Rām.* VII. 81, 10) means 'anything which rises,' 'elevation' in the sense of 'an elevated piece of ground,' etc.; and if in the present passage we take *śaraṇuchchhṛaya* as one word, there is no reason to go beyond that strictly etymological meaning. *Śaraṇuchchhṛaya* would be 'any raised place serving as shelter,' a meaning that seems perfectly appropriate. We may compare *stambhuchchhṛaya* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 44, l. 13, used clearly in the sense of 'a raised pillar, a lofty pillar' (*uchchhṛitāḥ stambhāḥ*, as the expression is *ibid.* p. 9, l. 30).—The reader will observe the contrast between *uchchhṛaya* and the immediately following *vidhvamsin*, which two words remind one of *udaya-dhvamsa* and similar expressions found elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> *Via* in the manner described in the following paragraph of the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> For the play on the words—the lake Sudarśana became *durdarśana*—compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 60, l. 17.

<sup>6</sup> This paragraph speaks of the original construction of the lake during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta and of improvements made under (his grandson) Aśoka. The subject of the sentence undoubtedly again was 'the lake'; 'the lake (probably for the benefit of the people) had been ordered to be made . . . ; it was adorned . . . . .'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The position held by Pushyagupta and Tushāspha, who were immediately instrumental in the making and improving of the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka, is indicated by the words *rāshṭriyēṇa* and *adhishṭhāya* respectively. Considering that *adhi-ṣṭhā* in line 20 of this inscription is used in the sense of 'to govern,' and that *adhishṭhāna* in line 18 means 'government,' it seems most natural to ascribe the same meaning also to *adhishṭhāya* in the present passage, i.e. to translate it by 'after having assumed the government' or 'while he was governing (this province).' And this again should lead us, I think, to ascribe a similar meaning to *rāshṭriya*. I accordingly take this word, in its etymological sense, to be equivalent to *rāshṭrē 'dhikṛitā*, 'appointed to rule a province or district,' as the word is explained e.g. in the commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I. 7, 14 (compare also Pāṇini IV. 2, 98). The technical meaning 'a king's brother-in-law,' which the word has in the plays, would seem to be out of place here.

conduits for <sup>1</sup> *Aśoka* the Maurya by the Yavana king Tushāspa while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (*and*) seen in that breach, the extensive dam . . . . .

(L. 9.)<sup>2</sup> . . . . . he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles;<sup>3</sup> who [showed] compassion . . . . .  
 . . . . . not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him;<sup>4</sup> who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts<sup>5</sup> of which are never troubled<sup>6</sup> by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (*and*) where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained]; who by force destroyed the Yaudhēyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated<sup>7</sup> *Sātakarni*, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him; who [obtained] victory . . . . .; who reinstates deposed

<sup>1</sup> The word *kritā*, of which 'for' is the translation, is conjectural.

<sup>2</sup> In the original text the subject of this long sentence again is *idam tadākam*, 'this lake,' the predicate is *sudarśanatarām kṛitam* in line 16; 'this lake has now been caused to be made (even) more beautiful by Rudradāman (l. 15) who, because he was distinguished . . .'. In the translation I have adopted the active construction.

<sup>3</sup> On the construction of the words *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* of the original text see above, p. 40, note 2. Here I would add two minor remarks. In the first place, it appears strange that, whereas elsewhere the end of one epithet (or phrase serving as an epithet) of Rudradāman is not joined by the rules of *saṃdhi* with the commencement of the following epithet—compare *vrīṣṇa d prāṇ-ōchchhōdāt* in line 9, and *-kriyāna ahar-ahar-* in line 13—here the rules of *saṃdhi* have been observed between *saṃgrāmēṣu* which belongs to the preceding, and *abhimukhāgata-* with which a new epithet begins. The observance of the rules of euphony in this case is the more striking as those rules have not been observed between *anyatra* and the word preceding it with which *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* is closely connected in sense. Secondly, the way in which the author has put *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* reminds me somewhat of the Sūtra-style of literature; the words *d prāṇ-ōchchhōdāt=parushavadhāniritti-kṛit-satyapratijñāna* contain a rule, *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* the exception. Both together look much like, e.g., the two Sūtras of the *Viśṇu-smṛiti*, III. 48 and 49, the former of which is *na rājakulam=uchchhidyāt*, 'he should not extirpate a royal family,' while the latter adds *anyatr-ākulna-rājakulāt*, 'except an ignoble royal family.' Looked at in this way the non-observance of the rules of euphony as between *-satyapratijñāna* and *anyatra* may lose somewhat of its strangeness; the observance of them as between *saṃgrāmēṣu* and *abhimukhāgata-* I can only regard as accidental.

<sup>4</sup> For the general meaning of this epithet we may compare, e.g., *nṛpān śaraṇyāḥ śaraṇ-āgatānām* and *śaraṇ-aiśiṇām śaraṇam* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 59, l. 10, and p. 165, l. 7. The word *dyuṣa* of the text, translated by 'life,' is more or less conjectural; it is used at the end of compounds for *dyus* (see the St. Petersburg dictionary under *dyuṣa*). In the original I should have expected *pranipatita* to stand before *janapada*; as it is, I can only take *svayamabhiyatajanapada-pranipatita* as a Dvandva compound. For *janapada* itself compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 82, l. 14, *bhīṭasya yā janapadasya cha bandhur=astī*.

<sup>5</sup> With *nagara-nigama-janapada* compare e.g. *grāma-nagara-nigama* in *Harshacharita*, p. 220, l. 1.

<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt about the reading of the word *anuparīkṣāpāra* of the text. Ordinarily this word, 'not troubled before,' would imply that the territories now were, or might possibly be, troubled for the first time by robbers, etc., but it has apparently been (incorrectly) used by the writer simply in the sense of 'never troubled.' The territories are never troubled by robbers, etc., just because they are ruled by Rudradāman. He is the *apḍkartā prajāpaghātā-kāriṇām=apāplavānām*, as the Valabhi plates express the same idea.—Compare above, p. 40, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> For *ava-ji*, 'to defeat,' the St. Petersburg dictionary quotes only passages from the *Mahābhārata*; it occurs in the same sense in the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 6, *aśoka-samar-dojita-satwaghaṣa*.

kings;<sup>1</sup> who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma;<sup>2</sup> who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar,<sup>3</sup> music,<sup>4</sup> logic and other great sciences; who . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots,<sup>5</sup> (the use of) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces;<sup>6</sup> who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment;<sup>7</sup> who is bounteous;<sup>8</sup> whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (other) precious things; who<sup>9</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 23, *andka-bhrashtardjyôtsanna-râjavamsa-pratishtâpana*.

<sup>2</sup> In this epithet Rudradâman has been understood to be eulogized for making religious gifts; but I have searched in vain for passages in which 'the raising of the hand' is laid stress on or even mentioned where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterizes the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is *moistened* by the water (poured into the hand of the donee); compare *e.g.* *Kâdambari*, p. 5, l. 12, *anavaratapravritta-dân-drârkrita-karah*; the Nâsik inscription in *Aroheol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 108, l. 4, *abhayôdakaddna-kilina-nibhayakarasa*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 175, l. 29, *praddnasalila-kshdlit-dgrahastdravindah*; *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 17, note 2, *etc.* Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or raising the pitcher from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient; see *e.g.* *Jdt.* Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *rdjâ tussitô gandhodakapunnâh swappâna-bhikkhrah dâdya* . . . *sethissa hatthe udakam pôtetod*; and *Edm.* II. 118, 50, *aham tatra Edmdya pitrd* . . . *udyat ddtum=udyamya jalabhdjanam=uttamam*, 'there my father, having raised the excellent water-pitcher, proceeded to give me to Râma.' But that in the latter case the raising of the water-pitcher is quite an incidental matter we see from an analogous passage in *Harshacharita*, p. 156, *Grahavarmayd kanydm prdrthayitum prshitasya pûrodgatasya=aiya pradhâna-dâtaparushasya karâ sarvârdjakula-samaksham dukhitriddna-jalam=apdtayat*, translated by Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas: 'in the presence of the whole royal household, he poured the betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Grahavarman to sue for the princess.' Considering these and similar passages, I do not think that *hastôchchhaya* by itself could convey the idea of donation. In my opinion the expression perhaps finds its explanation in the precept of Manu, VIII. 2, according to which a king, when investigating cases of law, should do so seated or standing, *raising his right hand* (*pânim=udyamya dakshinam*), *etc.* This explanation, which would make 'the raising of the hand' during legal investigations equivalent to 'the dispensation of justice' itself, may seem far-fetched, but it would fit in well with the statement that by the right raising of his hand Rudradâman earned the strong attachment of Dharma, i.e. Law or Justice personified.

<sup>3</sup> It may seem doubtful whether the compound *sâddrtha* of the original, in connection with the following *vidyânam*, should be understood to denote two sciences, — viz. *śabda-vidyâ* or grammar, and *artha-vidyâ* in the sense of *artha-śāstra* = *nîti-śāstra* — or only one, viz. the science of words and their meanings, i.e. grammar (including lexicography). The manner in which *sâddrtha* elsewhere is immediately connected with *nyâya* (*e.g.* above, Vol. VI. p. 18, l. 9, *sâddrtha-nyâya-vidushâ*, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 85, l. 4 of the text, *sâddrtha-nyâya-lôka-jñâk=kaui*) seems to render the adoption of the second alternative more natural. *Sâddrtha-nyâya* in my opinion would convey to a Hindu at once the notion of 'grammar and logic,' because these two belong closely together and would hardly be separated by something so different from them as 'policy.' It may be added that *sâddrtha*, on account of the irregular position of its two members, in grammar is a well-known compound in the sense of 'word and meaning' and frequer ly occurs in this sense in the titles of grammatical, lexicographical and other works.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the commentary on *Vishnu-purâna*, III. 26: *gândharva-vêdô Bharatamuni-pratib nrityagittâdivishayah*. See also *e.g.* *Edm.* II. 2, 35: *gândharô cha bhûvi trishthô bakhûva Bharatâgrajah*, where *gândharô* is explained by *samgita-śâstrô*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 27, and p. 81, l. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Edm.* I. 18, 27: *gaja-skandhê'eva-prishthê cha rathacharyau sammatah*.

<sup>6</sup> I take the sense of the whole epithet to be that by his skill in the management of horses *etc.* he rendered futile the acts of quickness *etc.* of opponents.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *e.g.* *dâna-mân-drjaya*, above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 2.

<sup>8</sup> See Halâdyudha, II. 310: *sthûlalakehô bahuvyayî*.

<sup>9</sup> After 'who' we evidently have to supply something like 'is skilled in producing compositions in.' On the epithet which begins here compare Prof. Bühler's *Die Ind. Inschriften und das Alter der Ind. Kunstpoesie*, p. 53 ff., where Prof. Bühler has tried to show that the adjectives *sphuṭa* *etc.* of the text have reference to certain rules of the *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. Agreeing with him in general, I take *sphuṭa*, *madhura* and *kânta* to indicate the qualities *prasâda*, *mâdhurya* and *kânti* of Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa* (I. 45, 51 and 85); *sphuṭa*, 'clear,' would thus be what is readily understood (*prattî-subhaga*); *madhura*, 'sweet,' that which pleases by its sound and (refined) diction; and *kânta*, 'beautiful,' that which is free from exaggeration, is not too far-fetched, *etc.* *Sâddasamaya* being almost synonymous with *sâddanyâya* in *Kāvya-darśa*, I. 75, I incline to connect *sâddasamayâddra* with Daṇḍin's *artha-*

. . . . . prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs,<sup>1</sup> such as (*auspicious*) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of kings' daughters;— he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to<sup>2</sup> . . . . . cows and Brāhmanas for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,— without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country<sup>3</sup> by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection<sup>4</sup>— by (*the expenditure of*) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length . . . . . [on] all [banks]<sup>5</sup> . . . . . (and so) had (*this lake*) made (*even*) more beautiful to look at.<sup>6</sup>

(L. 16.) When in this matter the Mahākshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (*regarded as*) futile<sup>7</sup> on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (*of the work*),<sup>8</sup> (*and*) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting,<sup>9</sup> (*the work*) was carried out by the minister Suvisākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāshtra, (*a minister*) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (*of the people*), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (*and*) not to be bribed, (*and*) who by his good<sup>10</sup> government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

*vyakti*, which depends on an author's giving clear verbal expression to his thoughts instead of leaving them to be guessed. *Laghu*, 'agreeable' (*iṣṭa*), and *chitra*, 'charming,' seem too vague expressions to connect them confidently with any particular qualities of the text-books; *alamkṛita*, 'adorned,' requires no explanation.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Rdm.* V. 33, 11, *vyāñjandni hi tē gāni lakṣaṇāni cha*; and, for various auspicious marks and signs, *ibid.* I. 1, 9 ff., II. 43, 29 ff., V. 35, 8 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, shortly, 'in order to benefit.' The original text may have contained something equivalent to *gō-brāhmaṇa-hitārthāya dāsaśya cha hitāya cha* in *Rdm.* I. 26, 5. The expression *gō-brāhmaṇa*, 'cows and Brāhmanas,' is very common; see *e.g.* *ibid.* III. 23, 28; 24, 21; VI. 107, 49; 117, 20, etc.; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 89, l. 9, *gō brāhmaṇa-purōgdhāḥ sarva-prajādhyāḥ*; and above, Vol. VI. p. 20, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The words *paura-jānapadaṁ janam* of the text clearly are the second or fourth Pāda of an ordinary Śloka; the same phrase we actually have *e.g.* in *Rdm.* II. 111, 19 and 27, *paura-jānapadō janaḥ* in II. 2, 51, *paura-jānapadā jandh* in VII. 43, 5, etc. *Paurajānapada-jana* occurs again in line 18 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested that *pranaya-kriyā* may be 'a kind of tax like the modern *prtitidān*.' I have not found the word elsewhere, used as a technical term, and can only suggest that it may denote offerings or contributions which nominally are voluntary, but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody or for other reasons.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, perhaps, 'planted trees on all banks.'

<sup>6</sup> As above (see p. 46, note 5) there is here also a play on the words; the lake Sudarśana was made *sudarśanātara*.

<sup>7</sup> On the analogy of compounds like *apratishēdhaḥ=anarthakaḥ pratishēdhaḥ*, *avachanam=anarthakan vacanam*, which we find in grammatical works, I explain *anutedha* by *anarthaka uttedha*, 'a futile (or impossible) task.' In connection with this explanation we may note that the two words *pratydkhyāta* and *drambha* of the text are just such as a grammarian would be familiar with.

<sup>8</sup> Since I have translated somewhat freely, I would state that *pratydkhyāt-drambham*, which has been objected to as grammatically wrong, in my opinion is correct. The word is the subject of *anushāhitam* in line 20; 'that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out.'

With *punaḥśtubandha-nairāsyāt* compare *kārya-nairāsyāt* in *Rdm.* V. 35, 57; with *hādhbhūtāu prajāsu*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 60, l. 17, *viśuddya[māndh khalu sarvātō ja]ndh katham-katham kāryam=iti pravādinah*. *Hādhbhūta*, 'exclaiming *hā hā*,' like *hādhkṛita*, is well known from the *Mahābhārata* etc.

<sup>10</sup> For the way in which *sa* in *svadhitishātā* is prefixed to a present participle we may compare *Rdm.* II. 33, 4, *safakhyantō*; VI. 40, 12, *suchēratō*; VI. 110, 9, *suparivartatō*; V. 62, 21, *suparigrhya*; VII. 30, 36, *sumirbhartya*; etc.

No. 7.—CHIKMAGALUR INSCRIPTION OF RACHAMALLA III.; OF THE PERIOD  
A.D. 989—1005.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

Chikmagalūr, or more precisely Chikka-Magalūr, is the head-quarters town of the Kaḍūr district, and of the Chikmagalūr tāluka of that district, in Mysore. In the Indian Atlas sheet No. 43, N.E. (1892), it is shewn as 'Chikmagalur,' in lat. 13° 19', long. 75° 50'. In the present record, as in some others, it is mentioned as Kiriya-Muguli, "the smaller or junior Muguli." The Piriya-Muguli, or "larger or senior Muguli," of the record, is the modern Hirēmagalūr or Hirē-Magalūr, shewn in the Atlas sheet as simply 'Magalur,' about one mile east-by-south from Chikmagalūr; in an inscription of A.D. 959 (? 958) at Uppahalli (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 42; regarding the date, see note 1 on page 56 below), Piriya-Muguli seems to be referred to as simply Muguli. Local imagination, as reported by Mr. Rice in his *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II., pp. 379, 395, 396, would account for the names by alleging that one village was the dowry of the eldest daughter (*hirē-magaḷu, piriya-magaḷ*), and the other was the dowry of a younger daughter (*chikka-magaḷu, kiriya-magaḷ*), of the epic king Rukmāṅgada, whose capital is locally supposed to have been Sakarāyapaṭṇa or Sakkarēpaṭṇa, a village about thirteen miles towards the north-east of Chikmagalūr. But it is quite plain that that idea is based upon nothing but the modern corrupted form of the essential name of the two places, namely *magalūr* for *muguliyūr*. And, as has practically been already suggested by Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* p. 379), the original name is no doubt to be attributed to a local abundance of the *muguli*-tree, *Acacia suma*.

The inscription, which is on a stone standing on the north of the *kalyāṇi*,—apparently a square pond with steps on all sides,—in the fort at Chikmagalūr, has been published by Mr. Rice in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. (1901), Kaḍūr district, Cm. 3, transliterated texts p. 95, translations p. 35, Kanarese texts p. 154. I now edit it, partly from the Kanarese text, and partly from a photograph which Mr. Rice kindly sent me in December, 1899. The photograph is not as distinct as an ink-impression or an estampage would be. But it shews quite clearly all the historically important part of the record, lines 1 to 7. And it suffices, with the help of the Kanarese text, to make the decipherment of the remainder satisfactory, except in respect of a very few doubtful syllables which I have placed in square brackets with queries attached to them.

According to the entry above Mr. Rice's Kanarese text, the size of the stone is 2' 6" broad by 5' 0" high.—The photograph shews, above the writing, an elephant, which must be about 1' 3" high, standing to the right (proper left): its trunk hangs straight down, almost to the ground, with the tip turned up inwards; and it seems to have a surcingle, like the elephant above the Peggūr inscription of A.D. 978, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, No. I, and Plate opposite *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 7.—The area covered by the writing must be about 3' 3" high. It is somewhat irregular in shape; and, if we understand that 2' 6" is its extreme breadth, then in line 1 it is about 1' 9" broad, and the breadth gradually increases to the full measure of 2' 6" in line 11 or 12, and maintains that measure as far as the end. The writing seems sufficiently well preserved for a good ink-impression or estampage to make the whole of it quite legible without any doubt.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and evidently well executed. And they are of a type which is fairly referable to any time about A.D. 1000. Of the usual test-letters, the *kh* is absent; the *ṇ*, which occurs four times, in lines 9, 10, 12, and 16, and the *j*, *b*, and *l*, are all of the fully developed later type. The initial short *i* occurs four times, in *iṇṇūru* for *iṇṇūru*, line 9, in *iṇṇu*, line 12, in *i* (for *i*) *koḍaṅgeyam*, line 12, and in *iṇḍavūrada*, line 16; and in each case it is of the fully developed later type: the importance of this palæographic

detail, in guiding us to the real period and attribution of the record, will be made clear further on. The record further presents an initial *ô* in line 10, and final forms of *t* in line 4, of *r* in line 12 (twice), and of *l* in line 7. It does not seem to make any perceptible difference between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. And the vocabulary presents three words which call for comment. In line 9 we have a word which according to Mr. Rice's published texts is *nîr-panya*, and which, in Mr. Rice's translation, has been rendered by 'wet land.' That rendering is based, I suppose, on an idea that *nîr* may occur as another form of *nîr*, *nîru*, 'water.' But there is no justification for that in the late Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary. And from the photograph I read *l*, not *r*, and find the word *nîl*, 'length.' From the context, and the usual method of expression in the records, I should have been disposed to take the whole word *nîlpanya* as denoting some particular measure of land, of the same class with *mattar*, *nivartana*, etc. But Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *panya*, *panneya*, in the sense of 'a farm, a landed estate,' connected with *pane*, 4, 'ground that is worked, tillage, a quarry;' and Mr. Ullal Narasinga Rao's Kisamwâr Glossary, Mangalore, 1891, p. 95, gives *panya* in the sense of 'lands formerly held by the Rajas and now leased out on the condition of their being surrendered when government makes a demand; crown-lands.' I therefore take *nîlpanya* as some particular kind of *panya*-lands, consisting of very long narrow strips such as may be often seen in various parts of the Kanarese country. And I consider that probably the word *mattar* should be supplied. In line 12, assuming that we have the lingual *ḍ* and not the dental *d*, we have *koḍaṅgeyam*, as the accusative of a word *koḍaṅge*. This word has not been translated by Mr. Rice. I take it as the older form of the *koḍage*, *koḍige*, 'a gift, a grant,' of Dr. Kittel's Dictionary, and of the later *koḍagi*, which is given in the Kisamwâr Glossary as meaning 'a grant of land' (p. 144), and (a) 'lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any change on account of the seasons, etc., and saleable,' and (b) 'lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks, or of their maintenance in good order' (p. 91). It seems sufficient to translate it here by 'allotment.' In line 12, again, we have a word *baḷasidor* which Mr. Rice, apparently taking it from *baḷasu*, 1, 'to go in a circle or round; to circumambulate; to surround,' etc., has translated by "those (? who own the land) surrounding." I notice that the Kisamwâr Glossary, p. 15, gives *baḷasu* in the sense of 'husbandry, cultivation;' and, even apart from that, I see no difficulty about taking *baḷasu* as a variant of *beḷasu*, 'to cause to grow, to raise (a crop),' etc.: and I therefore translate the word by 'those who have cultivated;' finding in that meaning an equally good means of defining exactly the grant that was made. As a matter of fact, the photograph shews before the *b* a mark which might justify our actually reading *b[e]ḷasidor*. That, however, does not seem to be really necessary.—In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal *ṣ* in [*gaunḍa*]*ṣge*, line 8-9, *narasiṅgayyanuṁ*, line 10, *koḍaṅgeyam*, line 12, and *maṅgaḷa*, line 16, as contrasted with the use of the *anusvāra* in *koṁguni*, line 1, *rāchamallamge*, line 4, *paṭṭamgaṭṭid*, line 4-5, and *rājyaṁ-geyyuttam*, line 7-8; and (2) the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddha*, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a prince Nītimārga-Rāchamalla, plainly of the family of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ, in whom we have a third Rāchamalla, not previously recognised. And it is dated, without a reference to any era, in the sixth year of his rule, on a day specified by certain details to which we shall advert further on. It is a non-sectarian record, registering a grant of land by private persons to a private person.

The following places are mentioned in the record, in addition to Kiriya-Muguḷi and Piriya-Muguḷi:—

**Palmāḍi.** This is mentioned again in an inscription of A.D. 959 (? 958) at Uppahalli, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 42. I cannot find its representative in the maps.

**Benneyūr.** This is probably the **Bennūr** at which there is an inscription of A.D. 1538, *ibid.*, Cm. 127. I cannot find it in the maps.

**Maṭṭavūra.** This is probably a village which is not shewn in the Atlas sheet, but is entered as 'Mattavara,' somewhere close on the south of Chikmagalūr but without an indication of its actual site, in the map of the Kaḍūr district in *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. II. p. 367.

**Urpavaḷḷi.** This must be the **Uppahaḷḷi** at which there are inscriptions of A.D. 959 (? 958) and later dates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 38 to 43. I cannot find it in maps. Regarding the proper attribution of one of these records, Cm. 42, and the question of its actual date in A.D. 959 or 958, see page 56 below, and note 1. According to the published reading, another of them, Cm. 38, is dated (see the Kanarese text, p. 171) in the Paridhāvin *saṃvatsara* coupled with *Vikragālaṃ 1070*, which (see the transliterated text, p. 103, the translation, p. 38, and Introd. p. 15) is supposed to mean *Vikrama-kālaṃ 1070*, giving the Vikrama year 1070 (current), which was the Paridhāvin *saṃvatsara*, = A.D. 1012-13. But anything of that kind would of course stamp the record as a spurious one.

**Indavūra.** This must be the 'Indavara' of the Atlas sheet, two miles west-by-north from Chikmagalūr, and, I suppose, the 'Indāvāra' at which there are inscriptions, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 30 to 36. Its name is given as Indāvāra above the Kanarese text of Cm. 30; but the record itself gives it as Indavara according to the transliterated text, and as Indapara according to the Kanarese text, line 10. The inscription Cm. 36, of A.D. 1292, gives it according to the transliterated text as Indaūra, but according to the Kanarese text as Indavūra, in line 9, and according to both the texts as Indavura in line 10. The Uppahaḷḷi inscription Cm. 38, which purports or is supposed to be dated in A.D. 1012-13, appears to give the name as Indayūra.

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The record is certainly a Western Gaṅga record. This is established partly by the locality to which it belongs; partly by the emblem of the elephant at the top of the stone; and partly by the personal name Rāchamalla, and the epithet Nītimārga, of the reigning prince, and by his titles, Koṅṇuivarman, lord of Kuvaḷāla, and lord of Nandagiri. For the rest, the interest of it centres in the question of the period in which we are to place it.

**Mr. Rice** originally, in 1884 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 188 b), brought this Chikmagalūr inscription to notice as being "dated in the 6th year after Mādhava Mahārājādhirāja had enfeoffed Rācha-Malla;" which explanation of it would have the effect of placing it, according to the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree and chronology, before at any rate A.D. 466, and perhaps before A.D. 248 (see my Table in Vol. III. above, p. 161). Subsequently, however, in 1886 (*Coorg Inscri.* p. 5), having apparently recognised meanwhile that it does not really mention a Mahārājādhirāja Mādhava, he referred it to a Nītimārga-Rāchamalla who, according to his views, was ruling from A.D. 902 to 909. And in his last treatment of it, in 1901 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introd. p. 8), endorsing that view with only the alteration that the record should be placed in or about A.D. 899, he has grouped it along with the following other records:—

(1) An inscription at Gaṇjigere in the Kaḍūr district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 133. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first (*year of the*) rule of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(2) An inscription at Hirē-Bāsūr in the Kaḍūr district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 141. This record refers itself to the time of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it. It contained a date in the month Chaitra of a Śaka year which Mr. Rice has assumed to be the year 822 (current), with the result of A.D. 899 (*loc. cit.* Introd. p. 8, and translations, p. 26). But all that remains extant of the passage containing the date is . . . . . nṛa ś[r]ppatt-

*eraḍaneya varisuda Ohaitra-māsa . . .*, "[of] the month Chaitra of the year . . . . . hundred and twenty-two," and there is nothing whatever to fix us to the year 822.

(3) An inscription at Hirēmagaḷūr in the Kaḍūr district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 8. This is a record of a Nīti[mārga], whose personal name is not mentioned in it, but who, we are supposed to learn from it (see the translation, p. 36), had the *biruda* Jayadutta[raṅga]. It does not present any date at all.

(4) An inscription at Añchavāḍi in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 134. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(5) An inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 97. This record, however, is dated in the fifth year of the crowning, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya. And it does not include any mention either of a Nītimārga, or of a Rāchamalla, or of the Śaka year.

(6) Another inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi, on the back of the same stone, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 98, which is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the fifth year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it.

(7) An inscription at Kūligere in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30. This record refers itself to the time of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it. And it is dated in the Śaka year 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910.

(8) The inscription at Doḍḍahunḍi in the Mysore district, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 91; edited by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 43. This record commemorates the death of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it, and speaks of his eldest son Satyavākya, whose personal name, also, is not mentioned. It does not present any date at all.

And Mr. Rice has thus arrived at "P 899 A.D." as the date of this Chikmagaḷūr record; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Classified List, p. 1, and translations, p. 35.

Mr. Rice's arrangement, however, will not stand the test of examination. In the first place, from his incongruous grouping we have to dismiss the first Gaṭṭavāḍi inscription (5). As remarked above, it is a record, not of a Nītimārga at all, but of a Satyavākya. And it does not help in any way in connection with the Chikmagaḷūr inscription.

In the second place, we must dismiss the Doḍḍahunḍi inscription (8). This record is shewn by a palæographic detail to be appreciably earlier than A.D. 899. And, as has been explained by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 43, it is to be placed roughly about A.D. 840, and the Nītimārga of it is Raṇavikrama, son of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa.

And we must further dismiss the other inscription at Gaṭṭavāḍi (6). This can only be a record of Nītimārga-Eṇeyappa, to whom I have already referred it (Vol. VI. above, p. 70), falling probably in A.D. 912-13.

We need not give any attention to the Gañjigere inscription (1) and the Añchavāḍi inscription (4). These records do not throw any light on the date of the Chikmagaḷūr record. And there is nothing at present to identify the prince or princes mentioned as Nītimārga in them, or to enable us to refer them to any particular period; as in the case of many other records, nothing can be done with them until we have facsimiles or ink-impressions of them, unless perhaps an index, when we have one, of all the miscellaneous proper names mentioned in the records of the Western Gaṅga series, may furnish any clues.

The Kūligere inscription (7) does certainly give a date for a Nītimārga in A.D. 909-910. But it does not contain anything tending to identify that Nītimārga with the Nītimārga



Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record. And, as has been shewn by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 69, it is a record of Nītimārga-Ereyappa.

And as regards the Hirê-Bāsūr inscription (2), in the first place, the extant remnant of its date may be understood to mean Śaka-Saṁvat 922 (expired), in A.D. 1000, quite as well as Ś.-S. 822 (expired), in A.D. 900.<sup>1</sup> And in the second place, its date cannot be A.D. 899 or 900; because there was then ruling, not a Nītimārga, but Satyavākya-Būtuga I.: see my remarks in Vol. VI. above, p. 68 f., and my Table, *ibid.* p. 59. It is highly probable that the Hirê-Bāsūr inscription really is another record of the Nītimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record; but, if so, then its date is certainly Ś.-S. 922 expired, in A.D. 1000.

There remains the Hirêmagalūr inscription (3), the published text of which gives a Nīti-  
[mārga], with the *biruda* of Jayadatta[raṁga]. It is quite possible that this is another record of the Nītimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr inscription. But that point depends a good deal upon whether the *biruda* which has been read in it as Jayadatta[raṁga] should rather be read Jayadaṅka[kāra], or whether a *biruda* in an inscription at Elkūru in the Mysore district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 10; and see note 4 on page 56 below), which has been presented to us as Jayadaṅkakāra, should rather be read Jayaduttaraṁga. And, in any case, this Hirêmagalūr undated record does not help us to arrive at a date for the Chikmagalūr record.

In coming now to my own determination of the real period of this Chikmagalūr inscription, I may premise that this is not the first occasion on which I have had the matter under consideration. In August, 1899, Mr. Rice sent me the texts of the dates of this inscription, and of the spurious Jāvali copper-plate record (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Mg. 36) which purports to register a grant made by Śrīpurusha-(Muttarasa) in his twenty-fifth regnal year, on a specified occasion in the month Vaiśākha, Śaka-Saṁvat 672 expired. I had not then received the photograph of the Chikmagalūr inscription. All that I could say at that time, was, that the inscription might be a record of the Rachcha-Gaṅga who ruled between Būtuga II. and Mārasimha II.; that is to say, between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64 as matters then stood, but, as we know now (see Vol. VI. above, pp. 59, 71), between A.D. 953 and 963-64. Disregarding the *nakshatra*, and calculating for the full-moon, I found that the only possible result, for that period, is Monday, 5th November, A.D. 960, on which day the full-moon *tithi*, of the second Kārttika if we take Kārttika itself as the intercalary month, or of the only Kārttika if we take Bhādrapada as the intercalary month, began at about 4 hrs. 41 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). This result was not altogether satisfactory, inasmuch as there was no apparent reason why the *tithi* should have been used with the day upon which it began. But I communicated the result, such as it was, to Mr. Rice, in September, 1899, and sent him at the same time the result for the Jāvali date, the details of which are quite correct for Monday, 20th April, A.D. 750. And this leads me into a short digression, for which I must be excused. Mr. Rice has not mentioned the suggestion that I then made about the Chikmagalūr record; which, however, is not a matter of any importance. But he has quoted my result for the Jāvali date, in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introd. p. 7, and note 1. It is not, however, to be thought,—though it might easily be so imagined from the way in which the matter is there put,—that the opinion is mine, that the date of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa is now fixed by this result of my own calculations (see *loc. cit.* p. 29, line 23 f.), or that “this confirmation of an exact date is important” (*loc. cit.* p. 7, line 5 f.). There are the facts, that, amidst all the mass of information about Mysore which we have now available in Vols. III. to VII. and XI. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and in his books entitled *Mysore Inscriptions*, *Coorg Inscriptions*, and *Inscriptions at Sravana-Belgoḷa*, the earliest instance that is forthcoming, of the use of the Śaka era in Western Gaṅga records the authenticity of which is or seems to be

<sup>1</sup> It could equally well mean Śaka-Saṁvat 722 (expired), in A.D. 800, but for a point, stated by me on page 55 below, about the period of the adoption of the Śaka era in the Western Gaṅga records.

unquestionable, is in the Husukûru inscription, from the Mysore district, of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, which is dated in the Śaka year 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75), and that the era was not used by any means freely in that series of records even after that time; which facts indicate pretty plainly that the Śaka era was not adopted at all by the Western Gaṅgas until long after the alleged date of the Jāvali plates, and probably was not even known at that alleged date in the southern parts of Mysore, and are sufficient in themselves, even apart from other considerations, to cause any thoughtful person to hesitate before accepting a Śaka date of more than a century earlier, even though it does work out correctly. Further, we who are accustomed to handle Hindû dates, know quite well that the fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious; and it will be obvious, to anyone who reflects, that a Hindû, wishing to set up any particular date with accuracy, could, even in ancient times, by going to a proper person, get it correctly computed for him just as surely, though not so quickly, as we can now test it. And the case about the Jāvali date simply is that the accuracy of its details *would be* important, *if* the record were a genuine one, which it certainly is not. Beyond that, Mr. Rice took the opportunity to make certain observations in a foot-note (*loc. cit.* p. 7, note 2) and in a postscript (*loc. cit.* p. 29 f.), about which I cannot well avoid saying something, though it does not seem necessary that I should say much. As regards his foot-note, its tone speaks for itself; and I have only to add that the modifications and corrections which I could not make in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 180, but which I made in Vol. VI. above, p. 58 and p. 67 ff., were in respect of details in which I had been misled through relying on Mr. Rice himself, and notably in connection with the spurious Suradhēnupura plates (see Vol. VI. p. 58). As regards his postscript, the same remark as to tone applies; and also, anyone who may care to take the trouble can see, by means of the extracts and references given by me in Vol. VI. above, p. 74 ff., and p. 80 ff., that Mr. Rice did attempt to make out a case, against my views on the subject of the invention of Purāṇic genealogies, by means of garbled extracts from my writings. It is a matter for regret, because of the complications to which it leads, that Mr. Rice, in spite of the exceptional opportunities available to him, is still bent on trying, and by methods which may be ingenious but are certainly not commendable from any other point of view, to bolster up the fictitious early history of Mysore which he has put together from a credulous acceptance of spurious records and imaginative legends and from a resulting failure to deal properly with even some of the genuine records, instead of joining in the much more profitable and really interesting task of working out the true early history and accounting for the existence of the spurious records. But unfortunately that is the case; and it furnishes the explanation of the differences between Mr. Rice and me. I would add, though it is hardly necessary, that, if anything should ever come to light to justify such a course, I should not hesitate for a moment about abandoning my present views in respect of the Western Gaṅgas, and cancelling anything in my writings about them which would then be wrong. But nothing of that kind has happened yet. It is true that,—assuming the reliability of a record which I have no means of judging by either a facsimile or an ink-impression or a photograph,—an inscription at Āsandi in the Kaḍûr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 145) does shew that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa really had a son named Vijayāditya. That fact, however, is scarcely sufficient to establish a whole series of other things which are impossible in themselves.

We return to the subject of the Chikmagalûr record. Such was my opinion in 1899; that it might be placed between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64, and perhaps in A.D. 960. But now more light can be thrown upon the matter.

In the first place, we must notice an inscription at Uppahalli in the Kaḍûr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Cm. 42), which refers itself to the time of a Satyavākya whose personal name is

not mentioned in it, and is dated in A.D. 959, or possibly 958.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 8 f.) has attributed this record either to the well known Eṛeyappa, or else to his immediate predecessor: which of the two he intends, is not clear; but the doubt is unimportant, because the record does not really belong to either of them. And, by the way, in connection with the mention of Ayyapadēva along with Eṛeyappa in the Bēgūr inscription (see Vol. VI. above, p. 47), Mr. Rice has in the same place referred to the same period, and has proposed to date in A.D. 929, an inscription at Kuppehāḷu in the Kaṭūr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 6) which registers a grant made by the order of a certain Ayyaparasaṃya. But there is here a very peculiar confusion. The declensional and conjugational forms in the Kuppehāḷu inscription mark that record, quite unmistakably, as at least several centuries later than A.D. 929.<sup>2</sup> And Eṛeyappa, who was moreover a Nitimārga, not a Satyavākya, died before at any rate A.D. 940 (see Vol. VI. above, p. 70); and so the Uppahāḷi inscription Cm. 42, dated in A.D. 959 (? 958), cannot be attributed to him, and much less to his predecessor. That record can be properly ascribed only to Rachcha-Gaṅga, who ruled between A.D. 953 and 963-64. And it marks him as a Satyavākya, and shews that the Chikmagalūr record, of a Nitimārga, is not one of his records.

In the second place, the photograph of the Chikmagalūr record, which reached me in January, 1900, shews that the record presents, and no less than four times, the later type, and that type only, of the initial short *i*. And this feature, in a Mysore record, is practically absolute proof that we must not place it before A.D. 982.<sup>3</sup>

On the other side, it must be placed before A.D. 1022 at the latest, if we put any reliance upon records published in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V., Hassan district, which indicate that in A.D. 1022-23 (Mj. 43), A.D. 1026 (Ag. 76), and A.D. 1027 (Mj. 44), that part of Mysore, to which this record belongs, was in the hands either of Nripakāma-Poysala, or of a Rājendra-Chōla who may be either the Chōla king or a Kōṅḷa prince.

Further, an inscription at Elkūru in the Mysore district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 10),—overlooked by me in 1899,—shews (see my Table in Vol. VI. above, p. 59, and remarks on p. 57), that Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II., with a final date in A.D. 984-85 (see Vol. V. above, p. 173, note 6), was not the last Western Gaṅga prince; after him there came at any rate a Nitimārga, proper name not disclosed, with apparently the *birudas* Jayadaṅkakāra and Komaraveḍeṅga,<sup>4</sup> for whom the Elkūru inscription gives the date A.D. 999-1000.

<sup>1</sup> The actual details of the date given in this record are not satisfactory. Either the original presents an inaccurate date. Or there is some substantial mistake in the published reading.

Both the transliterated text, p. 104, and the Kanarese text, p. 172, give us Āśāḍha bahuḷa pañchami Bṛihaspativāra, and the Siddhārthin *saṃvatsara*. And in the 888 *eraḍaseya* of the Kanarese text we have, no doubt, a misprint for 882 as given in the transliterated text.

According to the so-called southern luni-solar system, Siddhārthin was Śaka-Saṃvat 882 current, = A.D. 959-60. And in that year the given *tithi* ended at about 3 hrs. 3 min. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 28th June, A.D. 959, and did not touch a Thursday at all.

According, however, to the so-called northern luni-solar system, Siddhārthin was S.-S. 881 current, = A.D. 958-59. And in this year the given *tithi* began at exactly 22 hrs. 28 min. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 7th July, A.D. 958, and ended at exactly 20 minutes after mean sunrise on the Friday; and it was thus an *adhika-tithi* covering the whole of the Thursday. This, therefore, may possibly be the real date of the record; namely, Thursday, 8th July, A.D. 958.

The times given above are, as usual, for Ujjain. But they are practically just the same for Chikmagalūr. In view of the time of the year, July, when the sun was rising just about 5-30 A.M., a determination of the *tithi* according to actual sunrise would not make any difference in the week-days.

<sup>2</sup> Even the other date suggested elsewhere, “? 1169 A.D.”—see the translations, p. 2,—is far too early.

<sup>3</sup> On this point, see my remarks on the initial short *i* attached to my paper on an inscription at Dēvagēri, in the Dhārwar district, which will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal.

<sup>4</sup> The Kanarese text (p. 4) of the Elkūru inscription presents *jayadaṅkatāra-kōviraveḍaṅgaṃ*. The transliterated text (p. 2) presents *jayad-aṅkakāra komara-veḍeṅgaṃ*. Such discrepancies as these are not very assuring. And, if we take this record in connection with the Hirṃmagalūr inscription, mentioned as (8) on pages 53, 54 above, it remains quite possible that the first *biruda* here ought to be read *jayaduttaraṅga*.

It seems reasonable, in these circumstances, to identify the *Nitimarga-Rāchamalla* of this Chikmagalūr inscription with the *Nitimarga*, personal name not disclosed, for whom the *Elkūru* inscription supplies the date of A.D. 999-1000, precisely in the period to which we are independently brought for the Chikmagalūr record. And, if we assume that the rule of this *Nitimarga* only began in A.D. 1000, then the Chikmagalūr record, dated in the month *Kārttika* of the sixth regnal year, cannot be placed later than A.D. 1005. While, on the other side, with A.D. 984-985 as the final date of *Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II.*, it cannot be placed before A.D. 989.

Thus, the extreme limits for this Chikmagalūr inscription are A.D. 989 and 1005. And it gives us a new Western Ganga name, that of *Rāchamalla III.*, with the appellation *Nitimarga*, whose sixth regnal year was current at some time during that interval.

A precise result cannot be arrived at just now, simply because the details of the date of the record are erroneous in one respect or another. They couple the *Mūla nakshatra* with the full-moon *tithi* of the month *Kārttika*; whereas, though the moon is often according to the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras*, but rarely if ever according to the equal-space or ordinary system, in *Mūla* in the course of the new-moon *tithi* of *Kārttika*, she cannot ever be anywhere near *Mūla* on the full-moon *tithi* of that month. And, until we obtain some further guide, we cannot decide whether we should discard the *nakshatra* and accept the full-moon, or whether we should regard the mention of the full-moon as a mistake and should take the new-moon and the *Mūla nakshatra*.

The following results, however, which tend to reduce the above-mentioned period to A.D. 991 to 1004, may be stated, to be utilised and examined more closely hereafter when we obtain some further guide, in the shape either of a Śaka date distinctly coupled with the name of *Rāchamalla III.*, or of another regnal date which will be free from ambiguity :—

(1) On the supposition that we must discard the *nakshatra* and calculate for the full-moon. With the tables in Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, I have the following results :—

- (a) During the above-mentioned period, the full-moon was first connected with a Monday in A.D. 991, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 2 hrs. 20 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Monday, 26th October. This result would place the commencement of the first year of *Nitimarga-Rāchamalla III.* on some day from *Kārttika kṛishṇa 1* in A.D. 985 to the full-moon day of *Kārttika* in A.D. 986; leaving a short but sufficient period, about eight to twenty months, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be *Rāchamalla*, standing between *Rāchamalla II.* and *Rāchamalla III.*
- (b) Other years in which the full-moon *tithi* ended on a Monday were A.D. 994, 997, 1001, and 1004. In A.D. 1003, it may have begun very shortly before the actual sunrise at the end of a Monday; but in that case, of course, it could not be connected with the Monday for any practical purposes.

(2) On the supposition that we should regard *purnāma* as a mistake for *amāvāsī*, and should calculate for the new-moon and the *Mūla nakshatra*. Here, the results are as follows :—

- (c) In this case, again, during the above-mentioned period, the new-moon was first connected with a Monday in A.D. 991, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 4 hrs. 58 min. on Monday, 9th November. The moon entered the *Mūla nakshatra* according to the *Brahmasiddhānta* system at about 17 hrs. 7 min., and according to the *Garga* system at about 22 hrs. 6 min., on the Monday; but according to the ordinary system she did not come to that *nakshatra* until about 10 hrs. 18 min. on the Tuesday. This result, in A.D. 991, would place the commencement of the first

year of Nitimārga-Rāchamalla III. on some day from Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 in A.D. 985 to the new-moon day of Kārttika in A.D. 986; leaving just about the same short but sufficient period indicated under 1, a, above, for some Western Gaṅga prince, whose name would not be Rāchamalla, standing between Rāchamalla II. and Rāchamalla III.

(d) Other years in which the new-moon *tithi*, ending or beginning, and with or without the Mūla *nakshatra*, was connected with a Monday, were, A.D. 994, 998, and 1001.

In view of these facts, this Chikmagalur record ought to be placed in A.D. 991, 994, 997, 998, 1001, or 1004, unless the details of the date given in it have been altogether inaccurately recorded.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

1	Om <sup>2</sup> Svasti Nitimārgga-Koṅguṇi- <sup>3</sup>			
2	varmma-dharmamahārājādhirā-			
3	ja Kuvaḷāla-puravar-śśvara [Nanda]-			
4	giri-nātha śrīmat Rāchamallaṅge [pa]-			
5	ṭṭam-gaṭṭid-āraṇeya varshada Kārttika-mā[sa]-			
6	da suddha puṇṇameyu[m] Sōmavāramu[m] <sup>4</sup> Mūla-nakshatra-			
7	mum-āge Pemmanāḍigaḷ	prithuvi-rājyaṁ-ge-		
8	yy[u]ṭṭam-ire Kiriya-Muguḷiya	Pemmāḍig[au ?]-		
9	[ṇḍa]ṇge <sup>5</sup> koṭṭa nīḷpanya	innū(nnū)ṇu Pemmāḍiyu[m]	Nīlabe-	
10	yu[m] Narasiṅgayyanuṁ	Kēsavayyanu[m]	[Pa ?]nne-ōjaru[m]	
11	[Ma ?]dhukammōjaruṁ	Beṇṇegēsiyuṁ	Eṇṇeyamman[um]	
12	int=ivar=iḷdu koṭṭor	i(i) <sup>6</sup>	koḍaṅgeyam	balasidor
13	nāḷgāmuṇḍa-Biyaḷanuṁ	Piriya-Muguḷiya	[Ko]ma-	
14	rayyanu[m] Palmāḍiya	Mendammanu[m]	Beṇṇeyūra	Dēva-
15	[gaṇa ?]nu[m] Maḷ[t]avūrada	Pemmāḍigāmuṇḍanu[m]	Urppavāḷiya	
16	Chamayyanuṁ	Indavūrada	Vi[ti ?]yyanu[m]	maṅgaḷa Om

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When it was the full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika of the sixth year of the crowning of the *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* Nitimārga-Koṅguṇivarman, the lord of Kuvaḷāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Rāchamalla, and when it was Monday and the Mūla *nakshatra* :—

(Line 7)—While the Pemmanāḍi was ruling the earth, to Pemmāḍig[au]ṇḍa (?)<sup>7</sup> of Kiriya-Muguḷi there were given two hundred—[supply probably *mattars*]<sup>8</sup>—of *nīḷpanya*-land.

<sup>1</sup> Partly from the photograph, and partly from the previously published Kanarese text; see page 50 above.

<sup>2</sup> Represented by a plain symbol; so also at the end of line 16.

<sup>3</sup> The previously published Kanarese and transliterated texts both give *koṅguṇi*, with the guttural ṇ. But the photograph shows unmistakably *koṅguṇi*.

<sup>4</sup> The second *akṣhara* of this word, the *ma*, was at first omitted by the writer, and was then inserted by him below the line, under the small space between the *ś* and the *ed*. It is rather faint in the photograph.

<sup>5</sup> The previously published texts both give *gaṇḍaṅge*; and the translation presents the name as Pemmāḍi-Gauḍa. The period seems rather early for the form *gaṇḍa* (see Vol. VII. above, p. 183); and we have the form *gaṇḍa* in lines 13 and 15. I suspect that an estampage would show that the real reading here is *ga[mu]ṇḍaṅge*, with a damaged *mu* at the end of line 8.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Rice's transliterated text gives here the long *i*; for which of course, in such a construction as that which we have here, the short *i* is a mistake. His Kanarese text gives quite properly the short *i*, which is shown by the photograph to be most distinctly the real reading.

<sup>7</sup> See note 5 above.

Pemmāḍi, and Nīlabe, and Narasiṅgayya, and Kēsavayya, and Panne-ḍja (?), and Madhukammōja (?), and Benneḡēsi, and Eṇeyamma, — these persons, being (*convened*),<sup>1</sup> gave (*them*).

(Line 12)—Those who have cultivated this allotment (*are*) the Nālgāmūṇḍa Biyaḷa, and Komarayya (?) of Piriya-Muguḷi, and Mendamma of Palmāḍi, and Dēvagapa (?) of Benneṇyūr, and Pemmāḍigāmūṇḍa of Māṭavūra, and Chamayya of Urpavallī, and Vitiyya (?) of Indavūra. (*May there be*) felicity ! Ōm !

## No. 8. — THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVES AT NASIK. ✓

By E. SÉNART ; PARIS.

For a description of the caves at Nāsik, as well as for those at Kārlē,<sup>2</sup> it will be enough to refer to Burgess and Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples* and to the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV. p. 37 ff. As for the inscriptions which these caves contain, the first publication of them goes back to Vol. VII. p. 37 ff. of the *Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, and the first interpretation to Bhandarkar's *Notices*, published in the *Transactions of the London Congress*, 1874, p. 306 ff. To Bhagwanlal Indraji we are indebted for the reproductions on which are based Bühler's translations, printed in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India (AS.)*, and for the commentary written by Bhagwanlal himself and embodied in the volume devoted to Nāsik in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. p. 544 ff. (G.). These two translations, being based on thoroughly reliable documents, are the real tests of our present knowledge on the subject, and I shall constantly refer to them in this article. As in the case of Kārlē, the epigraphs of Nāsik have been distributed by AS. into two different series, *vis.* "Kshatrapa and Andhra inscriptions" (Ksh.) and "Nāsik inscriptions of private individuals" (Pr.). The numbering adopted here is that which was used by Bhagwanlal in the *Gazetteer*.

### No. 1, Plate iii. (Ksh. 16).

On the back wall of the veranda of Cave No. 2.

#### TEXT.

Sidha (1) raṇo Vāsīṭhiputasa (2) Siri-Puḷumayisa saṁvachhare (3) chhaṭhe 6 gimhapakhe (4) pachame 5 divase (5) . . . . .

#### REMARKS.

(1) AS. *sidham*. — (2) G. and AS. *Vāsīṭhi*<sup>o</sup>; but on the estampages the beginning of the i-curl is sufficiently discernible. — (3) G. and AS. *sava*<sup>o</sup>. — (4) AS. *gima*<sup>o</sup>, doubtless a simple typographical mistake. — (5) AS. *divase 1 . po . hi . ti . d*. I can make nothing of the indistinct traces of letters which follow *divase*.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the . . . . . day of the fifth — 5th — fortnight of summer in the sixth — 6th — year of king Siri-Puḷumayi, son of Vāsīṭhi . . . . ."

<sup>1</sup> The *īḍa* of line 12 of this record is equivalent to the *oḍa=īḍa*, 'being together, being in the company of each other, being convened,' of various other records; see a remark in Vol. VI. above, p. 68, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VII. p. 47 f.

## No. 2, Plate i. (Ksh. 18).

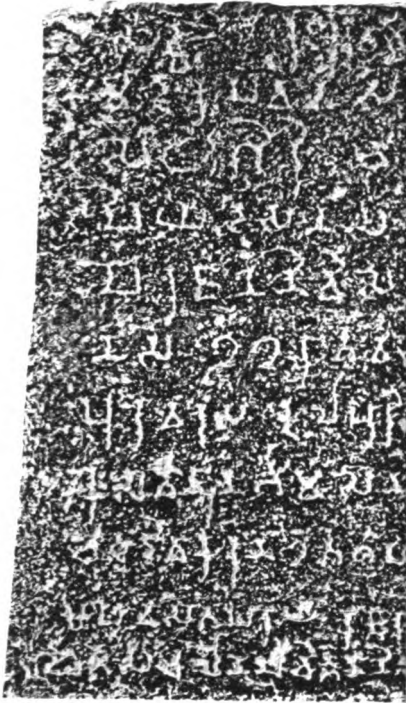
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

## TEXT.

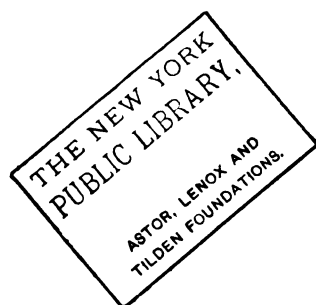
- 1 Siddham (1) raño Vāsīthiputasa (2) Siri-Puṣumāyisa savicchare (3) ekunavise 19  
gimhāna (4) pakhe bitiyē 2 divase terase 13 rājaraño Gotamiputasa Himavata-  
Meru-
- 2 Madara-pavatasamasārasa Asika-Asaka(5)-Mujaka-Suratha-Kukur-Āparamta(6)-  
Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvati-rājasa Vijha-Chhavata-Pārichāta(7)-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-  
Macha-Siriṭana-Malaya-Mahida-
- 3 Seṭagiri-Chakora-pavatapatisa savarājalo(8)madala(9)patigabitasāsana  
divasakarakara(10)vibodhitakamalavimalasadisavadanasa tisamudatoyapitavāhanasa  
paṭipupachadamaḍalasa sirika-
- 4 piyadasanasa varavāraṇavikamachārūvikamasa bhujagapattibhogapīnavāta(11)-  
vipuladighasuda . bhujasa (12) abhayodakadānakilinanibhayakarasa avipanamātu-  
susūśākasa (13) suvibhatativagadesakālasa
- 5 porajanānivesasamasukhadukhasa khatiyadapamānamadanasa (14) Saka-Yavana-  
Palhava-nisūdanasa dhamopajitakaravinīyogakarasa kitāparādhe pi satujane  
apāpahisārūchisa dijāvarakuṭubavivadhā-
- 6 nasa Khakharātavasa(15)niravasesakarasa Sātavāhanakulayasapatithāpana(16)karasa  
savamaḍalā(17)bhivādītacha . nasa vinivatitachātuvapaṇasakarasa anekasamarāvaji-  
tasatūsaghasa aparājītavijayapatākāsātujanadupadhasaniya(18)-
- 7 puravarasa kulapurisaparaparāgatavipulārājasadasa āgamāna (19) nilayasa sapurisāna  
asayasa Sirī . adbhīhānasa upachārāna (20) pabhavasa ekakusasa ekadhanu-  
dharasa ekaśūrasa (21) ekabamhaṇasa Rāma-
- 8 Kesav-Ājuna-Bhīmasena-tulaparakamasa (22) chhanaghannasava(23)samājākāraka  
Nābhāga(24)-Nahusa-Janamejaya-Sakara-Yayāti-Rām-Ābarisa-samatejasa aparimitam  
akhayam achitam abhuta (25) Pavana-Garuḷa(26)-Sidha-Yakha-Rakhasa-  
Vijādhara-Bhūta-Gadhava-Chārāpa-
- 9 Chada-Divākara-Nakhata-Gaba-vichīpasamarasirasi jitaripusaghasa nāga(27)varakhadhā  
gaganatalam abhivigāḍhasa kulavipulasirīkarasa Siri-Sātakanisa mātuya  
mahādevīya (28) Gotamiya Balasirīya sachavachanadānakhamā(29)hiśā(30)-  
niratāya tapadamanīya-
- 10 mopavāsataparāya rājarisivadhūsam (31) akhilam anuvīdhīyamānāya kārīta  
deyadhama . . . . . (32) sikharasadise Tirāṇhupavatasikhare  
vim . (33)varanivisesamahīdhika lepa eta cha lepa mahādevī mahārājāmātā  
mahārājap . tāmahī (34) dadāti nikāyasa Bhadāvanīyānam (35) bhikkhusaghasa  
(36)
- 11 etasa cha lepasa chitānanimīta (37) mahādevīya ayakāya sevakāmo (38) piyakāmo  
cha pat . . . . . (39)pathesaro (40) pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti  
gāma (41) Tirāṇhupavataṣa aparadakhīnapase Pisājīpadakam (42)  
savajātābhoganirāthi.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. *siddha ra°*. — (2) G. and AS. *°sīthipū°*. — (3) G. *savachhare*; AS. *saṁvachhare*; *i* seems clear, and it must be remembered that *savimchhala* = *saṁvatsara* is found in the *Sahasrām* edict. As to the change of *a* into *i* in Prākṛit, comp. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, paragraphs 101-3. — (4) G. and AS. *gimhāna*. — (5) G. *Asika-Susaka°*. — (6) G. *°parāta°*; *ta* is followed not only by such a blank as is frequent in this inscription, but by some traces which look like the rest of a letter. As, however, it cannot be a *k*, it is not easy to







imagine what it could have been, and it is most probable, as has been admitted by the former editors, that these traces are nothing but accidental deteriorations of the stone. — (7) AS. °*Parivāta*°. — (8) The character *lo* is all but clear. — (9) AS. °*maṇḍala*°. — (10) The *ka* of the second *kara*, which falls into the flaw, is very indistinct. — (11) G. and AS. °*pinavaṣa*°. — (12) The *ra* restored by G. and AS. cannot be doubted, though injured by the flaw. — (13) G. °*susudā*°. — (14) The top of the *na* of *dana* seems to bear a horizontal stroke, and I am inclined to think that *maḍaṇasa* was intended. — (15) AS. °*vaṃsa*°. — (16) AS. °*paṭiṣṭhāpa*°; *th* is at least more probable, besides being more correct. — (17) AS. °*maṇḍalā*°. — (18) AS. °*padhasasantiya*° (a mere printer's mistake). — (19) G. °*mānaṃ*. — (20) G. °*chārānaṃ*. — (21) AS. omits *ekasūrasa* in the transcript. — (22) AS. °*parāka*°. — (23) G. °*chhanayanusa*°. — (24) AS. °*Nabhāga*°. — (25) G. °*bhutam*. — (26) G. °*Garuḍa*°. — (27) G. °*naga*°; AS. °*naga*°. — (28) AS. °*deviya*. — (29) *ḍ* of °*khamā*° seems to me at least doubtful. — (30) G. °*himsā*°. — (31) AS. °*vadhūśadam*. — (32) AS. restores [°*Kelāsa*]°[°*vata*]°. I feel no doubt at all about this restoration which is confirmed by the still visible *e*-stroke; but it must be understood that it is entirely conjectural. — (33) G. and AS. restore °*vimā[na]*°, which is certainly right. — (34) G. °*patāma*°; AS. °*p[ṭi]tāma*°; the beginning of the *i*-curl of *pitā* is still visible. — (35) AS. °*niyā*°; G. and AS. °*yāna bhī*°. — (36) G. °*samghasa*. — (37) AS. °*chitanā*°. — (38) G. °*sevākāmo*. — (39) AS. °*ṇa[tā . . . . Dakhinā]*°. Except the *t* which has left some traces, the passage in brackets is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one. — (40) AS. °*paṭhisaro*. — (41) AS. °*gāmaṃ*. — (42) AS. °*Pisāchi*°; the final *anuvāra* is at least doubtful.

## TRANSLATION.

“Success ! In the nineteenth — 19th — year of king Siri-Puṣumāyi Vāsīṭhiputa, in the second — 2nd — fortnight of summer, on the thirteenth — 13th — day, the great queen Gotamī Balasiri, delighting in truth, charity, patience and respect for life; bent on penance, self-control, restraint and abstinence; fully working out the type of a royal *Rishi*'s wife; the mother of the king of kings, Siri-Sātakaṇi Gotamiputa, who was in strength equal to mount Himavat, mount Meru, mount Mandara; king of Asika, Asaka, Muḷaka, Surāṭha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidabha, Ākarāvanti; lord of the mountains Vindhya, Chhavata, Pārichāta, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahendra, Setāgiri, Chakora; obeyed by the circle of all kings on earth; whose face was beautiful and pure like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun; whose chargers had drunk the water of three oceans; whose face was lovely and radiant like the orb of the full moon; whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant; whose arms were as muscular and rounded, broad and long as the folds of the lord of serpents; whose fearless hand was wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness; of unchecked obedience towards his mother; who properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity); who sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens; who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas; who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice; alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy; the furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born; who rooted out the Khakharāta race; who restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family; whose feet were saluted by all provinces; who stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*; who conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles; whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes; who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music; the abode of traditional lore; the refuge of the virtuous; the asylum of Fortune; the fountain of good manners; the unique controller; the unique archer; the unique hero; the unique Brāhmaṇa; in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena; liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies; not inferior in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīsha; who, vanquishing his enemies in a way as constant as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous.

in battles fought by the Wind, Garuḍa, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Rākshasas, the Vidyā-dharas, the Bhūtas, the Gandharvas, the Chāraṇas, the Moon, the Sun, the Asterisms and the Planets, (appeared to be himself) plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant; (and) who (thus) raised his family to high fortune, — caused, as a pious gift, on the top of the Tirāṇḍu mountain similar to the top of the Kailāsa, (this) cave to be made quite equal to the divine mansions (there). And that cave the great queen, mother of a *Mahārāja* and grandmother of a *Mahārāja*, gives to the *Saṅgha* of monks in the person of the fraternity of the *Bhadāvanīyas*; and for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the great queen his grandmother, her grandson . . . lord of [Dakṣiṇā]-patha, making over the merit of the gift to his father, grants to this meritorious donation (*vis.* the cave) the village *Pisāḍipadaka* on the south-west side of mount Tirāṇḍu. Renunciation to the enjoyments of every kind."

For all the proper names which are enumerated in line 2, I must refer the reader to the short geographical index given at the end of the Nāsik chapter in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI.<sup>1</sup> The names *Surāśṭra*, *Anūpa*, *Ākarāvanti*, *Kukura* and *Aparānta* appear again in the *Rudradāman* inscription at *Girnār*.<sup>2</sup> The observations to which they have given rise, will be found especially in *Aroh. Surv. West. India, Antiq. of Kāthiāwār and Kachchh*, p. 128 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 257 ff. This reference establishes the reading *Ākarāvanti*, and even in Sanskrit orthography the form *Kukura*. Of the other names, *Asaka* may be = *Ashaka*, or also *Aśvaka*; but I am not prepared to admit for *Asika* the connection with the *Arsacidæ* which was proposed by Bhagwanlal. They are simply the *Ṛishikas* who are well known from the Epic, and for whom I may refer to the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. II. p. 58 f. The verse from the *Mahābhārata* (V. 81) which is noted there (*Kāmbōjā Ṛishikā yē cha Pāṭchimānūpakāścha yē*) very conveniently brings them into contact with the *Anūpa* country. Seeing them here immediately associated with the *Aśvakas*, one is reminded of the legends which were current of their marvellous horses. The *Mulakas* remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the *Muṇḍakas*, known from the *Vishṇupurāṇa*; and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the *Śakas* and *Tukhāras* is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of *ṛ* into *ṇ*.<sup>3</sup> As to the names of mountains, I do not think there can be any hesitation in reading *Pārichāta*. It must therefore be admitted that the form *Pāriyātra* need not necessarily be proscribed as was done by Bühler, who otherwise agreed with Bhagwanlal in the identification of that range. As to *Macha* (apparently = *Mañcha*), we have nothing to rely on but the conjecture of Bhagwanlal, too bold I fear to be really convincing. Cases like *gahata* = *grihastha* (K. 5) do not permit us to be quite as positive as Bühler regarding the impossibility of *Sirīṭana* being = *Śrīṭana*. I am less inclined to consider *seṭa* = *śveta* in *Seṭagiri*. On the other hand, the name can hardly be connected, as Bhagwanlal wanted, with *Sāḍagera*, *Sāḍakara*, which in the *Kuḍā* inscriptions (1, 9) has no *e* in the first syllable, and which, as a family or tribal appellation, rather reminds of the name of *Sāta* (or *Sāda*) *karpi*.

The compound *savarāja*<sup>o</sup> is slightly irregular; but in the somewhat loose style of *Prākṛit* we often meet with forms like *savalokarājamaḍala* or *savalokamaḍalarāja*. The transposition of *abhayodakadānakilina* (= *abhayadānodakakilina*), proposed by Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar (*Or. Congr.* 1874, p. 313), would give a decidedly better construction and bring out more clearly the antithesis between *bhayadāna* and *nirbhaya*; but it has no bearing on the general meaning. The attribute *dharmopajīta*<sup>o</sup> is meant to imply that the king not only levied taxes in strict accordance with the law, but used them exclusively for just purposes.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Mr. V. Smith's note in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. LVI. p. 674 f.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 47 above.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. V. Smith (*loc. cit.*) refers doubtfully to the *Mūlikas* and *Maulikas* of the *Epikatsamhitā*, XIV. 8 and 23.

To all appearance Bhagwanlal is right in supposing that after *patāka* the proximity of the initial *sa* in *satu* has caused the dropping of the genitive termination *sa*, which is required if the compound *aparājītavijayapatāka* is taken as an independent epithet of the king. Otherwise it would have to be taken as qualifying *puravara*, which would be a far-fetched sort of interpretation and against the phraseology of our inscriptions.

Bühler translated *kulapurisa*<sup>o</sup> by 'who bore many royal titles descended to him from a (long) line of ancestors.' It seems to me certain that *purusha* implies 'descent by males.' Besides, one cannot help comparing the second part of the expression *vipularājasada* with a compound frequently used in more modern inscriptions: *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda*; the only difference is that *samadhigata* is here replaced by the more emphatic *parampardgata*. *Vipula* is used instead of the synonymous *mahā* only in order to prevent the misunderstanding which the vicinity of *rāja* could have produced; for the adjective must refer to *śabda* or *rājaśabda*, not to *rāja*, the title *mahārāja* by itself being too modest. If the comparison be correct, and I hardly think it can be doubted, we have to interpret the phrase here in the same sense as the more modern formula. Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 296, note 9, corroborated by *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 296, note 3) has conclusively discarded the translation which considered it as summing up certain royal titles. This qualification is generally applied to feudatories in order to enhance their importance; but Dr. Fleet has already pointed out cases where it is applied to paramount sovereigns, as one of whom Śātakarṇi certainly wanted to be considered.

The transcription *śkāṅkusasya*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, is I think decidedly to be preferred to Bhandarkar's correction *śkakusalasa*. Perhaps the epithet contains an allusion to the title "Gajapati," which by tradition is conferred on the principal regent of Western India (compare Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II. p. 27 f.), and which our Gautamīputra may have claimed.

In spite of the form *achītaṁ* instead of *achī[ṁ]tiyaṁ*, Bühler is certainly right in his explanation of those adverbs; but I think that they refer not only to *jīta*<sup>o</sup>, but to the following epithet, which is closely connected with them. Of *nagavarakhadhā* nothing satisfactory can be made; the reading *nāga*<sup>o</sup> gives a better sense. On his battle elephant the king appears as if he would rise to heaven. This is not only a hyperbolical way of describing the height of the animal, but implies more. The king is *jītaripuṣaṅgha* — he is seen in the glory of his triumph; besides, as he is seconded in his fights by the divine powers, Pavana and others, he appears in some manner in the sky and among the gods. The two epithets *Pavana*<sup>o</sup> *jīta*<sup>o</sup> and *nāga*<sup>o</sup> *°vigādha* complement each other conformably to the law which Benfey (*Gesch. der Sprachwiss.* p. 35) has rightly pointed out, and in virtue of which the more general term comes at the end, preceded by the determining word, — a rule which, to state it *en passant*, ought never to be lost sight of in the interpretation of inscriptions and may in more than one instance help to bring out the right shade of meaning in complicated constructions. One more point remains to be settled. *Samarasīrasī* has been translated: 'in the foremost ranks in a battle;' and in fact this is the way in which, following some Hindu commentaries, it has been customary to interpret *śīras* when compounded with some word meaning 'fight.' But not one of the instances which are known to me necessarily requires this signification, and several would much rather, exclude it (e.g. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 48, 138); on the other hand the idiom is used, as far as I know, only in the locative case, either simply *°śīrasī* or, by way of a periphrase, *°śīrasō madhyē* (*Mahābhārata*, IV. 1131; VI. 4041), which comes exactly to the same. I have elsewhere (*Mahāvastu*, I. 624), in connection with another idiom, noted the inclination of the Prākṛits to form periphrastic cases, and have drawn attention to the Pāli use, in this case, of *piṭṭhe* (*prishṭhe*) and *matthake* (*mastakē*). Such analogies strongly support a similar interpretation of *śīrasī*. It would indeed be puzzling if instances were limited to the expression *rapasīrasī* and its equivalents. But such is in no way the case, and to *sarāśīrasī*, i.e. 'in, or on, the pond,' which the *St. Pēt. Dict.* cites from the *Nāradapañchar.* I. 3, 56, other cases will, I believe,

now be added after attention has been invited to this point. Of course the unsatisfactory explanation of *raṇatiraḥ* = *sēndgra*, having once been suggested, may have contributed to enlarge the use of the word. Anyhow I consider that here *samaratīrasī* means no more than *samarē* or *samarēśhu*.

*Kelāsapavatasikhara* being perfectly certain, *vimāna* ought not to be interpreted as an unspecified 'palace,' but as one of the heavenly mansions of the gods residing on Kailāsa. The Prākṛit *Tiraṇḥu* must, notwithstanding its irregular form, be = Sanskrit *Triraśmi*. The meaning of *raṇand* is partially identical with *raśmi*; this circumstance may have favoured the transition, especially the substitution of *n* for *m*. Besides, local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure. Of Bhaddāyanīya the etymologically correct form is that which we shall find in the next epigraph, viz. Bhaddāyanīya (-ka). Regarding that sect, a subdivision of the Sthaviras, comp. Rhys Davids in *J. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., 1891, p. 411 ff., and 1892, pp. 5-7. As to the relation between the three genitives at the end of line 10 of the text, I may refer to my remarks on K. 13 above.

*Chitāṇanimita* is translated: 'to allow (this cave) to be taken care of' by Bühler, who reads *chitand* and takes it to mean *chintana*; and: 'for painting (the cave)' by Bhagwanlal, who reads *chitana* and derives the word from *chitrāyati*. This etymology, which is recommended by the *n*, seems to me to be the only acceptable one, although Bhagwanlal probably limits the meaning too closely. *Chitrāy* may as well be taken in the general sense of 'ornamentation, embellishment.' Bühler seems to have been influenced by the comparison of *leṇasa paṭisaṭharane* which, in the next inscription, sums up the object of the present donation. To be sure, the two expressions cannot contradict each other; but nothing requires *a priori* that they should be exactly synonymous. *Chintana* has the very definite and abstract meaning of 'thought'; it is not easy to introduce it here without some violence. We shall see on the other hand that the explanation 'for the repairs of the cave,' proposed for *paṭisaṭharane* in N. 3, is far from being certain.

The restoration *ṇa[īd . . . . Dakṣiṇā]paṭhisaro* is as probable as the translation of *pitupatiyo* proposed by Bühler is inadmissible. *Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period (above, Vol. III. p. 343; Vol. IV. p. 207, etc.), denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit,' which enables its author to get over the ocean of *samsāra*. The way in which the word is used in ll. 12-13 of the next inscription could lead us to fancy that it is here transformed into a proper name, attached to that cave which has been dug out by the king's grandmother. Such a name, however, would be very vague and little significant. I admit that *dharmasētu* must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as an apposition to *leṇa* either expressed or understood, to mean 'the pious foundation' of the queen. I cannot account for the curious idea of Bhagwanlal, who sees in it the personal name of some 'manager of the cave.' As to *pitupatiyo*, he transcribes it by *paṭripitrikah*. He evidently thought of the analogy of *pitripaitāmaha*; but the two are in no way identical. It might be admitted that they are equivalent, and that *pitripitri* = 'father and (father's) father.' The insuperable difficulty lies in the reading. The stone does not bear *pitupitiyo* or *pitupetiyo*, but *pitupatiyo*. The *i*-vowel after the second *p* is decidedly excluded by the tail of the *r* in the preceding line, and no trace of an *e*-vowel can be discovered. It is *pitupatiyo* and nothing else that has to be explained. *Patti* in the Buddhist Pāli, i.e. *prāpti*, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, by a foundation (Childers, s.v.). It is probably through the intermediate meaning 'a part, participation,' that the word has come to be used in that way. Thus *pitupattiyo* or *ṭṭiko* means 'who is applying to his father the merit of his donations.' The king speaks of his father only because his father alone is dead, and he begins by alluding to his mother, proclaiming his donation to be inspired by his veneration towards her and his wish to share in her views. It is therefore just as if he had said, with an idiom more familiar to the language of inscriptions, *pitaram uddiṭṭya*. From this case I am inclined to conclude, without

being able actually to verify the conjecture, that such an application of merit can be made only in favour of deceased persons. However that may be, it will now be seen by what very natural transition of thought the giver is led to use without any other preparation the name *dharmassetu* as given to the cave; he is inspired at this very moment by the line of religious thoughts which have suggested it and which explain it.

Bühler seems to entertain no doubt as to the identity of the village named here with that mentioned at the beginning of the following inscription. It is certain that the date of the donation mentioned there is exactly the same as in the present epigraph, and that this donation is made in favour of the same sect of Bhādāyānīyas. It is above all evident from the place it occupies, and from the fact that the following text has been compressed in order that it might be inscribed here, that that place has been chosen intentionally. It must, however, be stated that the village called here Pisājipadaka, i.e. I suppose Pisāchīpadraka, gets in the following epigraph the name of Sudisaṇa, and that the description is not identical in both texts, Pisājipadaka being located at the S. W. of Tiraphupavata, and Sudisaṇa at the south of the Govadhanāhāra. The two may after all be the same; but the difference in the name and description deserves to be noted, especially because a perfect agreement would naturally be expected. Further N. 3 brings in the *Sramāṇas* from Dhanakāṭa, who are not mentioned in connection with the donation which No. 2 records. It is therefore impossible to affirm that the beginning of N. 3 refers to the present donation; nor is it absolutely impossible that the king should have consented on the same day to a double donation, although it would, in that case, be difficult to understand why he should not have combined the mention of both. It may, however, be remarked that the gift of the village is here recorded in a somewhat unusual style and summed up in an abridged form (*savajātabhoga-nirāṭhi*), which looks like a simple mention, so hasty that it was left without a grammatical construction and the detailed indications which generally authenticate the gifts. Perhaps we have here the trace of some peculiar and, to us, undetermined circumstances which, if known, would explain why a new deed was substituted three years later, as commemorated in the following document.

#### No. 3, Plate ii. (Ksh. 19).

Engraved in continuation of No. 2, from which it is separated only by a *Svastika* followed by another symbol.

#### TEXT.

- 11 Siddha (1) Navanarasvāmī Vāsīṭhiputo Siri(2)-Pūṣumavi ānapayati Govadhane  
āmacha (3)
- 12 Sivakhadila ya amhehi (4) sava 19 gi pa 2 diva 13 Dhanakāṭasamanehi (5)  
ya etha pavate (6) Tira(7) . . . . . na dhavasetusa (8)  
lepasa paṭisatharape (9) . akhaya . . . (10) hetu etha Govadhanāhāre  
dakhīpamage gāmo Sudisaṇa (11) bhikhuhi devilepavāsehi nikāyena  
Bhādāyānīyehi (12) patigaya (13) dato (14) etasa dānagāmasa Sudasanāna  
parivāṭake etha Govadhanahare (15) puvamage (16)
- 13 gāma (17) Samalipada dadāma (18) etata mahasāirakena (19) odena (20)  
dhamasetusa lepasa paṭisatharape (21) akhayanivihetu (22) gāma Sāmalipada (23)  
bhi . uhi devilepa . . . . . yena (24) Bhādāyanayehi (25) patigayha (26)  
oyapapehi (27) etasa cha gāmāsa Sāmalipadāsa (28) bhikkuhalaparihāra (29)
- 14 vitarāma apālāsa anomasa (30) aloṇakhādaka arāṭhasavinavika savajātaparihārika  
cha etehi na parihārehi (31) pariharehi (32) eta (33) cha gāma Samalipada (34)  
panihāre cha (35) etha (36) nibadhāpehi (37) Sud . . na (38) gāmāsa cha  
Sudasanāna vinibadhakārehi apatā (39) mahāsenāpatinā (40) Medhunena . . . .  
nā (41) ohhato baṭikā . v . . kehi (42) hatha . to (43) datā  
paṭikā (44) sava 22 gi pakhe (45) . diva 7 . takapinā (46) katā

K

Govadhanavāthavāna (47) phāsa . yo (48) Vinhupālana (49) svāmi-  
vapānapata (50) nama (51) bhagatasapatipatapasa (52) Jinavarasa Budhasa.

## REMARKS.

(1) AS. *siddham*. — (2) G. *Siri-Pu*°. — (3) G. and AS. *amacha*; *ā* seems clear, though faint. — (4) G. °*lana sumepa sa*°; AS. °*la ya amhepa sa*°. The reading *amhehi* is required by the context. We might at the utmost read *amhepi* if *amhehi* were not morally certain. — (5) G. *Dhanamka*°. It will be seen that I incline to read *Bendkafa*°. — (6) G. restores *pa[va]te*. I think I can read the three characters. — (7) G. and AS. restore *Tira[nhumhi* . . . . .]. — (8) G. . . . *na etasatasa le*°; AS. *dhavāsetisa le*°. I have no doubt that the text really had *dhama*°. — (9) AS. notes no lacuna between °*ne* and *a*°, and G. only points out an undetermined one. I admit not only that there remains room for one character, but that the back of the estampage seems to retain some traces of it, which might be mistaken for *na*. As, however, in the repetition which will follow, and the phraseology of which is the exact counterpart of this first formula, the reading °*tharane* is certain and perfectly complete, it seems hardly possible that the text should have been different here. — (10) G. and AS. restore °*[nivi]*°. — (11) G. notes between °*mo* and *su*° a lacuna which nothing compels us to admit, and reads *Sudisana*; AS. *Sadasand*. — (12) AS. °*niyena*; only a lapsus. — (13) G. *patikhaya*; AS. *patikhaya*. Here and in l. 13 the letter looks like *ga*. — (14) AS. *datā*. — (15) AS. °*dhanāhāre*. — (16) G. °*vasime*. — (17) G. and AS. *gāmo*. — (18) G. and AS. *dadima*. — (19) G. *mahā*°; G. and AS. °*kana*. — (20) G. *oddna*. The back of the estampage seems to warrant *de*. — (21) G. °*samtha*°. — (22) AS. °*heta*. — (23) G. °*padam*. — (24) G. *bhikhuhi devileṇavā[sehi nikā]yena*; AS. *ta* [ . . *bhi*] *khuhi leṇa[vāsehi nikā]y[e]na*. — (25) G. °*yaniyehi*; AS. °*yanayahi*. — (26) G. °*gahya*; AS. °*tikhaya*. — (27) G. *uyapa* . . . . . °; AS. *uyapaya* °. The transcription *u* for the first character and *ya* for the last would, *a priori* and for purely palaeographical reasons, be inadmissible. Besides, in the strokes which Bühler interprets as *paya*, I read with some confidence *pehi*. But the reading *oyapāpehi* is warranted by the Kopdamudi plates and by Kārlā No. 19 (above, Vol. VI. p. 71, note 1). — (28) AS. *Sama*°. — (29) G. °*hāram*. — (30) G. *anama*°. — (31) AS. °*rihare*°. — (32) AS. °*harihi*. — (33) G. *datam cha*. — (34) G. °*padam*; AS. °*mala-pada*. — (35) G. °*hārānam*; AS. °*hāre na*. Although *cha* is not clear, the parallel passage leaves no doubt as to the reading. — (36) AS. *eṭha*. — (37) AS. °*badha la* . . . *mi* . *gā*°; G. °*baṁdhāpanam* . . . . *gā*°. — (38) *su* and *na* appear to me certain, *d[a]* most probable. These elements lead almost irresistibly to the reading *Sudasan[e]* for the whole. It must be owned, however, that the third character does not give the impression of an *s* either on the front or on the back; but as it does not resemble any other known character, it must be admitted that its aspect has been altered by some damage of the stone. — (39) G. *ānato*; AS. °*nibakāre*°. The *dha* is not visible on the Plate, but at least very plausible on the back of the estampage, which at any rate warrants the presence of two letters between *ba* and *re*. I have no doubt that the direct examination of the stone has inspired Bhagwanlal correctly. — (40) AS. °*senapa*°. — (41) G. °*na* [*Sātakam*] *nd*. The visible traces make it a puzzle for me how Bhagwanlal could propose such a restoration. — (42) G. °*to Binikaṣavd-sakahi*; AS. °*to paṭikā . vdsakehi*. The reading *bi* (G.) can hardly be seriously upheld; *pa* of AS. is not much more likely. As to the *sa* on which both agree, it seems less probable on the back than it looks on the front. — (43) G. *hathachhatā*; AS. *hathichhatā*. I feel little doubt that the top-curl belongs to the *d* of the preceding line, and that the *i* ought to be struck off. — (44) AS. °*tā hīṇa sa*°. — (45) G. and AS. *pa* . . . — (46) G. 7 *Sātakanind*; AS. 7 . *Sā . kanena*. — (47) AS. °*vathavana*. — (48) G. *phāsukāyam*; AS. *phesakaye*. The top of the first letter seems to bear a horizontal stroke on both sides, which would give *pho*; but the two strokes do not exactly face one another, and the one on the right is more clearly and deeply cut. Pro-

bably the stroke on the left is accidental, and we ought to read *phā*. — (49) AS. *V[ī]śhu°*, which is a printer's mistake for *Vīñhu°*; G. *Vephu°*. — (50) G. *śmivāṇandāta*; AS. *śmivāṇānāta*. — (51) G. *namo*, which is perhaps right. — (52) G. *bhaga[va]tasa°*; AS. *bhagātasa°*; G. *°patipatipasa*.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! The lord of Navanara, Siri-Puṣumāvi Vāsiṭhīputa, commands Sivakhandila, the officer at Govadhana: The village of Sudasana here in the Govadhana district on the Southern road, which by us, in the 19th year, on the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of summer, . . . . by the Samanas of Dhanamkasa who [dwell] here on mount Tiraphu . . . . , has been given to be owned by the Bhikshus of that fraternity, the Bhaddāyaniyas dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave meritoriously excavated, — in exchange for this gift, — the village of Sudasana, — we give the village of Sāmalipada, here in the Govadhana district on the Eastern road; and this village of Sāmalipada, . . . . by the Mahā-Āryaka, you must deliver to be owned by the Bhikshus of the school of the Bhaddāyaniyas dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave meritoriously excavated; and to this village of Sāmalipada we grant the immunity belonging to monk's land, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities. With all these immunities you must invest it; and this donation of the village of Sāmalipada and the immunities take care to have registered here at Sudasana. And by the (officers) entrusted with the abrogation of the (previous) donation of the Sudasana village it has been ordered. Written by the Mahāsenāpati Medhuna . . . . , kept (?) by the . . . : . of deeds (?). The deed was delivered in the year 22, the 7th day of the . . fortnight of summer; executed by . . . . (?). With a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Viñhupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha."

This inscription offers in its last part some difficulties which result from uncertain readings, and even more from lacunæ. In order not to lengthen this commentary unnecessarily, I shall not dwell on differences of opinion in a few passages where former interpreters have decidedly gone astray.

From the comparison of *Bendkaṭasvāmi* in the next inscription, which offers many analogies to the present one, I infer that Dr. Bhandarkar was right in understanding Navanarasvāmin = lord of Navanara, I suppose for Navanagara. Nothing in the other inscriptions entitles us to look in it for some hypothetical *biruda*.

The sentence beginning with *ya amhehi* rests on two propositions which are exactly balanced and throw light upon one another. The general construction is clearly determined by the symmetry which obtains between the relative proposition: *ya amhehi* . . . . . *Bhaddāyaniyehi patigaya dato* on the one hand, and the principal one: *eta ccha* . . . . . *patigayha oyapāpehi*. They correspond link to link. The general similarity makes the more conspicuous the discrepancy which exists in respect of a single detail: instead of *Dhanamkaṭasamanehi y[e] etha pavate Tira* . . . . . na, line 13 has *mahaairakena odana*. This disagreement is made worse by the lacuna and by the partial uncertainty of the reading *odena*. The obscurity of these two expressions is to my mind the only real difficulty in this part of the text. One useful result at least, although only a negative one, is gained from their comparison, namely, that the singular construction attempted by Bühler, who supposed *samanehi* and *airakena* to be governed by *paṭikhaya* (as he read), must first of all be discarded. To connect, as he did, *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* and *bhikhahi* which are separated from each other by a whole sentence, is too inadmissible to require a lengthy refutation. Either member includes two terms: first



an instrumental, in one case *samanehi* (followed by the relative proposition *ya* . . . which determines it more particularly, and the essentials of which have disappeared in the lacuna), on the other, *aīrakena*; secondly another word which we read *odena* is the second case, and the last syllable of which, *na*, alone has been preserved in the first. Unfortunately both *mahaaīraka* and *odena* are of doubtful meaning. One point is proved by the very difference between the two phrases: they must have referred respectively to each of the villages in question and must have contained some determination, whatever may have been its exact bearing, concerning not the nature or the application of the gift, but its object, which alone differs in the two, being in the first sentence the Sudisapa village, and the village of Sāmalipada in the second. Bühler took *odena* to be an instrumental qualifying *aīrakena*. Besides the fact that this view has led him to a most unlikely translation, the circumstance of [*ode*]na being in line 12 associated with *samanehi* seems to bear evidence to his error. To all appearance it is the instrumental, *samanehi* or *aīrakena*, which must be understood as dependent on *odena* or *odāna*, whichever may be the true reading. As to this word — either a substantive or, more probably, a participle — it cannot well be anything but a nominative or accusative, agreeing with the preceding pronoun, *ya* or *eta*. The last inscription, which informs us of the original gift for which this one is substituted, makes no allusion to the monks of Dhanakaṭa; as to the *Mahaaīraka*, the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious personage. Even admitting that the title *araka* given to Yañāsiri-Sātakaṇi by an inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 96) be really = *āryaka*, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title *Chāḷa-ārya* conferred on the *Ārya* Buddharaṣhitṭa, who is styled *Arhat* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, Plate lix. No. 39, p. 104). What in any case appears to me above all doubt is that, contrary to the conjecture of Bühler, the title cannot be Puṣumāyī's. I refer to the observations on the title *Mahāsvāmika*, which follow the next inscription.

As to the letters which, besides *ode*, are comprised in the lacuna, no parallel passage helps us to fill them up with confidence. The writing is not regular enough to enable us to ascertain even the number of characters which have disappeared. Probably from seven to nine are missing. The two first, *ṇhumhi*, and the two last, *ode*, being known, it may at least be imagined that *vasanti* or *pativasanti* would fill up the gap conveniently, and that the monks 'who dwell on mount Tiraśmi' were meant here. On Dhanakaṭa or Dhanamkaṭa we have no other information than what has been collected by Dr. Bhandarkar (p. 349). Of course I cannot venture to hold my own against those who worked from the stone itself; I must own, however, that, considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*, it seems very tempting to suppose that our *Dhanakaṭa* is not different from the *Benākaṭaka* in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading *Benākaṭaka* seems to me to be the better secured one. I should incline to introduce it here. In No. 10, l. 2, we shall find a river *Karabenā*. Several *Benās* are known. *Benākaṭaka* is therefore quite satisfactory. As to the hypothetical *Dhanakaṭaka*, it could in no case be identified (as postulated by Bhandarkar) with the proper name (equivalent to Dharaṇikōṭ or not) which we find again at Amarāvati, as it has there the form *Dhamnākaṭaka* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, No. 53, p. 90).

I think I can explain with certainty one word at least which has led astray my predecessors. The comparison of the two passages establishes the form *patigayha*, i.e. *pratigrihya*, and the preceding instrumental, as it cannot be construed with *dato*, can only be governed by this word, which is therefore the future passive participle — here *pratigrihyāḥ*, and below *pratigrihyām*. It will be observed that the word is intimately connected with the expression *parigraha* which I have explained in K. 19, and that it is in the same way applied to a property assigned to a special *ct*. The close etymological relationship of the two terms

justifies their parallelism naturally enough. I have therefore no doubt that *pratigrihya* must mean here 'to be received as property by . . . .' As I have stated above (in K. 13), the construction *nikāyena Bhaddāyanīyehi* seems to imply that even where the reading *nikāyasa Bhaddāyanīyānam* would rather suggest an interdependence of the two genitives, it must be admitted that the two terms are, as is necessarily the case here, co-ordinated, and that the second follows the first as a kind of apposition.

*Paṭisaṁtharaṇa* is, as far as I know, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. Its general meaning is evident. Bhagwanlal has aptly compared the Pāli meaning of *paṭisaṁthāra*; but I fear he has from these exact premises elicited a conclusion which is inadmissible. *Paṭisaṁthāra* is by Childers translated 'friendly greeting, welcome, etc.' But the word, I think, points not so much to the feelings, as to the material care which is involved by the duty of hospitality. The etymological meaning must have started from the carpet which is spread out to accommodate the guests, and is in perfect agreement with the instances adduced. If a term has been thus fixed in a certain sense, somewhat diverted from the literal bearing, it would evidently be imprudent to vindicate for secondary, simply analogous derivations an identical figurative meaning. Nothing authorises us to attribute to *paṭisaṁtharaṇa* the precise sense of 'hospitality,' which would not suit either the construction of the sentence or the term *chitāṇa* in the preceding inscription. Nor do I see on what ground could be maintained the too precise translation of 'repairs,' given by Bühler. It seems to me that the general meaning of 'care' is more conformable to what analogy requires.

The reading *eta cha* for the apparent *etata*, judiciously advocated by Bühler, is above all doubt. As to *cyapāpehi*, I have, in commenting on K. 19, only been able to state in an additional note that this transcription seems now to be secured by the Koṇḍamudi plates where Prof. Hultsch has made it out. His etymology from *avayava* is extremely ingenious. But I do not think, and to this effect our epigraphs seem to me to supply decisive arguments, that we ought to insist on the etymological shade of meaning. I would prefer 'to distribute, to bestow,' i.e. in fact to realise the gift.

This passage and the sequel agree with K. 19 and N. 4. It is enough here to refer to these two records. But in spite of the general symmetry, there are some divergencies for which we are left without the aid and control of direct analogies. First, if, after *niba[m]dhāpehi*, we really must, in spite of some difficulties, read *Sudasana* (and the characters *Sud . . na* at least appear extremely probable), the *cha* which follows after *gāmasa* compels us to take *gāmasa* with the sequel, and implies that *Sudasana* belongs to what precedes. Hence I am led to postulate the reading *Sudasane*, 'in the village of Sudasana;' but *Sudasane* for *Sudasanesu*, or rather for *gāme Sudasanesu*, does not satisfy me entirely.

The sequel corresponds exactly with our No. 4, in so far as five different acts connected with the donation are enumerated in both places. In the next epigraph they are expressed by the words *ānata*, *chhata*, *uparakkhita*, *datā paṭikā* and *kaṭā*, of which the first, second, fourth and fifth are common to the present text as well. It is *a priori* probable that the third also is, if not identical in form, at least equivalent in bearing. The reading *hathachhato* gives no meaning which can be made to agree with *uparakkhita*. Besides, *chhato* stands condemned by the fact that this word already figures in the same series. Although the transcription *chh*, especially if we judge from the back of the estampage, cannot be said to be impossible, the too angular tracing and the unusual place which would have to be assigned to the vertical stroke surmounting the double curl joins with the general aspect of the front to make it at least doubtful. The reading *hatha* (or *hathe*) *guto*, besides reminding of *Bohanigutto* which I have adduced in K. 19, would perhaps satisfy the desideratum of close agreement; but I must own that the actual traces of the estampage do not seem to favour it, and I put it here only as a provisional guess, to stand until a more acute reader or some evident analogy removes every uncertainty.

The five different terms have been explained in K. 19. The same is not the case with the titles and names which are special to our text, and which the imperfect preservation of the latter renders more or less obscure. As for the first, as stated before, I join with some confidence in Bhagwanlal's reading *vinibadhakārehi*. He understood the word as 'document writer.' It is certain, on the testimony of the use of *nibamdhāpehi*, that *nibandha*, as in N. 5, has to be taken here in some analogous sense. But how did Bhagwanlal dispose of the initial *vi*, which implies a meaning of suppression, or negation? We have seen besides (in K. 11) that *nibandha* more specially means 'investment.' The object of the deed is to unmake the gift of the Sudasana village by substituting the gift of another. I therefore explain *vinibamdhakāra* by: 'who unmakes an investment,' and take it as an epithet applied to the officers entitled to register the withdrawal of the former donation, whichever may have been the proper qualification of these *Dātakas*.

As to the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the proper name alone seems obliterated or doubtful; but the lacuna may have contained something else than his name. Other inscriptions do not attribute to the *Sēnāpati* the menial work of drafting, but perpetuate his name as that of a high officer entrusted with this charge at the end of the grant; see e.g. Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* Nos. 55 and 56. In a still higher degree the title of *Mahāsēnāpati*, which comes near to that of *Mahārāja* (*ibid.* p. 15, note), seems to place the person who is honoured with it above any such mean task. This is why I suspect that the obliterated letters, if exactly known, would let his part appear in a different light.

There remains the third qualification, of which the greater part is erased, and which begins with *baṭikā*. Although this reading seems more likely than *paṭikā*, the two forms would be equivalent, and all I venture to say is that the first part of the title seems to refer to some function of an archivist, analogous to what is elsewhere expressed by *akṣhapāṭalika* and *akṣhaśālaka*.<sup>1</sup> This meaning would suit the general bearing which, I think, points to the mention of such an officer. At the utmost I would note that the reading *vāsakehi*, which G. and AS. have put in at the end of the word, reminds of *sāmiyehi* (= *svāmīkehi*) which, in N. 4, closes the title of the *Mahāsvāmīka*s entrusted with an identical task. I must add that the visible traces do not favour the restoration of the reading *sāmīkehi*.

It is most improbable that we should have to read *Sātakāṇḍa*, and it would indeed be extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver.

With *kaṭṭa* the inscription proper comes to an end, as is indicated by the blank which is left after it. The difficulties in the following sentence are chiefly due to the uncertainty of several readings. It does not, however, seem to me impossible to do away with them. One point is certain, namely that the second part forms an adoration to the Buddha. The first ought to introduce and explain it. To this natural desideratum neither the translation of Bhagwanlal nor that of Bühler do justice. That of Bühler has the drawback of resting on the reading *svāmiyachana*, which is at variance with the original; it presupposes the name *Vishupālana*, which has to be explained as a mistake for *Vishupālita*; lastly it has recourse, in explaining the supposed *phesakaye*, to comparisons and interpretations singularly open to controversy. The readings of Bhagwanlal are more plausible; but his translation: 'the description of the king has been given by Vishupāla for imparting pleasure to the inhabitants of Gōvardhana' is certainly odd, as no 'description of the king' is given here. In fact the translation requires only a few slight alterations to become quite satisfactory. *Phāsu*, from which the abstract *phāsukā* is derived, means, in Buddhist style, not exactly 'satisfaction,' but 'health,' and thence 'well-being.' The interpretation of *svāmi* involves a more essential modification. If we refer this title to the king, we are confronted with several difficulties. Could it not be a

<sup>1</sup> [See my remarks on these two terms, above, Vol. VII, p. 107, note 4.—E. H.]

denomination of the Buddha himself? It would be a somewhat unusual application of the word; but perhaps it could, to some extent, be explained by the necessity of avoiding here the names of Bhagavat, Buddha and Jina which follow later on. I take *vaṇṇand* in the sense which is now commonly reserved to *varṇa*, 'eulogy, glorification.' If taken thus, the sentence introduces the invocation quite naturally. Vinhupāla, whatever may have been his position and the reason for his intervention (nothing enlightens us about the matter; is the name perhaps only an equivalent of Vinhupālita in the following epigraph?), 'proclaimed this praise of the Lord,' i.e. adored the Buddha, 'in order to procure the well-being of the inhabitants of Gōvardhana.'

The beginning of the invocation itself seems puzzling. Bühler read *patipatapasa*; but this does not help us. He translates (perhaps by some inadvertency?) as if he had read *patipatasa* = *prāptiprāptasya*; but even thus the compound would be an error for *prāpta-prāptāḥ*. It seems little credible that *prāpti*, which, as seen in N. 2, has acquired a different technical sense, should have been used here in a way which is at least unusual even in religious literature. Bühler and Bhagwanlal seem to have fallen into a common error by considering it beyond all discussion that *bhagatasa* must be a fault for *bhagavatasa*. We ought to be careful not to charge the engraver too rashly. All difficulties vanish if we admit: first, that the words must be separated otherwise, and secondly that the *h* bore the vowel *u* which has disappeared, the stone being here much defaced. Thus we get '*bhugatasapatipatapasa* = *abhyudgatasamprāptipratāpasya*, an excellent epithet to *Budhasa*, as will be seen from my rendering. *Sampatti* is well known in Pāli (see Childers) not only in the sense of 'prosperity,' but with the special and more technical meaning of 'religious attainment.' Nothing in this sentence betrays a later origin. It may be supposed that Vishnupāla, being concerned in some way with the execution of the inscription, was led by his zeal to crown it by that pious manifestation.

#### No. 4, Plate ii. (Ksh. 13).

On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Sidharṇ senāye \* Vejayaṁtiye (1) vijayakhadhāvarā Govadhanasa  
Benākastakasvāmi (2) Gotamiputo Siri-Sadakaṇi (3)
- 2 ānapayati Govadhane amacha Vinhupālita (4) gāme Aparakakhaḍiye ya (5)  
khetam Ajakālakiyaṁ Usabhadatena (6) bhūtam nivatana (7)-
- 3 satāni be 200 eta amhakheta nivatanaśatāni (8) be 200 imesa pavajitāna  
Tekirasiṇa (9) vitarāma etasa chasa khetasa parihāra
- 4 vitarāma apavesa (10) anomasa (11) aloṇakhādaka arāṭhasavinayika  
savajātāparihārika (12) cha etahi na parihārehi parihar . hi (13)
- 5 ete (14) chasa khetāparihār . (15) cha ettha nibadhāpehi (16) aviyeṇa (17)  
āpatam amachena Sivagutena ohhato Mahāsāmiyeḥi uparakhito (18)
- 6 datā paṭikā savachhare 18 (19) vāṣapakhe (20) 2 divase 1 Tāpasena (21)  
kaṭā.

#### REMARKS.

(1) AS. °jayati°. — (2) G. and AS. °ṭakā svā°. — (3) G. °dakāni. — (4) G. and AS. °litaṁ. — (5) G. °ḍiyaṁ yaṁ khe°; AS. °ḍiya ya khe°. — (6) G. *Uṣabhadātēna*. — (7) AS. *nivatane*. — (8) AS. °satāni. — (9) G. °sina; AS. °sind. — (10) G. *apāve*°; AS. °vesaṁ. — (11) AS. °masaṁ. — (12) G. °taparā°. — (13) G. °riharahi; AS. °riharhi. — (14) AS. *eta*. — (15) G. and AS. °hāre. — (16) G. and AS. *nibadhā lihi*. The only point which in my reading seems subject to some material uncertainty is the vocal *e* of the syllable *pe*. — (17) G. *aviyeṇa*; AS. *aviyeṇa*. — (18)

G. °*khita*. — (19) AS. 14 ; but Bühler has corrected this reading to 18 in *Die Ind. Inschriften und die Kunstpoesie*, p. 58. — (20) G. *vasāpakhe* ; AS. *vasapa[khe]*. — (21) G. °*pasana*.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success ! From the camp of victory of the **Vejayanti** army, **Siri-Sadakani Gotamiputa**, lord of **Benākataka** of **Govardhana**, commands **Vinhupālita**, the officer at **Govadhana**: The **Ajakālakiya** field in the village of **Western Kakhaḍi**, previously enjoyed by **Usabhadatta**, — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas*, — that our field — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas* — we confer on those **Tekirasi** ascetics ; and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities ; with those immunities invest it ; and this field and these immunities take care to have registered here. Verbally ordered ; written down by the officer **Sivaguta** ; kept by the *Mahāsāmiyas*. The deed was delivered in the 18th year, on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season ; executed by **Tāpasa**."

*Vejayantiye* ought to be taken as a local name and as alluding to the town of **Vejayanti** (K. 1). *Vejayanti* is not identical with *vijayanti*, the feminine of the participle *vijayat*, 'victorious.' The mention of the 'Vejayanti army' may have been promoted by the wish of recalling to mind the usual formula *vijayaskandhāvāra* in a way at once pleasant to the king and honourable for his troops, whose successes it commemorated.

I cannot discover the *ś* which AS. and G. attach to the second *k* of *Benākataka*. This is not to be wondered at, because it seems impossible to interpret *Benākatakasvāmi* otherwise than as a compound of the same form as *Navanarasvāmi* in N. 3. When *svāmin* is prefixed as a title, it is placed before the king's name (*sāmi* **Siri-Pujumāyi**, K. 14 ; N. 25 ; *sāmi* **Siriyaṇa-Sātakapi**, N. 24), and not, as would be the case here, if Bühler and Bhagwanlal were right, before his metronymic. As to the genitive *Govadhanasa*, it could certainly be explained as governed implicitly by *Benākataka* and pointing out the district where the place is situated. It seems however much more probable that it must be construed with *skandhāvārāt*. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular ; but the presence of another genitive, *senāye* *Vejayantiye*, may have caused *Govadhanasa* to be placed after *khandhāvārā*. As we know nothing about **Benākataka** (see the preceding inscription), its situation need not be considered here. But it is unlikely that the king, while dating his gift from his head-quarters, should not have stated the name, and, as the gift mentioned here was made by him verbally and personally, it is all but certain that he was himself present at **Gōvardhana**.

Bühler and Bhagwanlal understand *ajakālakiyam* = Sanskrit *adyakālīkam*, an adjective qualifying *khetam*, and which, determining the following *Usabhadatena bhūtam*, would mean 'till to-day.' This meaning would be excellent ; it would have the advantage of dating positively the Southern conquest of **Gautamiputra**, which probably brought about the dispossession of the **Kshaharāta** **Ṛishabhadatta** in favour of the invader. But from the grammatical point of view — without taking into account the singularity of the form *adyakālakiya* = *adyakālīka*, — it would really be an odd way of speaking. It is, besides, necessary that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because, if **Ṛishabhadatta** had laid hand on a possession in these parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I, therefore, am inclined to think that **Ajakālakiya** is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology which I have no means to state for certain.

I have no doubt that *Tekirasiṇa* is the equivalent of *Tiraṇhukānam* and refers to the monks on mount **Triraśmi**. As to the phonetic change, I see nothing more convincing than the conjecture of Bühler, who corrects the word to *Terasikānam* = *Tairasimikānam*. But it is really a desperate expedient — so desperate that I may be allowed to ask a question.

If really, as is supposed, the name Triraśmi, attached to the hill at Nāsik, had been inspired by its triple top, would it be too bold to imagine that, under the influence of those Yavanas whose traces are rather common in these parts, a Greek equivalent Τριρεπας could, by some accident, have obtained currency by the side of the native name?

For what follows compare K. 19.—No more than former commentators have I any means of determining the exact bearing of the title *Mahāsvāmika*. I would only note that it reminds strongly of *Mahāvihārasvāmin*, a term known from other texts, and which Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Insor.* p. 272, note) considers to denote a dignity superior to that which is expressed by the simple *Vihārasvāmin*. It would then point to a college of religious dignitaries. I feel tempted to compare with these the titles *Mahā-āryaka* and *Chūḷa-āryaka*, which have been examined before.

#### No. 5, Plate ii. (Ksh. 14.)

Engraved in continuation of No. 4, from which it is separated only by a *Svastika*.

#### TEXT.

- 6 Siddha (1) Govadhane amachasa Sāmakasa (2) deyo (3) rājāpito (4)  
 7 raño Gotamiputasa Sātakapisa (5) mahādeviya (6) cha jīvasutāya rāja-  
 mātuya vachanena Govadhane (7) . . cho (8) Sāmako arogavatavo tato  
 eva cha (9)  
 8 vatavo etha (10) amhehi pavate Tiraphumbhi amhadhamadāne lepe  
 pativasatānam (11) pavajitāna bhikhūna gāme Kakhaḍisu puva khetam  
 data ta cha kheta  
 9 . . kasate (12) so cha gāmo na vasati evam (13) sati ya (14)  
 dāni etha (15) nagarasīme rājakaṁ kheta (16) amhasatakam (17) tato  
 etesa (18) pavajitāna bhikhūnam Teraphukānam dadama  
 10 khetasa nivatapasatam 100 tasa cha khetasa parihāra (19) vitarāma  
 apāvesa anomasa alopakhādaka arāṭhasavinayika savajātapārihārika cha (20)  
 11 etehi na parihārehi parihareṭha (21) eta chasa khetaparihāre (22) cha  
 etha (23) nibadhāpetha (24) aviyena (25) āpata paṭihārakhiya Loṭāya  
 ohhato (26) lekho (27) savachhare 24  
 12 vāsāna (28) pakhe 4 divase pachame (29) 5 Sujivinā (30) kaṭā  
 nibadho (31) nibadho savachhare (32) 24 gimhāna pakhe 2 divase 10.

#### REMARKS.

(1) AS. *siddham*. — (2) G. and AS. *Sama*°. — (3) The initial *de* is probable, but not entirely certain. — (4) G. *rājāpito*; AS. *rājapī*°. The syllable *rd* is very indistinct in the estampages. — (5) G. *Sata*°. — (6) AS. °*deviya*. — (7) G. °*vadhana*. — (8) G. restores very aptly [ama]cho. — (9) G. and AS. do not mention this *cha*, which I believe to discover in the estampage. — (10) AS. *eṭha*. — (11) G. and AS. °*satāna*. — (12) G. *vakasate*; AS. *va kamsate*. The first letter in the line is very indistinct in the estampage. The traces agree more with the reading *na* which the sense requires, than with *va*. — (13) AS. *eva*. — (14) G. and AS. *yaṁ*. — (15) AS. *eṭha*. — (16) G. and AS. *khetam*. — (17) AS. *ama*°. — (18) G. *etasa*. — (19) G. °*hāraṁ*. — (20) AS. omits *cha*. — (21) G. °*haratha*; AS. °*hereṭha*. — (22) G. °*parihāra* and AS. °*hāra*. — (23) AS. *eṭha*. — (24) AS. °*dhā laṭha*. — (25) G. *suviye*°. — (26) G. *lājanīyamātā*; AS. *Loṭṭiya mātā*. — (27) G. and AS. *lekhe*. — (28) AS. [va]śd°. — (29) G. *paṁcha*°. — (30) G. *pu[va]-jitinā*; AS. *Pujitinā*. — (31) G. °*badhā*. — (32) AS. *samvādhare*.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! Order of the king, to be made over to Sāmaka, the officer at Govadhana. In the name of the king Sātakapi Gotamiputa and of the king's queen mother whose son is living,

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**Sāmaka**, the officer at **Govadhana**, shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus: "We have here on mount **Tiraphu** formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours, a field in the village of **Kakhaḍḍi**; but this field is not tilled, nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so, that royal village of ours, which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of **Tiraphu** one hundred — 100 — *nivartanas* of land, and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities; invest it with those immunities, and take care that the donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered." Verbally ordered; the deed written down by **Loṭṭa**, the door-keeper; (the charter) executed by **Sujivin** in the year 24, in the 4th fortnight of the rainy season, on the fifth—5th—day. The donation had been made in the year 24, in the 2nd fortnight of summer, on the 10th day."

*Rājāṇito* is perplexing. Bühler's explanation does not convince me. The use of so deformed a word as *ṇimta* = *niryāta* is quite improbable, and some parallel instances would be required to render the idiom admissible. Besides, I doubt very much that the gift could have been attributed in that way to **Śyāmaka**, even with the limitation which would be implied by *rājāṇito*, meaning as proposed: 'which proceeds from the king.' The reading itself I do not consider as secured, at least to judge from the estampages. The genitive *Sāmakasa* would be used in the sense of a dative governed by *deya*: 'which ought to be bestowed on **Sāmaka**,' and the last syllables of the line would contain the substantive expressing what ought to be bestowed. Now I propose to read *rājāṇatī*, and before it, *deyā* instead of *deya*, the final vowel of which is far from clear. In this way we obtain a docket of the whole grant: 'a command of the king, to be conveyed to **Śyāmaka**.' The vocalisation is here so uncertain that my conjectures cannot be called risky. The somewhat exceptional beginning would at least have the advantage of harmonising perfectly with some other equally exceptional peculiarities of the inscription. First, as is shown by the following sentence, we have here not a command directly delivered to **Sāmaka**, but conveyed to him by some intermediary: *rañño . . . mahādevīya cha vaachanena*. This circumstance is worth remembering all the more because the sequel (l. 11) states that the command was a verbal one issued by the king; in fact the plurals *pariharetha* and *nibaddhāpettha* are accounted for by the circumstance that the command was not intimated directly to **Sāmaka** (in which case precedents would let us expect the singular), but to the intermediaries, whoever they may have been, that were delegated by the king. Further, in the ordinary form of deeds the engraver is mentioned at the end. In this inscription, however, the date of the execution of the grant is followed by another date, on which the donation had been pronounced — a date naturally anterior to the despatch of formalities. This date was probably added by **Sāmaka** because he wanted to state the interval which, owing to delays in transmission, intervened between the resolution of the two royal persons and the execution of their will.

It is but natural to suppose that the field situated at **Kakhaḍḍi**, which had been bestowed before upon the monks, is the same as that mentioned in the preceding inscription. Our epigraph is, by the very place it occupies, brought into close connection with the preceding one. It must, however, be noted that the king's mother does not play any part in the preceding gift, which is contrary to the wording of the present one, and that **Apara-Kakhaḍḍi** as the name of the village looks like an intentional differentiation from the simple **Kakhaḍḍi** which we have here. At least the anterior deed did not state that the grant should concern exclusively, as it is said this time, the monks of the cave bestowed by the queen — the *Dharmasāstū*. We must, however, remember the real nature of these epigraphs. They are not official documents, but, in some way, accidental commemorations of gifts, of which the records properly so called were kept among the charters of the monastery. So they may well abridge and sum them up;

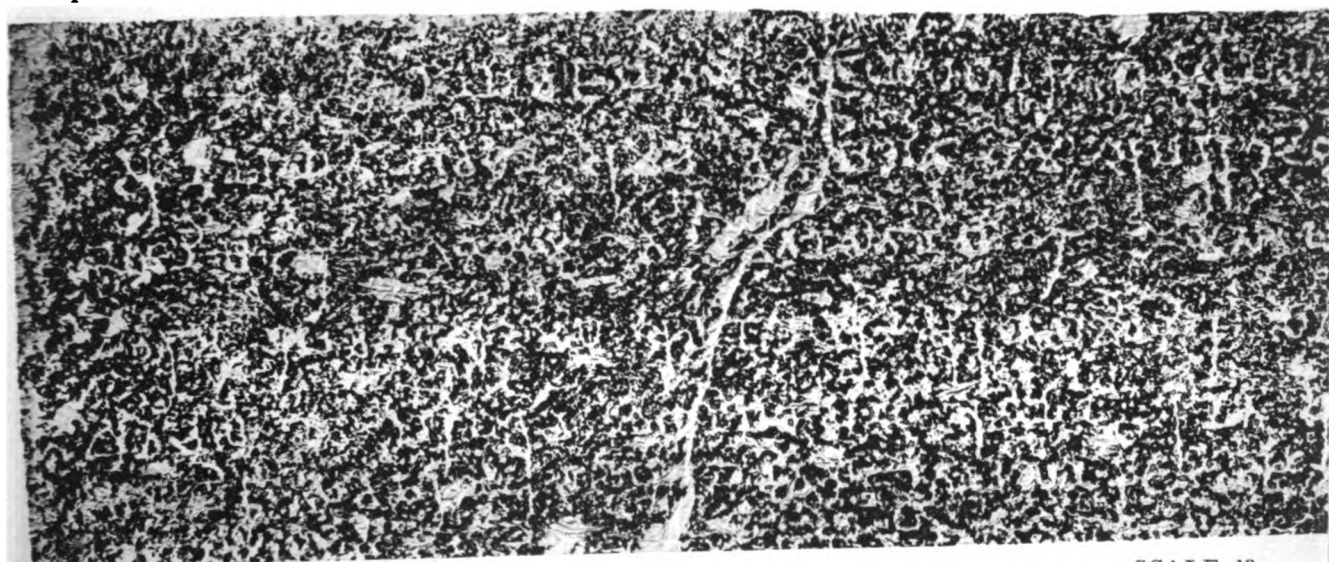


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in this way it is easy to understand why they do not note many details which could not fail to appear in the official deeds themselves.

Though it is generally inadvisable to have recourse to the correction of supposed errors of the engraver, it is difficult not to agree with Bühler when he corrects *pañhārarakhiya*. For other details see K. 19 and N. 3.

#### No. 6, Plate iii. (N. 8.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 6.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Viragahapatisa nyegamañisa (1) lepañ (2)
- 2 deyadhama kuṭumbipiya (3) chasa Namdasiriya (4) ovarako duhutu-
- 3 ya chasa Purisadatāva ovarako eva lepañ chatugabham
- 4 niyuta (5) bhikkhusaṃghasa chātudisasa niyāchitam.

#### REMARKS.

(1) AS. °gamasa; the *anusodra*, although faulty, seems perfectly clear. — (2) G. and AS. lepa. — (3) G. °viniya. — (4) AS. °dasardya. The reading *siri* seems sure. — (5) G. niyuta.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cave, a pious gift of the householder Vira, a merchant, a cell of his wife Nandasiri, and a cell of his daughter Purisadatā; the cave thus completed to four cells has been bequeathed to the universal Saṅgha."

I do not think *gahapati* ought to be taken as a part of the proper name, any more than in *Namdagahapatinā* at Sāilarwadi (CTI. p. 38, text l. 5). At Junnar (CTI. and AS. No. 4) we meet again with a donor *Vīrasenakasa gahapatipamughasa dhammanigamasa*. In spite of the close resemblance of the epithets, the writing of the two documents does not seem — unless, what is very possible, the difference be more local than chronological, — to entitle us to identify both. Anyhow it follows from the comparison that *gahapati*, just as *negama*, is a title. Besides, it may perhaps be concluded from it that Vira is only an abridgment of the real name which has to be completed by a second member like *sena*. *Negama* need not be explained; but it may be remarked *en passant* that its use here favours the opinion I have formerly stated, and which I must maintain against the doubts that have been raised by a learned opponent (Fick, *Soziale Gliederung des Buddha's Zeit*, p. 164), viz. that *grihapati* is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of *Vaiśyas*.

The writing *nye = ne* is the more noteworthy because we find afterwards *niyāchita = niyātita*. It looks as if this engraver had felt some peculiar inclination towards the palatalizing of dentals.

*Niyuta* was translated by Bühler in various ways: 'allotted, given,' and often, as now, 'dedicated.' The inscription No. 1 at Mahāḍ reads . . . . *lepa chetiyaḥvara ovarakā cha aṭha ti kamañ niyutañ* . . . . and seems to settle the exact bearing of the word, viz. 'executed, completed,' implying the notion of a plan, of an appropriation to some use or some object, which is conveyed by the verb *niyuj*. *Niyuta* is therefore not ordinarily construed with a dative; it is generally followed by another participle, as here by *niyātita*, pointing to the donation which takes place after the work has been completed. It is needless to observe that when *niyuta* is accompanied by a dative (or a genitive fulfilling the functions thereof), as at Junnar No. 15 (where we have to read *niyutaka*), this fact is no way irreconcilable with the translation I am advocating: 'made for the *Saṅgha* (residing) at Kapichitā.'

## No. 7, Plate iii.

On the back wall of Cave No. 7, left of the doorway.

## TEXT.

- 1 Bhayaṁta-Savasānaṁ aṁteṇā-
- 2 sīniya pavayitāya Tāpasi-
- 3 niya cha deyadhama [lepa]
- 4 chātudisasa bhikhusaḥsa datam.

## REMARKS.

This epigraph is missing in AS. I give the reading of Bhagwanlal rather than a transcription of my own. The estampages appear to be even less legible than the photographs. The letters are not deeply cut, so that the back of the estampages shows almost nothing. The direct examination of the stone may have enabled Bhagwanlal to see more than I can discover on the facsimiles. I can only abandon to him the honour and responsibility of the reading. Our facsimile is besides probably too short. For in the first line, where the visible traces indeed seem to confirm his transcription, the final *vā* which he has read is certainly wanting, and the following lines also, if compared with his readings, seem to be incomplete on the right. In the second line I am unable to make out *pavayitāya*, and even less *Tāpasi*°. The rest looks more probable. I must, however, except the last word. Besides the fact that no trace of *data* appears, it is not that participle, but *niyāṭita*, which is ordinarily used in that way. In l. 3 the *cha* must be wrong; to all appearance we have to do with a single gift.

## TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Tāpasinī, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savasa, granted to the universal Saṅgha of ascetics."

It is hardly credible that the name of the donor should be omitted, as the epigraph takes the trouble to commemorate the name of her religious teacher. So she must have been called Tāpasinī, admitting the reading to be correct. We have already met (in N. 4) with Tāpasa as a man's name. As to that of the teacher, always supposing the reading to be correct, I do not see, among several possibilities, any Sanskrit transcription which can be safely admitted. The reading *Sovasa* is not impossible; it reminds of *Sovasaka* which in K. 20 seems to be an ethnic name, probably = Sauvarsha. Bhājā (AS. No. 4) supplies another instance of the *plurals majestatis*: *thorānaṁ bhaṁta-Dhamagiriṇāṁ*.

## No. 8, Plate viii. (N. 7.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, right of the doorway.

## TEXT.

Dāsakasa Mugūdāsasa (1) separivārasa lepa (2) deyadhama (3).

## REMARKS.

(1) AS. *Mugūdā*°. The *ā* is not quite distinct. The double stroke, however, accounts best for the crack, and besides the *ā* is sure in the following number. — (2) G. *lepaṁ*. Even the *ṣ*, much more the *ś*, is extremely indistinct. — (3) G. °*dhamma*.

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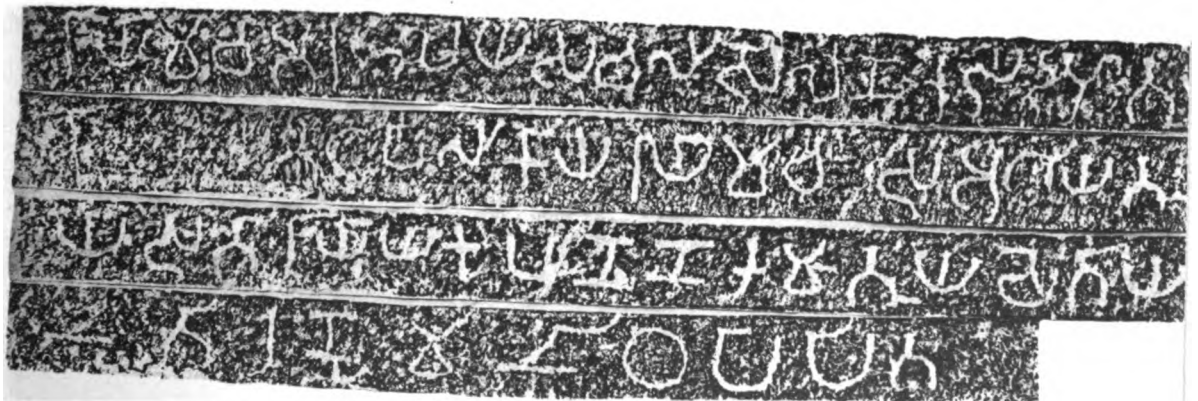


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## TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Mugūdāsa, a fisherman, together with his next."

It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivādra* by 'with his family.' If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used either special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jāti*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivādra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners.

Whatever may be the exact meaning of *dāsaka*, which I do not hesitate to identify with *ddāsaka*, as suggested by Bühler, our Mugūdāsa cannot well be different from the one who is mentioned in the next inscription, also with his surroundings (*saparivādra*). It is strange that the gift of the cave should thus be commemorated twice in two epigraphs, each of which is located on one side of the same door. Generally our formulas distinguish the *lena* from the cells (*ovāraka*, *gabha*) which are excavated in them. Although *lena* is here used in both cases, I am inclined to think that the word in our No. 9 points no more to the veranda, but to the cell which the same donor Mugūdāsa must have added to his cave. This interpretation seems the more tempting as the second donation has for its object to supply with clothes the *pavajita*, i.e. the monk residing in the cell. However this may be, Mugūdāsa has a namesake at Kuḍā (AS. No. 23), a *mālākāra* or florist, whom nothing at least in the writing forbids to consider his contemporary.

## No. 9, Plate iii. (N. 6.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, left of the doorway.

## TEXT.

- 1 Chetika-upāsakiyasa Mugūdāsasa (1) *saparivārasa lenam* (2) *deyadhama* (3) *etasa lenasa* (4) *Bodhiguta-*  
2 *upāsakasa putena Dhamanandina datam* (5) *khetam* (6) *aparilīya Kaphahiniya*  
*eto cha khetāto chivarikam* (7) *pavāitasa.*

## REMARKS.

(1) AS. *Mūgūdā*. — (2) G. and AS. *lena*. — (3) Perhaps *°dhamo*; but the vowel-mark would then, contrary to use, be attached to the top of the *m*. — (4) AS. *lenasa*. — (5) G. and AS. *data*. — (6) G. and AS. *khetā*. — (7) G. and AS. *chivarika*.

## TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Mugūdāsa, of the lay community of Chetikas, together with his next. To this cave has been given by Dhamanandin, son of the lay worshipper Bodhiguta, a field in Western Kaphahini, and from this field (accrues) the providing of clothes for the ascetic (living here)."

Compare the preceding inscription. The only difficulty peculiar to this epigraph is connected with the words *aparilīya Kaphahiniya*. I have followed the translation of Bühler and Bhagwanlal, but without feeling so certain about its correctness as they appear to do. It presupposes an adjective *aparila*, equivalent to *apara*, which is unusual, and which in any case does not conform to the precedent *Apara-Kakhaḍḍiya* in No. 4 above. The analogy of that passage would rather induce us to look in the word following *khetam* for the particular name of the field. Anyhow the long vowel of *lī*, which is quite distinct, remains somewhat puzzling; it would make me think of some passive participle of the future *a-parilīya*, if the use of *lī* with the prefix *pari* were testified to by literature or gave some clear and satisfactory meaning.

## No. 10, Plate iv. (Ksh. 5.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10, under the ceiling.

## TEXT.

[Compare Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. pp. 27 ff. and Dr. Bhandarkar, *ibid.* pp. 139 ff.]

- 1 Siddham rájñah Kshaharátasya kshatrapasya Nahapánasya jámátrā (1)  
Dinikaputrena Ushavadátana trigosatasahasradena nadyā Bārpāsāyām  
suvarṇadānatīrthakareṇa devatābhyah brāhmaṇebhyaścha shoḍaśagrāmadena  
anuvārham (2) brāhmaṇasatasāhasribhojāpayitrā
- 2 Prabhāse puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ aṣṭabhāryāpradena Bharukachhe Daśapure  
Govardhane Śorparage cha chatuśālāvasadhapratīrayapradena Āramataḍāga (3)-  
udapānakareṇa Ibā-Pārādā-Damapa-Tāpi-Karabena-Dāhanukā-nāvāpuṇyatarakareṇa  
etāsām cha nadinām ubhatotīram sabhā-
- 3 prapākareṇa Pimḍitakāvaḍe (4) Govardhane Suvarṇamukhe Śorparage cha  
Rāmatīrthe Charakaparabhyah grāme (5) Nānāngole dvātrīsatānāligeramūla-  
sahasrapradena (6) Govardhane Triraśmishu parvateshu dharmātmanā idam  
lepam (7) kārītam imā cha poḍhiyo (8) [||\*] Bhaṭārakā amñātiyā (9) cha gato  
smim (10) varshāratum (11) Mālayehi (12) rudham Utamabhādraḥ (13)  
mochayitum
- 4 te cha Mālayā pranādeneva apayātā Utamabhadrakānam (14) cha kshatriyānam  
sarve parigrahā kṛitā tato smim (15) gato Poksharāni tatra cha mayā  
abhiseko kṛito tīpi (16) cha gosahasrāni datāni grāmo (17) cha [||\*] Data  
chānena (18) kshetram (19) brāhmaṇasa Vārāhiputrāsa Aśvibhūtisa hathe  
kṛitā mulena (20) kāhāpapasahasrehi chatuḥi 4000 ya sapitusataka  
nagarasīmāya utarāparāya disāya (21) eto mama lepe vasa-
- 5 tānam (22) chātudisasa (23) bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhavisati.

## REMARKS.

(1) The reading *trā* is very distinct; the right side of the *t* however bears a slight trace of the vowel *u*, as if the form *jāmātu* had been present, along with the form *jāmātrā*, in the mind of the writer. — (2) AS. °varsha. — (3) AS. °tadāga°. — (4) G. Pimḍī°. — (5) AS. grāma. — (6) AS. °sahasradena. — (7) G. and AS. lepa. — (8) AS. poḍhiyo. — (9) The syllable *am* (for the *anuvāra* is quite visible) has been added between *kā* and *nā*, probably in order to point out that the initial *a* has been absorbed into the *d* of *kā*. The *d* of *nā* is doubtful; the vowel-mark is not ordinarily, as would here be the case, placed at the top of the vertical line. — (10) AS. smi. The *anuvāra* is doubtful. If it exists, it is of course a mistake. — (11) The *u* is subscribed in two ways, — the one very similar to *r*, as here and in *putrasa* in the next line, the other in the shape of a small horizontal stroke, as in *mochayitum*, *pitu*. — (12) Between *ye* and *hi* there is a blank, which seems to have been filled up by two or three characters that would have been effaced. — (13) AS. °bhādraḥ. The *d* does not appear to be quite certain. — (14) AS. °kānāḥ. — (15) AS. kṛitā tato smi. The *anuvāra*, though faulty, seems to exist on the stone. — (16) AS. tīpi gosa°. — (17) AS. gāmo. — (18) G. cha nena. — (19) AS. kshetra. — (20) G. and AS. mūle°. — (21) G. disā°. — (22) G. and AS. °tāna. — (23) G. °tudisa°.

## TRANSLATION.

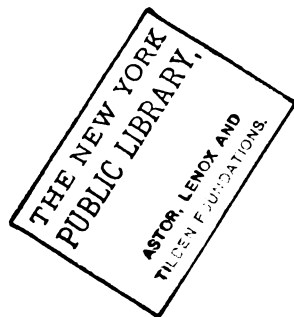
"Success! Ushavadāta, Dinika's son, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa, — who has given three-hundred-thousand cows, who has made gifts of money and *tīrthas* on the river Bārpāsā, who has given sixteen villages to the gods and Brāhmaṇas, who

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causes one-hundred-thousand Brāhmaṇas to be fed the (whole) year round, who has given eight wives to Brāhmaṇas at the religious *tīrtha* of Prabhāsa, who at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorparāga has given the shelter of quadrangular rest-houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārādā, Damapā, Tāpi, Karabēṣā and Dāhanukā, and erected on both banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and such for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty-two-thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village Nānāṅgola to the congregation of Charakas at Pīṇḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha and the Rāmatīrtha in Śorparāga,—inspired by (true) religion, in the Tīraśmi hills at Govardhana, has caused this cave to be made and these cisterns. And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas, and those Mālayas fled at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were, and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadra warriors. Thence I went to the Pokshara tanks, and there I bathed and gave three-thousand cows and a village. A field has also been given by him, bought at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa Aśvibhūti, son of Vārāhi, for the price of four-thousand — 4,000 — *kāḥapaṇas*, which (field) belonged to his father, on the boundary of the town towards the north-western side. From it food will be procured for all monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave."

The beginning of the inscription till *ashṭabhāryāpradeṇa* is, except one or two insignificant discrepancies, but the reproduction in Sanskrit orthography of the beginning of No. 13 at Kārlā. It will suffice to refer to this fact.

Daśapura is the only one among the four towns mentioned here which remains unidentified. I see no means of choosing between the Daśapura in Rajputana (Bühler), that in Malwa (Bhagwanlal), or others which might be added, as Mandasor, etc. In No. 26 we see that some Śakas dwelt in that place; this is at least a hint that it ought to be searched for towards the north.

As for the river names, Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's views agree together. Dr. Bhandarkar proposed to restore 'panya' and to separate 'vā-apanyatara'. Such a correction would be rash; but the general meaning would come to the same. *Punyatara* must be compared with *pūṇyatīrtha* which we have met before. As it characterises the Prabhāsatīrtha as a religious place, *pūṇya* qualifies the ferries by boats established on those rivers as religious, charitable or meritorious ones, i.e. as gratuitous. The phraseology which so constantly associates *sabbhā* and *prapā* (compare *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanikaparvan*, vv. 1635, 1671 and 6685; *Śāntiparvan*, v. 1492, etc.) proves, contrary to Dr. Hoernle's ingenious, but too artificial conjecture, that the two words have to be taken as a *dvandva*.

Pīṇḍitakāvaḍa and Suvarṇamukha are, as far as I know, unidentified. In Nānāṅgola it is at least tempting to see with Bhagwanlal Nārgol near Sanjan. The communities of Charakas to whom the gift has been made seem to be identical with those Charakas who are named in a stereotyped formula of Buddhist (e.g. *Mahāvastu*, III. 412: *anyatīrthikaśharakaparivrajakā*) and Jaina texts, namely a certain special category of Brāhmapical ascetics. To take *charaka* for 'Brāhmapical students' would leave the gift too undetermined, and if the Charaka-śākhā of the Yajurveda were meant, the expression would have been made more definite.

The real stumbling-block here is the compound *dvātrīṣata*°. All interpreters understand by it a gift of 'a thousand (coins) representing the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees.' Bhagwanlal alone has translated 'who has bestowed as a gift thirty-two-thousand cocoanut trees.' This text cannot be considered independently from another, perfectly parallel one in N. 12, where we read: *gāme Chikhalapadre datāni nāligorāna mūlasahasrāni aṣṭa 8000*. The same difference exists there between Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's translations. First of all it must be owned that the gift of a capital amounting to the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees, to be distributed among at least four religious fraternities, would be, especially from so mighty and liberal a donor, extremely

improbable. Secondly, what could be the use of specifying so accurately, as is done in the two cases, the village in which those trees would have been alienated, if the donees were only concerned with the proceeds of the sale? The fact itself, that the king's son-in-law should have sold a few cocoanut trees in order to provide himself with funds for his private charities, is the more unlikely as gifts in kind are the more usual ones; or, if money is intended, it is a consolidated investment (see N. 12), a foundation of a perpetual rent. We see below that the same donor buys a field in order to secure food for the monks, but not the reverse. If we follow Bühler, we must admit, in spite of the general parallelism of the two phrases, that the number of trees would have been noted in our case, while in N. 12 the sum of money alone would be stated, as representing the cocoanut trees (*nāligerāna*), the number of which would be undefined. In N. 12, if only we read *mūlaṃ* for *māla*, we may well construe the word in apposition to *sahasāni*. Such an expedient is here out of the question, and this is a very strong reason for taking in N. 12 *mūlasahasāni* as a compound. This must be the spontaneous impression of every unprejudiced reader; even here, where the compound is certain, its resolution into a first member ending with *māla* and being in apposition to *sahasra* (which would be excluded by the compound *mūlasahasāni* in N. 12) is, although possible, certainly too remote to appear probable at first sight. Lastly, in N. 12, if a gift of 8,000 *kārshāpaṇas* were really intended, it is not easy to see why it should have been consigned to the third place, without any details regarding the mode of foundation, while the inferior gift of 3,000 *kārshāpaṇas*, previously mentioned, is treated quite differently. From all these facts I conclude that Bhagwanlal is certainly right, and that we have here to do with a gift of 32,000 cocoanut trees, and in N. 12 with one of 8,000, the first at the village of Nānāngola, and the second at the village of Chikhalapadra. The only difficulty lies in the use of *māla*, which seems to imply 'roots of cocoanut trees' instead of simply 'cocoanut trees.' Such an idiom is surely not more puzzling than if, in French, we reckon trees by '*pieds*' and say 32,000 '*pieds de cocotiers*.'

The locatives *Govardhane Trirāsmishu parvateshu* have been generally construed in immediate connection with *kāritam* and *dharmātmanā*, which was considered as an independent epithet, meaning 'religious, charitable,' and would have been introduced here into the midst of the sentence without any special signification. The general plan of the construction does not seem to favour such an interpretation. The words beginning with *Govardhane* and ending with *dharmātmanā* are exactly symmetrical with the analogous groups which precede this one. These groups make up the bulk of our epigraph and end uniformly with a laudatory epithet, preceded by such determinatives as it requires. It seems difficult to admit that the analogy created by such a concatenation of instances should be disturbed in this only case, and that the strict correspondence which is warranted by the whole structure should here be fallacious. Besides it would be the only case where to the mention of the mountains in which the cave was excavated would be added the name of the neighbouring town of Govardhana, which is perfectly superfluous in this place,—the only one too where, in order to commemorate, on the site itself, the name of the hill in which it has been dug, the plural would be used. These two particularities rather suggest the idea of some fact which is more general, less strictly localised, and concerning not the cave itself, but the region as a whole. I must add that all the donations previously mentioned are bestowed without any exception on Brāhmanas or Brāhman institutions, while the gift which our epigraph records, and which this part of the sentence introduces, is, on the contrary, made in favour of Buddhist monks. I have previously, in connection with the term *dharmā-Yavana* in K. 10, expressed the idea that *dharmā* has to be taken in the sense of 'Buddhist religion,' and the same is, I believe, the case here as well. This is why I understand the passage to mean 'imbued at Govardhana in the Trirāsmi hills with (true) religion.' I dare not decide if this phrase implies an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhmanical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this

explanation I propose in N. 18 to take *dharmātmanā* in a similar way. I believe the reading °*tmanā*, not °*tmano*, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genitives confirms the impression that *dharmātmanā* is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indrāgnidatta.

I consider *varshāratum* intimately connected with *rudham*. Besides the fact that the accusative commonly denotes duration, I beg to insist once more upon that rule of Sanskrit construction which requires the determinant to precede the determined, and to which it is so important to pay attention in the, so to say, amorphous style of inscriptions. I have unfortunately nothing to add to the explanations, though little conclusive, which have been given by others respecting some other topics in this first postscript. Of the Uttamabhadras we know nothing, and as to the *Mālayas*, though it seems natural to look for them in the inhabitants of the Malaya or southern hills, it must be owned that if, as seems possible, they were on the way or at least in the direction towards Pokhara, i.e. Ajmer, the equation *Mālaya* = *Mālava*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, would be well worthy of consideration. Of course 'mountaineers' of the same region may also be meant.

In the second additional paragraph, the principal difficulty lies in *yasapītusataka*. Bhagwanlal divides: *yasa pītusataka*, 'belonging to whose (Aśvibhūti's) father.' Bühler transcribes *ya sa(śva)pītusa(m)taka* and translates 'which belongs to my (Aśvibhūti's) father;' and he is of course obliged to connect the epithet *sapītusataka* with *nagarasīmāya*. It is evident to my mind that Bühler was mistaken, and that the adjective, which, if applied to *nagarasīmāya*, would be meaningless, must be referred to the field. As to the grammatical analysis, the matter is different. The relative *ya* is construed less naturally with *Aśvibhūtiśa* which is far off, than with *kshetram*, the idea of which pervades the whole sentence. I, therefore, divide *ya sapītusataka* = *śvapi*°, *śva* being applied to Aśvibhūti's father. It is just because the field does not belong to this Brāhman himself, and because he plays in this transaction the part of a representative only of his father, that the epigraph uses the expression *Aśvibhūtiśa kṛte* instead of the ablative case: 'at the hand of Aśvibhūti,'—a shade of meaning which ought not to have passed unnoticed.

On account of the proximity of *mama lepa vasatānam* and *chātudisasa saṅghasa*, this inscription is one of those where the exact meaning of *chātudisasa saṅgha* is most clearly brought out, as I have tried to show in K. 13.

#### No. 11, Plate vii. (Ksh. 10.)

In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

#### TEXT.

1 Sīdham (1) rāṁṇo (2) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa dhi-  
2 tu Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa kuḍumbiniya Dakhamitrāya (3) deydham-  
mah (4) ovarako.

#### REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *sīdham*.—(2) G. *rāṇo*; AS. *raṇo*.—(3) AS. °*mitāya*.—(4) G. °*dhammah*.

This epigraph is repeated twice, with, as it seems, only slight graphical differences; compare N. 13 below. Although AS. refers to the facsimile on Plate lii., the way in which the lines are cut proves that the transcription was made, not from the estampage which corresponds with our N. 13, but from that which we transcribe here, and which figures on the accompanying Plate vii.

M

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cell, the gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, and daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrāpa."

No. 12, Plate v. (Ksh. 9.)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham vase 42 Vesākhamāse rāño (1) Kshaharātasa kshatrāpasa  
Nahapānasa jāmātarā Dinikaputrena Ushavadātasa saṅghasa chātudisasa  
imaṁ lepaṁ (2) niyātitaṁ data chānena (3) akshayanivi kāhāpaṇasaḥsārā-  
2 ni trini 3000 saṅghasa chātudisasa ye imasmim lepe vasantānaṁ (4)  
bhavisati chivarika kuṣaṇamūle (5) cha ete cha kāhāpaṇā prayutā  
Govadhanavāthavaṣu śreṇisu (6) kolikanikāye (7) 2000 vṛidhi (8) paḍikaśata  
aparakolikanikā-  
3 ye (9) 1000 vadhi pāyūnapaḍikaśata (10) ete cha kāhāpaṇā apaḍidātava  
vadhibhojā eto chivarikasahasrāni (11) be 2000 ye paḍike sate eto mama  
lepe vasavuthāna bhikhunaṁ viśāya ekikasa chivarika bārasaka yā (12)  
sahasra prayutaṁ pāyūnapaḍike (13) sate ato kuṣaṇa-  
4 mūla (14) Kāpurāhāre cha gāme Chikhalapadre datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni  
aṭha 8000 eta cha sarva (15) srāvita (16) nigamasabhāya nibadha (17) cha  
phalakavāre charitratoti bhūyo nena dataṁ vase 41 Kātikaśudhe  
panarasa (18) puvāka vase 45  
5 panarasa niyutaṁ (19) bhagavatām devānaṁ brāhmaṇānaṁ cha karahāpaṇasa-  
hasrāṇi (20) satari 70000 pañchatrisāka (21) suvarṇa (22) kṛitā  
dina suvarṇasahasraṇaṁ (23) mūlyam (24)  
6 phalakavāre charitratoti.

## REMARKS.

- (1) AS. *rāño*.—(2) G. and AS. *ima lena*.—(3) G. *data nena*; AS. *data chānena*.—  
(4) G. and AS. *vasātāna*.—(5) G. *kuṣaṇamūla*.—(6) AS. *śreṇisu*.—(7) AS. *kolika*°.—  
(8) AS. *vadhi*.—(9) AS. °*kolika*°.—(10) G. and AS. *pāyuna*°.—(11) G. °*śrāni*.—(12)  
G. and AS. *ya*.—(13) G. and AS. *pāyuna*°.—(14) G. °*mūla*.—(15) G. *sarvaṁ*.—(16)  
G. *sāvita*.—(17) G. *nibadha*.—(18) G. °*rāse*.—(19) G. °*yuta*.—(20) G. °*śrāni*.—(21) G.  
°*trishāka*.—(22) G. *suvarṇam*.—(23) G. °*śrāṇam*; AS. °*śranam*.—(24) G. *mūlyam*; AS.  
°*mūla*.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 42, in the month Vesākha, Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrāpa, has bestowed this cave on the Saṅgha generally; he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—*kāhāpaṇas*, which, for the members of the Saṅgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (*kuṣaṇa*); and those *kāhāpaṇas* have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govadhana,—2000 in a weavers' guild, interest one *pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1000 in another weavers' guild, interest three quarters of a *paḍika* (monthly) for the hundred; and those *kāhāpaṇas* are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand—2000—at one *pratika* per cent. are the cloth money; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the *vassa* in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (*kāhāpaṇas*). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a *pratika* per cent., out of them the money for *kuṣaṇa*. And at the village of Chikhalapadra in the

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Kāpura district have been given eight thousand—8000—stems of cocoanut trees; and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom."

"Again the donation previously made by the same in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kārttika, has in the year 45, on the fifteenth . . . . . been settled on the venerable gods and Brāhmanas, viz. seventy thousand—70000—*kārshāpanas*, each thirty-five making a *suvarṇa*, a capital (therefore) of two thousand *suvarṇas*. (This is registered) at the record office according to custom."

Here the difficulties begin with the word *kuṣaṇa*. Bhagwanlal's vague attempts at explaining it cannot well be considered anything but a failure, and the comparison with the Vedic *kṛisana* does not help us any more. Literary works do not seem to have supplied to this day any instance of the word. It is but to be wondered at that the use itself to which it refers is not only foreign, but contrary to the laws of discipline as they are laid down in the Scriptures. In fact I do not think any doubt can be entertained as to the custom to which the word *kuṣaṇa* alludes. Several inscriptions at Kāpuri (Arch. Surv. Vol. V.) commemorate various endowments with a double object: *chivarika solasaka paṭiko cha māse utukāle* (No. 15); *chivarika bārasaka gimhāsu paṭiko māse* (No. 18); *chivarika solasaka paṭiko māse cha utukāle* (No. 21); *chivarika . . . solasaka utukāle cha [paṭiko māse]* (No. 28). This series corresponds with our own epigraph in the first member; it is extremely probable that both correspond in the second as well, and that consequently *kuṣaṇa* means a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year, and probably to be applied for his food. Such a proceeding of course is, from the point of view of principle, most incorrect, the monks being expected to live on alms and being precluded from even touching any money. The general interpretation seems nevertheless certain. The case is different as regards the precise meaning and etymology of the word. I know of no really probable conjecture I could suggest. Although rather numerous, the passages at Kāpuri do not even state distinctly during which period of the year the supply was conceded. Most of them are content to speak of the *ṛitukāla*. As, however, the distribution of the *kuṣaṇamāla* appears to have been strictly parallel with that of the *chivarika* or 'money for clothes' reserved for the *varsha* time (*vasavuthānam bhikkhānam*), this 'season' *kar' ikoṣṭh* must be the *varsha*. If No. 18 expressly mentions the hot season (*gimhesu*), this is due, I suppose, to the circumstance that at that time and in that place the annual retreat began already in Āshāḍha, i.e. still in summer.

The words *ṛiddhi paṭikatata* and *vadhi pāyānapaṭikatata* look perfectly clear, and they have in fact been translated quite naturally: 'the interest amounts to one hundred' and 'to seventy-five *pratikas*.' The matter is, however, not quite so simple. Those expressions cannot be considered separately from others which do not admit of such an interpretation; I mean in this inscription *sahasrāṇi be ye paṭike sate* and *yā sahasraprayutam pāyānapaṭike sate*, and at Kāpuri, No. 15, *kāhāpanāni satāni be saghasa yeva haṭhe paṭike sate*. It is clear from the first that a capital of 200 *kārshāpanas* cannot possibly bring in the same interest as a capital of 2000. On the other hand, the final *e* of *paṭike* and *sate* being secured by the threefold repetition, we must find an explanation for the double locative which the ordinary translations in no way account for. As to *ṛiddhi paṭikatata*, the translation 'interest a hundred *paṭikas*' is excluded by the consequences it would involve. Bühler was led by reasons which on the whole are, if not cogent, at least very plausible, to consider *pratika* as an equivalent of *kārshāpana*. Of course he was obliged to acknowledge that those hundred *pratikas* were not sufficient to supply the expenses for the clothes of twenty monks, at twelve *kārshāpanas* each, because they would in that case require 240 *kārshāpanas* in all. He was obliged to assume that *bārasaka* (Sanskrit *dvādasaka*) refers to some coins different from the *kārshāpana*. But Kāpuri No. 16, where the fee of 'sixteen *kārshāpanas*' for cloth money is expressly mentioned, leaves no room for doubt; *kārshāpanas* are



certainly meant. It follows therefore that the translation put forward for *vridhi paḍikatata* cannot be upheld.

The only safe way is to start from the locatives *paḍike śate*. In Kanheri No. 15, Bühler translated: 'two hundred bearing (a monthly interest of) one *kārshāpaṇa*.' Hence he seems to have taken *śate* as a dual. Such an interpretation is out of the question; it is discountenanced not only by the grammatical inadmissibility, but also by the repetition of the formula in our own text, where the numbers in each case are quite different. Nevertheless, I think that Bühler was perfectly right as to the *general* meaning. In fact, if we take, and we cannot well help doing so, *śate* as a locative, we are easily led by the two locatives to the translation: 'at one *pratika* per cent.' In India the rate of interest is generally stated monthly (compare *Manu*, viii. v. 141, etc.). So it would imply a yearly income of 12 per cent. which, conformably to the ideas of the country, is far from excessive. We shall actually find in N. 17 a capital of 100 *kārshāpaṇas* bringing in annually the cost of a *chivarika* of 12 *kārshāpaṇas*. At this rate of interest the two-thousand *kārshāpaṇas* bear exactly the two-hundred-and-forty *kārshāpaṇas* required yearly to provide the twenty monks with robes at 12 pieces each. It is true that the 75 *pratikas* produced on the same terms by the other investment of 1000 *kārshāpaṇas* are not quite sufficient to secure to the twenty monks as *kuśānamūla* one *kārshāpaṇa* monthly during four months, which would amount to eighty pieces. But this fact does not entail any real contradiction. If the *kuśānamūla* at Kanheri amounted to one *pratika* monthly, it does not follow that it must have been of exactly the same value at Nāsik; nor is it sure even that the *varsha*, which we know to have differed in length according to time and place should have here lasted four months, rather than three. The only remaining difficulty is purely grammatical. I dare not decide if we ought to correct *paḍika-* (and *pāyānapaḍika-*) *śate*, or to admit some irregular formation such as the familiar or technical language is apt to produce. Anyhow the meaning remains clear: 'interest at the rate of one (and three quarters of one) *pratika* monthly.' The *ye* which follows the number 2000 of course refers to *chivarikasahasraṇi* be; it stands for the neuter *yāni*, exactly as in l. 2 the *ye* following *chātudāsasa*. The sequel shows that we have to supply *prayutāni* or *payutāni*. As to *āhāra* = district, compare Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Insor.* p. 173, note.

I have explained before (N. 10) why I understand *mūla* not as = 'value, capital,' but as meaning 'stem.' The phraseology used here and the way in which the words are separated seem to supply another decisive argument in favour of that interpretation. In *phalakavāra* I prefer taking *vāra*, not, like Bühler, as = 'number, multitude,' but as denoting the enclosure, the premises where the official documents are kept on boards (*phalaka*). There are no instances from literature, by which the real meaning can be tested. Anyhow archives seem to be understood. This inscription suggests a double formality: first the notification (*śrāvita*) of the gift, and secondly its registration (*nibadha*). As *nigamasabhā* seems to mean 'the public hall, the town's hall,' it has been generally admitted that the first locative, *nigamasabhāya*, refers to the place where the proclamation had to be made, the second, *phalakavāre*, to the embodiment into the archives. But the sequel shows that *phalakavāre charitrato* forms a sentence complete in itself. On the other hand, I have repeatedly insisted upon the necessity of taking into consideration the law which in Sanskrit puts the determinative term before the determined one. For this reason I have translated the sentence as above. The last words, *phalakavāre, etc.*, are only a compendious attestation of the fact that the whole endowment was recorded in the archives conformably to rule.

The same formula is repeated at the end of the final clause which follows, and which is fraught with such difficulties that Bühler did not attempt even a conjectural translation. Bhagwanlal has been bolder; I believe that, except in some grammatical details, he has on the whole been successful. We have before us a double date, 41 and 45, for the endowment.

Two different stages of the same proceeding must accordingly be recorded here: the first characterised by *datta*, the second by *niyukta*, viz. first the donation, and afterwards its dedication to a special category of donees. Was Bhagwanlal justified in stating that the first word amounts to the same as *samkalpita* and means only the resolution to give? Or must we believe that at the second date, the donor was led by some undetermined reason to modify in favour of new donees the original object of his investment? I dare not decide this point, as both conjectures have their own difficulties. In any case we are concerned here with a donation—or the project of a donation—which goes back to a previous time (*purvākaṁ*), and which led to a final dedication in the year 45. In this second part of the sentence *panarasa* is most perplexing. If it is the same ordinal *pañchadāsa* as in the preceding line, we are obliged to admit either that the engraver has omitted the name of the month and of the fortnight, or that he has erroneously repeated the foregoing *panarasa*. Though slightly facilitated by the fact that *panarasa* stands at the beginning of a new line, this conjecture is too easy to be confidently relied upon. Another expedient could also be attempted, viz. considering *panarasa* = *punarasa*, *punar asya*, and taking the genitive to be used in the function of the instrumental, which does not seem hard in this style. The translation would then be: 'the donation previously made in the year 41 has been again settled by him in the year 45, etc.' But the proximity of the first *panarasa* makes this hypothesis extremely doubtful.

The only remaining difficulty concerns the words *pañchatrīṣṭaka*, etc. It is only formal. It is indeed perfectly clear that the text wants to state how the 70,000 *kārshāpaṇas* given are equal in value to 2,000 *suvarṇas*, the *suvarṇa* being worth 35 *kārshāpaṇas*. But Bhagwanlal understands *kṛitā* = *kṛitvā*, which I consider hardly admissible. The vocalisation is here very uncertain. I prefer to take *kṛitā* as equal to *kṛita* or *kṛitaṁ*, and *pañchatrīṣṭakam suvarṇam kṛitaṁ* as a separate proposition, which comes very near to our own idiom: 'thirty-five (*kārshāpaṇas*) make one *suvarṇa*.'

#### No. 13, Plate viii. (Ksh. 10.)

In the veranda in Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the right cell.

#### TEXT.

[Compare No. 11.]

- 1 Sidham rāṇo Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapāna-
- 2 sa dīhita (1) Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa
- 3 kuṇḍabiniya (2) Dakhamitrāya deyadhammam (3) ovarako.

#### REMARK.

- (1) G. *dīhita*.—(2) G. *kuṇḍa*.—(3) G. *°dhamam*.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cell, a gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa."

#### No. 14a, Plate vi. (Ksh. 7.)

On the right wall of the court in Cave No. 10.

#### TEXT.

- 1 . . . . . ṭasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa jāma-
- 2 . . . . . Śakasa Ushavadātasa netyakesu
- 3 . . . . . ? Ohechihne (1) Dāhanūkānagara (2) Kēkāpure

4	. . . . .	Pe (3) Anugāmimhi Ujeniya Sākhāya
5	. . . . .	to brāhmaṇā bhujate (4) sataśāha-
6	. . . . .	vatā (5) brāhmaṇānam gavām sataśa-
7	. . . . .	bhagavatā (6) devāna brāhmaṇānam cha datā
8	. . . . .	Chetrasudhe panarasa (7) Kshaharā-
9	. . . . .	gavām ?tasahasradena (8) Usha-
10	. . . . .	(9) nadiya Barāśaya (10) da-
11	. . . . .	suvana titha (11) che űayate (12) tasa
12	. . . . .	. . . . . (13)

## REMARKS.

(1) AS. [ . . . . . *Sorpāra*] *ge Vechimāne*. The reading *ve* seems possible; but not, I think, the reading *ge*.—(2) G. and AS. *°gare*.—(3) G. and AS. [ . . . . . *Bharuka*] *chhe anu°*. I cannot make out the *chh*.—(4) G. *bhujate*.—(5) G. [ . . . . . *bhagavatām*] *brā°*; AS. [ *ri* . . . . . ] *brā°*. The characters *vatām* seem to be still discernible on the estampage.—(6) G. and AS. [*hasra* . . . . . *bhagava*] *td*.—(7) G. *°rass*.—(8) G. and AS. *gavām śata°*. The *ś* is very doubtful; we could as well read *s*. Before *ga* I think I can make out an *n*, probably the ending of *°dena*.—(9) G. *°vaddēna*] . . . . . *brāhma* . . . . . *na°*.—(10) AS. *°diya Barāśaya*; G. *°ndāśya*.—(11) AS. *°vañātī°*.—(12) G. *cha űayate*. This reading, especially *cha*, is quite possible.—(13) G. . . . . *chatī*. I can see nothing of these characters.

## TRANSLATION.

"[Success!] By permanent charities of Ushavadāta, the Śaka, [son of Dinika], son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the [Kshaharā]ta Kshatrāpa, one-hundred-thousand holy Brāhmaṇas dine [the whole year round] at . . . . . Chechihñā, at the town of Dāhanūka, at Kekāpura, . . . . . at Anugāmi, at Ujeni, at Sākhā. [By the same, three]-hundred-thousand cows have been given to holy Brāhmaṇas, [and sixteen villages] have been given to the holy gods and Brāhmaṇas. [In the year . . . . .], in the bright half of Chaitra, on the fifteenth day . . . . . by Usha[vadāta] money and a *tīrtha* have been bestowed in the Barāśā river . . . . ."

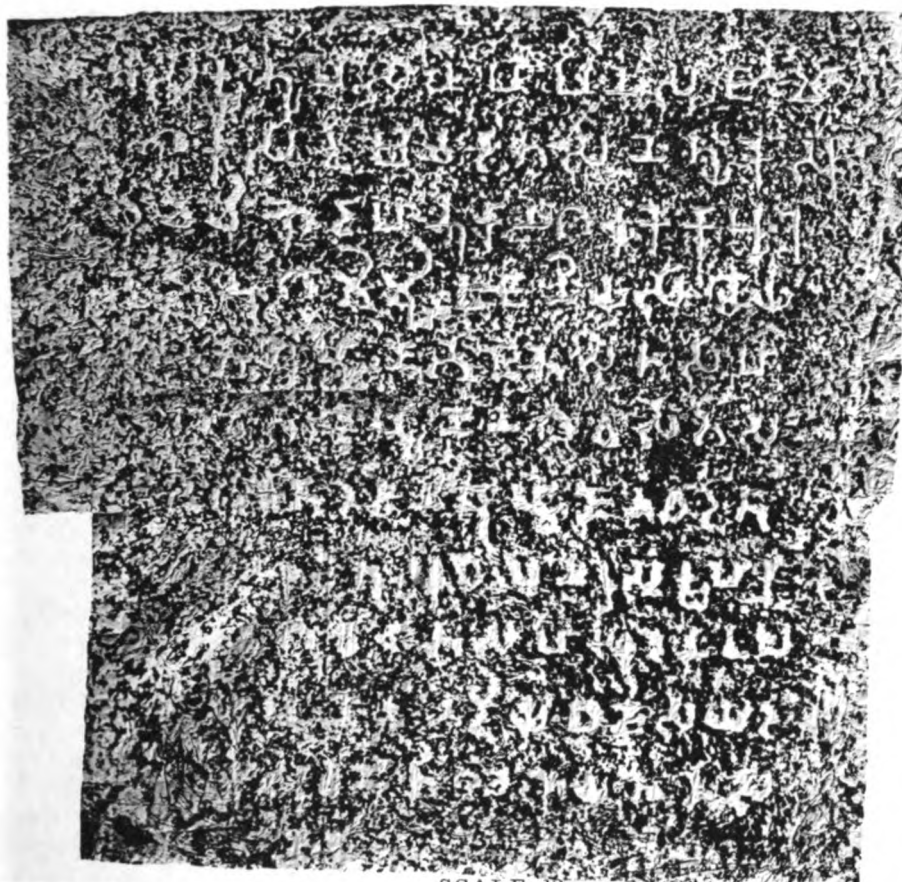
The lost characters in the beginning of several lines can be easily and safely filled in from K. 13 and N. 10. The first line, the restoration of which is certain, proves that every line has lost about eight letters.

- 1 [Sidham raño Kshaharā]
- 2 [tu Dinikaputasa]
- 5 [anuvāsam bhagavam]
- 6 [śi . . . . . bhaga]
- 7 [hasāni tīpi datāni]
- 8 [sośasa gāmā vase . . .].

Unfortunately this restoration supplies nothing but known elements and is consequently of little interest. We can restore neither the date nor the local names in ll. 3, 4, nor can we say definitely what is missing at the beginning of l. 11. I am equally unable to state how and under what circumstances the word Kshaharāta was introduced in line 8, because other epigraphs mention that name only among the titles of Nahapāna. The 10th line began of course with the letters *vaddēna*, completing *Usha* in the preceding one, and they were probably followed by some epithet. The word *tigotasahasradena* of N. 10 would fit as to length; but this gift has already been mentioned in the foregoing lines, independently of the gift of one-hundred-thousand cows, the mention of which immediately precedes. It seems indeed certain that the donations enu-

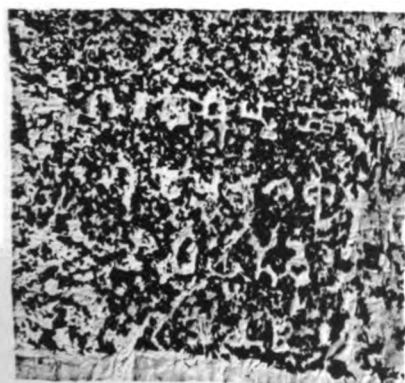
Nasik Inscriptions. Plate VI.

14 a



SCALE · 12

14 b



SCALE · 12

25



SCALE · 1

22



SCALE · 12

20

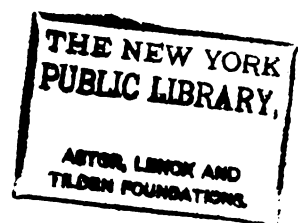


SCALE · 07

27

SCALE · 1





merated in ll. 3 - 5, 6 - 7, 7 - 8 correspond to the first three commemorated in N. 10, while, on the other hand, ll. 10 - 11 allude to the gifts made on the Barṇāsā river (l. 1 in N. 10). It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the three words *suvaṇa tītha cha* in l. 12 prove that the interpretation I have advocated for the compound in K. 13 is correct.

I do not believe that *netyaka*, Sanskrit *naityaka*, must be understood, as taken by Bühler, in the sense of 'daily rites.' No daily rites performed by Ushavadāta, on the occasion of which the Brāhmapas would have been fed, can be intended here, as those distributions are extended to a number of different localities. Regular continuous works and gifts are meant here in opposition to special and exceptional foundations. One doubt only remains: are we to translate 'among the regular liberalities,' or is the locative used for the instrumental: 'by (in virtue of) regular liberalities?' The vague character of the syntax in this style (many analogous cases may be found in my commentary on the *Mahāvastu*) does not exclude the second interpretation, which in itself seems to be the more satisfactory of the two.

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the last words: *cheṇayate tasa*; and Bhagwanlal's translation of *ñayate* by 'is known' does not convey any real meaning. The vowel signs are rather uncertain in this part of the inscription. I feel little hesitation in reading *cha*. As to what follows, a double hypothesis offers itself to my mind: either to read *ñay[u]te (taṁ) tasa . . . . .* or *ñayāt[ī]ta sa . . . . .*; in either case we have to admit an irregular transcription of *niyā°* or *niyu°* by *ñayā°* or *ñayu°*. It would be exactly the same graphical peculiarity as is found already at Gīrnar in the eighth of Piyadasi's edicts, which reads (l. 1) *ñayāsu = niyāsu*. In N. 6 we have already met with an irregular palatalisation of *t* to *ch* in the same word, which is there written *ñyāchita* instead of *niyātita*. To tell the truth, it is towards the restoration of *ñayātita* rather than *ñayuta* that I should incline. Ushavadāta seems to use the word with some predilection (as in N. 12), and it fits in better with the first at least—*suvaṇāni*—of the two substantives on which it would bear. Anyhow, and in spite of the uncertainty resulting from the sudden interruption of the text, the general meaning seems clear.

#### No. 14b, Plate vi. (Ksh. 8.)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

#### TEXT.

- |             |                        |         |
|-------------|------------------------|---------|
| 1 . . . . . | gavatā brāhmapā        |         |
| 2 . . . . . | pi pañchāsaṁ . . . . . | 000 (1) |
| 3 . . . . . | māsāya tīrthe          | (2)     |
| 4 . . . . . | deya na japa           | (3).    |

#### REMARKS.

(1) G. [*saha*] *śrāṇi pañchāsa 50000*; AS. *do sahasa 2000*. AS. does not succeed any more than I in making out the traces that G. interprets as *śrā*, which is graphically very unlikely. AS. interprets as *do* the character which G. reads *śr*, and this reading seems at least probable. In the following letters the position of G. appears to me much stronger than that of AS. But the *ś* joined to *sa* is at least as probable as that which seems to be appended to *pa*. As to the number, the 'thousand' is clearly visible, and also a bracket on the right which has caused the whole to be interpreted as 2000. But the *do sahasa* cannot be upheld, and *pañchāsa* is at least likely; on the other hand, it seems indeed as if the sign for 'thousand' were followed by some exponent, too much erased to be confidently made out, which probably expressed the number of thousands. If Bhagwanlal took it for 50, I must own that the visible traces do not seem to favour this reading. But it is commended by his reading of the foregoing word.—(2) AS. *māsīyaṁ tīthe*. *Tīrthe* seems certain, especially on the back of the estampage.

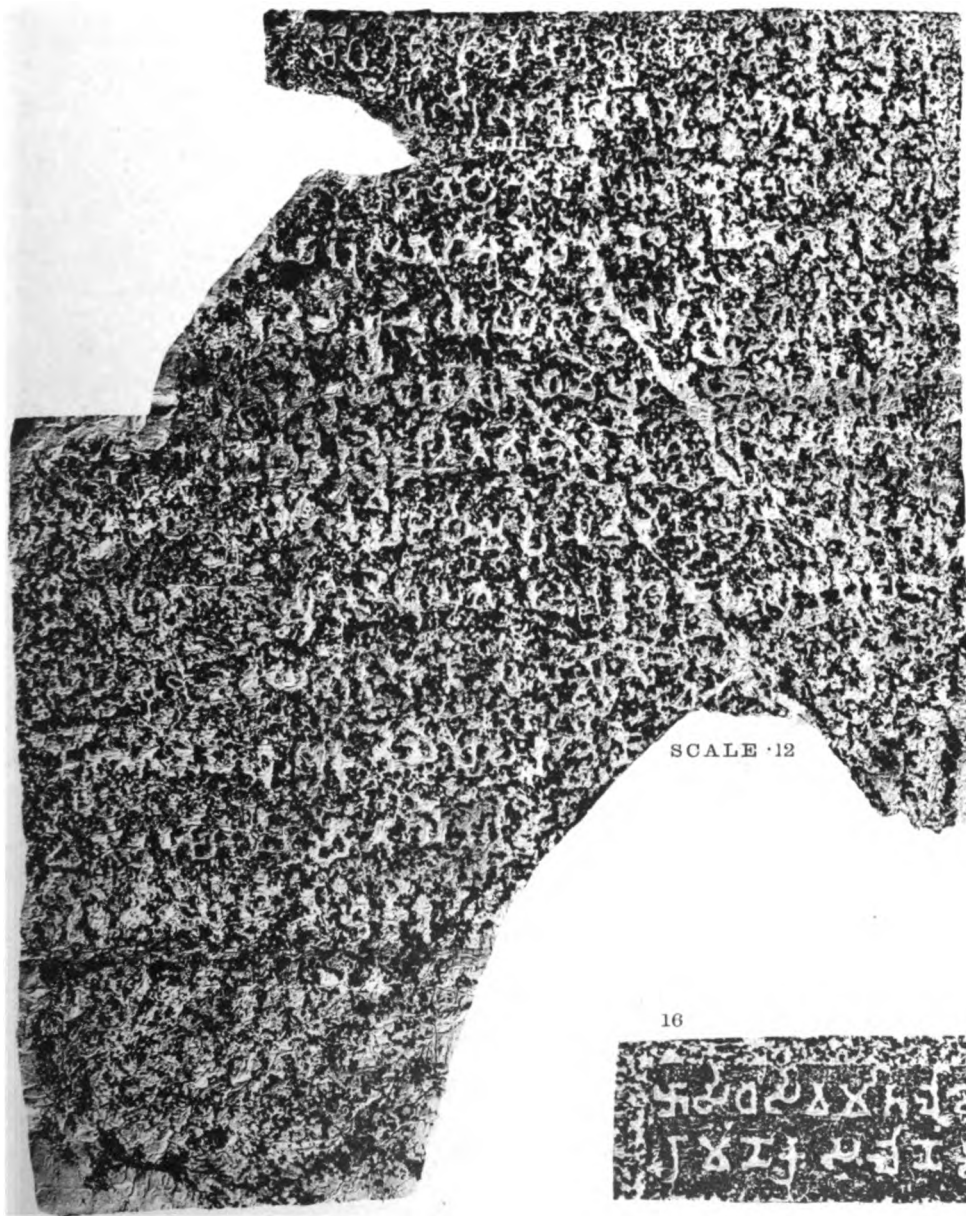


11



SCALE · 1

15



SCALE · 12

16

SCALE · 1







G. and AS. add fragments of one more line: *syā mā* (AS. *mā*) *sa* . . . . . *sarva* (AS. *sarva* [m]) *rakshāti* (AS. *rakshati*) *vidya* (AS. *Viśva* [udatā]) . . . . . Of all this I can discern nothing on the estampages.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the ninth year of king Śīvarasena, the Ābhira, son of Śīvadatta, the Ābhira, son of Mādhari, on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer on the above, by the lay devotee Viśvudattā, the Śākāni, mother of the Gaṇapaka Viśvavarma, wife of the Gaṇapaka Bebhila, daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the Saṃgha of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Trirāśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling [at Govardhana], viz. in the hands of the guild of Kularīkas, one-thousand—1000—*kārshāpanas*, of the guild of Odayantrikas, two-thousand, of the guild of . . . . . five-hundred—500—, of the guild of oil-millers . . . . . and those *kārshāpanas* . . . . ."

Bühler asserts that "*gaṇapaka* means 'protector or leader of a *gaṇa*,' which consists of three *gūlmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of colonel." According to Bhagwanlal "it appears to be a professional name or a surname . . . . ; *gaṇapaka* means the head of a group." Neither of them gives references for this word which I do not find in the lexicons, and the analysis of which, as proposed by them, seems in no way self-convincing. What is most certain is the statement of Bhagwanlal that its meaning in this passage is not clear. It is no use comparing such ecclesiastical titles as *gaṇadhārya*, for example in Junnar No. 22. The only correct derivation of the word seems to be from *gaṇāpayati*, a normal equivalent of *gaṇayati*, so that *gaṇapaka* would be an equivalent of *gaṇaka*, meaning 'accountant' or 'astrologer'; compare for instance the *gaṇakas* who are mentioned as important functionaries in the *Mahāvastu*, III. 42, 9; 44, 5. It need hardly be added that this meaning is very hypothetical, because we have here a title, i.e. a consecrated form which does not well admit of variations.

The word *viḥḍra* occurs in L 7, and this inscription is found in the court of a real *viḥḍra* which contains not less than sixteen separate cells. The restoration *Govadhanavāstavyāsu* is hardly conjectural. As to the word which AS. writes *Sugatāgatāsu*, the stone certainly leaves sufficient space for one letter between *tā* and *ga*, and it seems even that traces of it are visible on the accompanying Plate; I therefore consider the transcription *āgatānāgatāsu* as certain. Bhagwanlal appears to have made out the meaning correctly, and I do not see why the expression seems to have puzzled him. A perpetual rent is intended, which will have to be paid by the guilds mentioned indefinitely, such as they actually are in virtue of their past constitution, and such as they will be under the modifications which may be brought about in future. Unfortunately the names of these guilds are not so clear as we should wish. For *kularika* at least I see nothing better than Bühler's conjecture, taking it to be = *kulāla*, 'a potter.' The same is not the case with *odayantrika*, which I take to be a derivative = *audayantrika*, from *udayantra* (compare *jalayantra*, *vāriyantra*, *tōyayantra*, etc.), 'workers fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others.'

After *chatāle* (L 12) the traces of the inscription are too scarce to allow of any solid hypothesis. The part of a 'protector,' which the text, as proposed by AS. for l. 13, would attribute to Viśvudattā, is in any case very unlikely.

#### No. 18, Plate vii. (N. 5).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 11, right of the doorway.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Śivamitalekhakaputasa
- 2 Rāmānpakasa lepaṃ deyadharmam (1).

N

## REMARK.

(1) G. °dhamam.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cave, a pious gift of Rāmanaka, son of the writer Sivamita."

No. 17, Plate viii. (N. 4).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 12.

## TEXT.

- 1 Velidātaputasa (1) nekamasa Rāmanakasa
- 2 Chhākalepakiyasa lenam deyadhammam chatudi(2).
- 3 sasa bhikkhusaṅghasa niyātitaṁ data cha
- 4 nana akhayanivi kākāpanasata 100
- 5 saṅghasa hathe eto vasavuthasa pavāṇasa chivari-
- 6 kam dātavaṁ bārasakam.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. °data°; AS. Velidata°.—(2) G. and AS. chatudi°.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cave, a pious gift of the merchant Rāmanaka, son of Velidāta, from Chhākalepa, bestowed on the universal Saṅgha of monks generally; and by the same have been given as a perpetual endowment one-hundred—100—kākāpanas in the hands of the Saṅgha. Out of this a cloth money of twelve kākāpanas is to be given to the ascetic who keeps the sasa (here)."

Chhākalepa or Chhāgalepa, a village or a town, a region or a clan, has not yet been identified; on chivariṇa and the sum of twelve kākāpanas, either as interest for an investment of one-hundred kākāpanas, or as the amount of the chivariṇa, compare above, No. 12.

No. 18, Plate V. (N. 3).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 17.

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham otarāhasa Dātāmitiyakasa (1) Tepakasa Dhammadevaputasa
- Idāgnidatasa (2) dhammātmāṇa (3)
- 2 imam (4) lenam pavate Tiramphumhi khānitarā abhāntarā cha ipasa
- chetiyagharo poḍhiyo (5) cha mātāpi-
- 3 taro udisa ima lepa (6) kāritarā sava-Buddha-pujāya chātudisasa
- bhikkhūsaṅghasa (7) niyātitaṁ sa-
- 4 ha putena Dhammarakhitena.

## REMARKS.

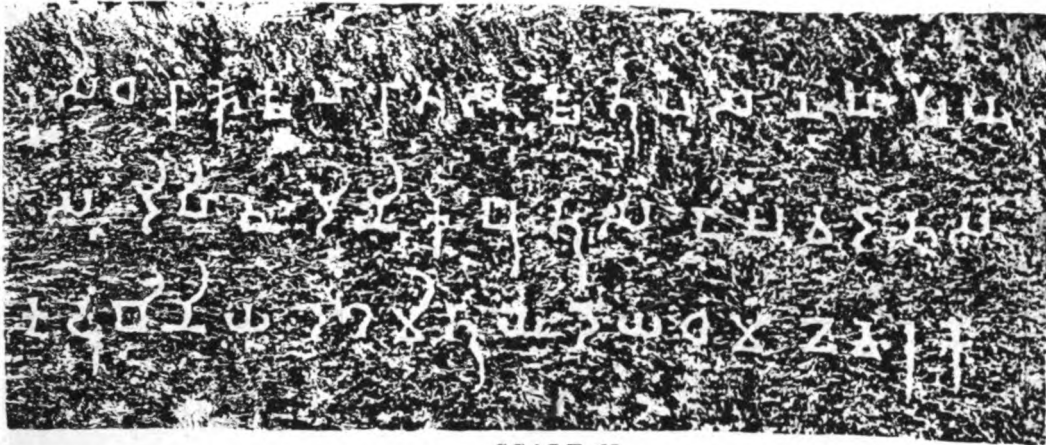
(1) G. and AS. Dātāmiti°.—(2) G. Idāgnī°; AS. Idā°; but the Sanskrit r is perfectly clear.—(3) The stroke which, rising perpendicularly, makes the d look somewhat like i, is thinner and certainly accidental.—(4) G. and AS. ima te°.—(5) G. poḍhiyo; AS. poḍhiyo.—(6) AS. lenam.—(7) G. bhikkhu°.

8



SCALE · 1

13



SCALE · 12

17

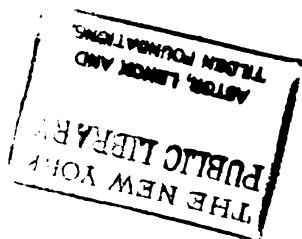


SCALE · 12

26



SCALE · 1



## TRANSLATION.

"Success! (The gift) of Indragnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattāmitri. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount Tiraphu, and inside the cave a *Chaityagriha* and cisterns. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all Buddhas, bestowed on the universal *Saṅgha* of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhita."

It is very fortunate indeed that a *vārttika* on Pāṇini (IV. 7, 104) has preserved the tradition of a word *uttarāḥa*, for which the etymology from *utara* seems to indicate the meaning 'northern.' The derivation of the word would, otherwise, have been the more puzzling because, as far as I know, analogous formations are wanting.

Bühler (AS. p. 38) and before him Bhandarkar have already conjectured that Dattāmitri would be an Indian adaptation of the Arachosian Demetrias, a name mentioned by Isidore of Kharax. The reading *dhammātmanā* is sure. It may be an error of the engraver for *°tmano*; but I cannot find this very admissible in an inscription so carefully written. On the other hand, it would be surprising if the participle *khāṇāṇā* had to be construed with a genitive in the place of an instrumental. I prefer to take the first words as far as *Indragnidatta* as a complete clause, meaning 'a gift' or 'a cave of Indragnidatta . . .'. A new sentence would begin with *dhammātmanā*, and, as has been intimated before (N. 10), this construction would imply that the donor had undertaken the work and made that grant under the impression of his recent conversion to Buddhism.

*Chaityagriha* means an oratory at the end of which a *stūpa* is erected as the object or the centre of cult. Compare for instance the Kuṣā inscriptions 13 and 20.

## No. 18, Plate iii. (Ksh. 4).

In Cave No. 18, on the fifth and sixth pillars of the right-hand row.

## TEXT.

- 1 Rāyāmachā-Arahalayasa Chalisilapākasa (1) duhutuya Mahāhakusi-
- 2 r . . ya Bhaṭapālikāya (2) rāyāmachasa Agiyatapākasa bhaṇḍākārika-
- 3 yasa bhāriyāya (3) Kapaṇapākamātuya chetiyaḡharam pavate
- 4 Tiraphumai niṭhapāpita.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. *cha Lisila*°, but the comparison of the *li* of *pālikāya* in the following line seems to prove that we have to read *li*; AS. *°lisāṇa*°.— (2) G. *°rirāyabha*°; AS. *°ri[yā]yaya Bha*°, adding a note: "the first letter may also be read *ri*; the second which looks like *rd* is certainly mutilated." It seems indeed impossible to doubt that the first traces visible on the left express an *r*. The vowel is entirely uncertain, but what precedes necessitates the reading *ri* or *ri*. Between *r* and *ya* I can discern nothing; at the utmost would the back of the estampage point to the vowel *i* before the *y*, the consonant remaining undetermined. However this may be, the space between the initial *r* and the *ya* seems too large to be conveniently filled up only by Bhagwanlal's *rd*.— (3) G. *°ya Satdriyā*°.

## TRANSLATION.

"By Bhaṭapālikā, [grand-daughter] of Mahāhakusiri and daughter of the royal officer Arahalaya from Chalisilapa, wife of the royal officer Agiyatapaka, of the treasure office, mother of Kapaṇapaka, this *Chaityagriha* has been caused to be perfected on this mount Tiraphu."

To judge from many analogous cases, it does not seem that Chalisilapaka can be anything but an adjective pointing to the origin or residence of Arahalaya. I have no means of

identifying that village or clan. Bhagwanlal and Bühler are certainly wrong in admitting, after the initial *rd* or *ri* of l. 2, the loss of one character only. That *ri* (the foregoing *si* does not allow any other reading) was undoubtedly separated by two letters from the *ya* which formed the end of the word. This being admitted, and no real and significant traces of the letters being preserved, we are left to fill up the lacuna entirely by conjecture. The direction in which we have to look, however, is quite clear. It is sure that *Bhaṭṭapālikā* is the name of the donor. The reading of Bhagwanlal, who sought for it in the beginning of l. 3, cannot be accounted for. The qualifications which the donor receives are therefore distributed into two groups: the second relates to her husband and her son, and the first must concern her descent. As the first link mentions her father's name, the second cannot well have pointed to anything but a brother or grandfather. There is no room for *ri[bhagini]ya*; I am therefore inclined to think that, when uninjured, the stone bore *ri[nati]ya*, from *naptri*. If this *Mahāhakasiri* is really the same as the *Kumdra Hakasiri* at *Nānāghāt*, two generations would not be too much to explain the difference in the forms of the letters which exists between our epigraph and the *Nānāghāt* inscription. Of course local peculiarities may have played their part too.

In whichever way *bhaṇḍāḍārikayasa* be taken, either as a proper name as Bühler has done, or as the name of a function with Bhagwanlal, a regular form can only be obtained by reading °*kārikiyasa*. Bhagwanlal escaped all difficulties by dividing the compound after *ya* and applying the epithet to the donor. But the word *bhāriyāya* which follows does not suit such an explanation. He is however certainly right in looking here for the name of some appointment, and I take *bhaṇḍāḍārikīya* as a derivative of *bhaṇḍāḍārika*, pointing to a charge in the king's treasury.

*Nishīhāpeti* evidently conveys, as in Pāli, the idea of finishing, bringing to perfection. It suits the fact that the inscription N. 20, which is engraved over the door and relates to its ornamentation, is out in letters more archaic than this one. It is therefore certain that the cave had been begun and excavated to some extent before the present donor put the last hand to it.

#### No. 20, Plate vi. (Ksh. 2).

Under the arch over the doorway of Cave No. 18.

#### TEXT.

*Nāsikakanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.*

#### TRANSLATION.

"The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the *Nāsik* people."

Bhagwanlal understood: "gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of *Nāsik*," and wondered, quite naturally, how such a community could have made the gift. Nothing of the kind is meant. It is clear that the gift consists of the ornated arcade which rises above the door, and at the base of which the inscription is engraved. This can be seen even from the care with which the architectural line is adhered to. I cannot make out how Bühler understood the inscription. His rendering: "the gift of Dhambhikagāma, of the inhabitants of *Nāsika*," seems somewhat ambiguous. I do not think however that any doubt can really be entertained. We have met with more than one instance of a genitive joined to the name of a donor, to indicate the community, district or clan to which he happened to belong. I suppose the case is the same here, and the Dhambhika village, which had contrived at the common expense (nothing is more frequent than the paying of such religious expenses from the resources of the community) to decorate the entrance to the cave, must have belonged to the general population or to the township of *Nāsik*.

## No. 21, Plate iii. (Ksh. 3).

Above the image of a *Yaksha* in Cave No. 18.

## TEXT.

. . . . . bēna cha (1) . . . . . ni . . . . . yāva (2) Nadāsiriya (3)  
cha veikā (4) yakho cha kārītā (5).

## REMARKS.

(1) The traces preceding *be* make one think of a *ṣ*. Is it the rest of *kuṣumbena*? Above the traces of this hypothetical *ṣ*, the rest of *śidhaṃ*, which began the epigraph, are still discernible in the preceding line.—(2) AS. °ni. e . . . . . yā°; G. °yācha.—(3) G. *Nadasi*°.—(4) G. *veyikā*.—(5) G. *kārīto*.

## TRANSLATION.

“ . . . . . and by *Nadāsiri* the rail pattern and the *Yaksha* have been caused to be made.”

## No. 22, Plate vi. (Ksh. 1).

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

## TEXT.

- 1 Śāṭavāhanakule (1) Kanhe rājini Nāsikakena
- 2 Samāṇena mahāmāteṇa leṇa kārītā (2).

## REMARKS.

(1) AS. °kula. — (2) G. *kārītaṃ*.

## TRANSLATION.

“Under king *Kṛishṇa* of the *Śāṭavāhana* family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the *Śramaṇas* at *Nāsik*.”

I can hardly believe that the apparent readings °*kakena*, °*maṇena*, °*teṇa* can all be correct. *Samāṇa* as a proper noun seems little likely, the more so as in our epigraphs the adjective expressing the origin or the town of the donor is generally placed after his name. I consider it easier to admit that, for instance, *samāṇena* ought really to be read *samāṇaṇaṃ*, and that the functionary here meant—conformably to the precedent of *Aśoka*, of which *Bhagwanlal* reminds us in connection with this very text,—was entrusted with the inspection of the monks in the *Nāsik* district. Hence my proposed translation, which is of course hypothetical.

## No. 23, Plate v. (N. 9).

Over the doorway of the last cell in Cave No. 20.

## TEXT.

- 1 Deyadharmmo yaṃ upāsi-
- 2 kāyā Mammāyā layanaṃ.

## TRANSLATION.

“This gift, a cave, of the lay devotee *Mammā*.”

## No. 24, Plate i. (Ksh. 22).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 20.



## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Gotamiputasa sāmi-Sīriyāsa-Sātakapisa sāmivachhare (1) sātame  
7 hematāna pakhe tatiye 3
- 2 divase pathame (2) Kosikasa mahāsēnāpatisa Bhavagopasa bharijāya  
mahāsēnāpatiniya (3) Vāsuya lena.
- 3 Bopakiyatisujamāna apayavasitasamāne (4) bahukāpi variāpi ukute payavasāna (5)  
nito (6) chātudi-
- 4 sasa cha bhikhusaghasa āvāso dato ti.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *savaokha*°.—(2) G. *padhame*; AS. *pathame*. The central dot of *tha* seems certain on the back.—(3) AS. °*senāpatiniya*.—(4) G. and AS. °*mānasa pa*°; AS. °*yavesita*°.—(5) G. and AS. *payavasāna*°.—(6) G. *nīte*.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the first day of the third—3rd—fortnight of winter, in the seventh—7th—year of the king, the lord Śriyāsa-Sātakapi, son of Gotami, the Mahāsēnāpatni Vāsui, wife of the Mahāsēnāpati Bhavagopa, of the Kauśika family, has completed and given, as an abode to the universal Saṃgha of monks, this cave which had been excavated for many years, but, after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki, had remained uncompleted."

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the third line, and Bhagwanlal's tentative translation was only arrived at by unaccountable devices. I think it absolutely necessary to co-ordinate the different links °*sujamāna*, °*samāne*, *ukute*, *nito*, the combination of neuters (*e = am*) and masculines (supposing the readings to be certain) being here in no way surprising. The different epithets express with precision and in the most satisfactory manner the succession of events which concern the cave. The initial date cannot refer to anything but the finishing and consecration of the cave; it follows that the whole epigraph must be construed as a single sentence, which ends with the present donation after having enumerated the successive circumstances which explain it. The reading *apaya* instead of *sapaya* is important for understanding the passage. It is well known how similar the initial *a* and the *s* are in this script. We have here one more instance in the fact that Bühler wavers so much between the transcriptions *tiśuja* and *tiśja*. The necessary antithesis between *payavasāna nito* and *apayavasita*° seems to place my correction above all doubt. The reading °*samāne* also appears to be better supported by the traces visible on the estampage. It is after all of little importance, as the function and meaning of the word would in either case be just the same. The function is stated by what has been said above. As to the meaning, the matter seems more perplexing; but it is clear in a general way. The work must have been begun by the *yati* Vopaki (compare Vōpadēva). But *śrijati* means 'to create, to produce' only in a half philosophical acceptance, and, it must be owned, such a use of the word here does not look very likely. As for *ukute*, I take it not = *utkrīta* which gives no good meaning, but = *utkrīta*, 'cut, hewn,' i.e. 'excavated.'

No. 25, Plate vi. (Kah. 15).

On the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond Cave No. 23.

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Vāsūtiputasa sāmi-Sīri-Pala-
- 2 māisa sāmivachhare 2 hematāna pakhe 4 divase ? (1)
- 3 etiya puṇḍāya kaṭumbikapa Bhāṇameṇa ipa
- 4 kārītaṁ saha m . . . pituhi saha . . . (2).

## REMARKS.

(1) G. 6; AS. *divase* 8.—(2) After *śaka* I think I can discern some traces of the syllables *bhagine*.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the 6th (or 8th) day of the 4th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord Siri-Pulumāi, son of Vāsīṭhi, on the above, the husbandman Dhanama has caused this to be made, together with his father and mother, with . . . . ."

*ṭa* = *idaṁ*, as advocated by Bhagwanlal on the testimony of grammarians, is, as far as I remember, a lonely instance in the language of the caves. But the restoration *leṇa* seems to be out of the question.

No. 26, Plate viii. (N. 1).

On the ruined back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 24.

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidhaṁ Śakasa Dāmachikasa (1) Iekhakasa Vudhikasa
- 2 Vishnudataputasa (2) Daśapuravāthavasa leṇa po-
- 3 dhiyo cha de (3) 3 śka eka poḍhi yā aparadhā sa (4) me mātā
- 4 . . . . . tayo ndisa.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. *Dama*².—(2) G. *putrasa*.—(3) G. *de*.—(4) G. *apara esa*; AS. *apara[dhā]* *sa*. The *dh* at least seems rather distinct.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! (The gift) of the Śaka Dāmachika Vudhika, a writer, son of Vishnudata, an inhabitant of Daśapura, the cave and the two—2—cisterns. Out of them the one cistern which has a small opening is on behalf of my father and mother."

The bearing of Dāmachika, a clan or district, is entirely unsettled. Bhagwanlal asks if that Śaka could not be a Greek from Damascus. This idea is more ingenious than probable. What seems likely is that Vudhika is the personal name of the donor. In spite of its correct look it does not, as a professional name, answer to any known handicraft. I do not think that the man's name, supposing Dāmachika to express it, could have been separated by professional names from the epithets which relate to his descent: *Vishnudataputasa*, etc. The reading *aparadhā* or *aparadhā* being most probable, Bhagwanlal's tentative translation, based on another reading and by itself little satisfactory, must be given up. As to Bühler's interpretation, who takes *aparadhā* adverbially: 'on the west,' such a way of distinguishing two small cisterns excavated near one another seems in itself very unlikely; and to Bühler himself this use of *aparadhā* appeared rather puzzling as he proposed the reading *aparato*. The idea which the final *dhā* suggests is rather that of some adjective or participle connected with *yā*. We obtain it by reading *aparadhā* (which is hardly a conjecture; for the *anusvāra* may be actually expressed by one of the dots which appear above the head of the *r*) and explaining the word by *aparahā*, 'with a small opening or cavity.' Unfortunately the original state of things has been so altered that any actual verification of the fact is impossible, and we are unable to ascertain which of the two cisterns—the one which bears a special epigraph (N. 27) or the other, which has none,—was really characterised by more reduced dimensions.

No. 27, Plate vi. (N. 2).

On one of the two cisterns to the right of Cave No. 24.

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Sakasa Dāmachikasa (1)  
2 leghakasa Vudhikasa poḍhi (2).

## REMARKS.

(1) G. Dama°. — (2) G. poḍhi; AS. poḍhi.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! A cistern, (the gift) of the Śaka Dāmachika, the writer Vudhika."

## No. 9.—DHAR PRASASTI OF ARJUNAVARMAN:

## PARIJATAMANJARI-NATIKA BY MADANA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was discovered recently at Dhār (west of Mhow), the ancient capital of the Paramāra kings of Mālava and the present chief town of a State in Central India. The news of the discovery reached me through Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education, Dhār, who was good enough to send me a copy of his well written 'Summary of the dramatic inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque), Dhār, C. I., in November 1903.' According to Mr. Lele, "the slab of black stone (5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet) upon which this interesting Sanskrit inscription is engraved, was attached to the northern wall of the principal *mihrāb* in the mosque, with the writing turned inside." — "The slab was taken out in November 1903, and is kept framed at the mosque." On receipt of Mr. Lele's 'Summary,' I requested Mr. Marshall to send me mechanical copies of the inscription. In compliance with this request, Mr. Marshall kindly instructed Dr. Vogel to forward me an inked estampage. Subsequently Mr. Consens sent me two excellent inked estampages,<sup>1</sup> one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription consists of 82 lines. On the whole it is well preserved; but the end of lines 70-80, the first few letters of ll. 63-68, and the first letter of some other lines are broken away.

The alphabet is an early variety of Nāgarī and exhibits several peculiarities. In the old Brāhmī alphabet the initial *ṣ* consisted of three points. In the subjoined inscription the two upper points are represented by circles, and the lowermost one by a symbol which consists of a vertical line and of a flourish (see e.g. *śva* in l. 2); but in five instances (*khaṣ*, l. 56; *indranīla*, l. 62, *mandabhāṣiṇi*, l. 64, *ai*, l. 66, and *mandabhāṣiṇi*, l. 80) there are two distinct flourishes instead of one, and in a single case (*itthi*, l. 22) one of the two circles is omitted. The initial *ṣ* occurs once (in *vaṇasaṭṭam*, l. 40). The initial *u* has two different shapes: The loop attached to it is turned either downwards or upwards; both forms may be seen together, e.g. in l. 22, where *chaṭṭhi* shows the second and *itthi* the first form. The initial *u* occurs four times (in *śi*, l. 19, *namidā*, l. 31, *niharidā*, l. 35, and *kāladā*, l. 51), and the initial *ṣ* three

<sup>1</sup> The stone seems to have suffered additional damage since the first estampage had been prepared. The first letter of some lines is still partially visible in the latter, while it is missing in the two fresh estampages.

<sup>2</sup> As the three photographs overlap one another, line 26 appears both at the bottom of Plate I. and at the top of Plate II., and likewise l. 54 both on Plates II. and III. Through the carelessness of the Halle printer (not of Gebr. Plettner, who prepared only the collotypes), the figures on the left of the second and third Plates have been placed near the top of the corresponding lines, while they ought to stand opposite the centre of every second line.

times (in *riṣhabha*, l. 22, and *riju*, ll. 34 and 81). The initial *e* resembles the letter *pa*; compare e.g. *mae*, l. 4, with *prapā* in the same line. The initial *o* ends with the same flourish as *i* and the first form of *u* (see e.g. *loo*, l. 6); it bears a little hook at the right top, which is omitted, perhaps accidentally, in two cases (*chāo*, l. 44, and *osahī*, l. 63). The initial *au* occurs once (in *autsukyam*, l. 57).

Among the consonants, *jha* closely resembles the initial *ri*. It occurs seven times singly and four times in combination with *j* (e.g. in *majjhanna-saṃjhā*, l. 30). The consonant *pha* either has its usual shape, or its vertical portion is crossed by a thin curved line (e.g. in *kaṃṭhīraṇa*, l. 7). The primary form of *na* consists of a horizontal line to which three vertical lines are attached, the middle one being slightly shorter; but the secondary form of *na* resembles that of *la*. The doubling of *na* is marked by a horizontal cross-line in four cases (*nishanna*, l. 26, *suṇṇaṃ*, l. 52, *kaṇṇāharana*, ll. 52 and 75); the primary and the secondary forms are combined in one instance (*āyannaṇhi*, l. 21); and, if my reading is correct, the secondary form is improperly used twice in another (*thenṇa*, l. 75). The last mode is generally adopted if the doubling takes place after *r* (e.g. in *vatirannaṇsya*, l. 1); but the cross-line is then used in five cases (e.g. *nirvaṇṇanayāmi*, l. 62), and the primary combined with the secondary form once (in *ākarannaṇta*, l. 1). The usual form of *tha* is not very different from *nva* (see e.g. *kathamchid*, l. 1).<sup>1</sup> The same form is employed four times after *t* (e.g. in *hatthe*, l. 17); but in the majority of cases the secondary form of *tha* is identical with that of *chha*; compare e.g. *iṭṭha* and *sthaṇā*, l. 6, with *uchohhavammi*, l. 16. If my readings are correct, there are three instances (*thakka-thakkida*, l. 5, and *thenṇa*, l. 75) where even for the primary *tha* the same symbol is used as for the primary *chha* (see *chhachcharana*, ll. 5 and 75, and *lāmchhanam*, l. 16). The group *kkha* is written in two ways: In *viyakkhana*, l. 45, the *kha* is regularly attached to the *k*; but in *parikkhalanta*, l. 42, the *kha* seems to be inserted between the two loops of the *k*.<sup>2</sup> The group *ddha* looks like *dva* in most cases (e.g. *yuddha*, l. 17); but in two places (= *Ddhāra*-, l. 32, and *muddhāo*, l. 47) its *dha* is distinguished from *va* by an additional horizontal line. Similarly, *ndh* looks like *nv* in *vandhum*, l. 14, but not in *saṃvandh-ōchita*, l. 32.

The *virāma* is employed below *k* (ll. 10 and 61), *t* (e.g. l. 9) and *n* (e.g. l. 20). The *avagraha* occurs five times—twice after *ō* and three times after *ā* (ll. 1, 2, 3). If at the end of a line there was no space left for the next *akshara*, the engraver filled up the line by a symbol which looks either somewhat like a reversed Nāgari *ta*, or like a narrow U;<sup>3</sup> in the transcript these signs are denoted by a vertical line in round brackets. Finally it has to be noted that the upper portions of a few letters of the first line are ornamented with scrolls or flowers.

The engraver has done his work with considerable care and has committed comparatively few real mistakes, part of which he has corrected himself on second thoughts. As regards orthography, it must be stated that *b* is nowhere distinguished from *v*. The dental is used instead of the palatal sibilant in *Sāradā*, l. 3, *Hiranyakasipu*, l. 7, *kāsmira*, l. 20, *aṃsa*, l. 21, and *svāśēna*, l. 33 f.; the *visarga* instead of the lingual sibilant in *chatuḥpatha*, l. 3, *niḥkrāmatī*, l. 58, and *niḥkrāmta*, ll. 15, 28, 31, 39, 58, 81 and 82; and *t* instead of *d* in *atbhuta*, l. 49. The spelling of *ujvala*, l. 13, *datvā*, ll. 13 and 21, and *patra*, ll. 25 and 61, is not correct, but frequent in inscriptions and manuscripts.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Prākṛit.<sup>4</sup> There are 76 verses; the remainder is in prose.

<sup>1</sup> In four cases (e.g. *maṃṭharaṃ*, l. 54) the top-line of this form of *tha* is indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> The *kkh* of *pacchakkho*, l. 64, seems to be a modification of the same type.

<sup>3</sup> The second variety occurs only in ll. 23 and 42.

<sup>4</sup> I have added a Sanskrit translation of the Prākṛit passages at the end of the text on p. 117 ff.

The inscription contains the two first acts of a hitherto unknown *nāṭikā*, i.e. a drama of four acts,<sup>1</sup> entitled *Pārijātaśajari* or *Vijayaśrī* (l. 4). This drama had been composed by the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*) *Madana*, whose family hailed from *Gauḍa* (Bengal), and who was a descendant of *Gaṅgādharma*<sup>2</sup> (l. 3 f.). It was acted for the first time at the spring-festival<sup>3</sup> in the city of *Dhārā* (l. 3)—the modern *Dhār*.

The opening verse (1) contains the following statement:—

"On this pair of blank slabs is being written with difficulty the power — to be absorbed by the ear— of the virtues of *Bhōja* himself, who has become incarnate in the form of *Arjuna*."

Of the two slabs here mentioned, only the first is now available. The second must have borne the two remaining acts of the *nāṭikā*.

The last verse (76) on the preserved slab runs thus:—

"This panegyric (*prastuti*) was engraved by the artist (*śilpi*) *Rāmadēva*, the son of the excellent sculptor (*rūpakāra*) *Sihāka*."

Here the inscription is called a panegyric. Hence it is very probable that it was composed and engraved in the lifetime of the prince whom it celebrates. This was *Arjuna* (v. 1) or *Arjunavarman* (l. 7 and v. 19), king of *Dhārā* (l. 9 and v. 6). He belonged to the *Paramāra* family (l. 13) and was a descendant of the emperor (*śārvabhauma*) *Bhōjadēva* (l. 7). The poet represents him as the equal of his ancestor *Bhōjadēva* (v. 6), and even as an incarnation of *Bhōja* (v. 1). In verse 3, *Bhōjadēva* himself is compared to the god *Kṛishṇa* and to the epic hero *Arjuna*:—

"Victorious is *Kṛishṇa*; like *Kṛishṇa*, *Arjuna*; (and) like *Arjuna*, the glorious king *Bhōjadēva*, who was able to defeat (his enemies) by leaping arrows;<sup>4</sup> who afforded protection to the whole earth; who assumed the *rādhā*<sup>5</sup> which distressed (his enemies) by wounds from roaring, terrible arrows;<sup>6</sup> (and who) had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of *Gāṅgēya*."

The last few words of this verse imply that king *Bhōjadēva* defeated a prince named *Gāṅgēya*, just as the epic hero *Arjuna* killed *Bhīshma*, whose metronymic was *Gāṅgēya*. As the well-known *Paramāra* king *Bhōjadēva* of *Dhārā* was reigning in the first half of the eleventh century,<sup>7</sup> his enemy *Gāṅgēya* must be identical with the *Kalachuri* king *Gāṅgēya* of *Tripura*, whose reign fell into the same period.<sup>8</sup>

*Arjunavarman*, the hero of the drama, is in one place (v. 10) styled 'the son of king *Subhaṭa*.' This enables us to identify him with the *Paramāra* king *Arjunavarman*, who was the son of *Subhaṭavarman*, and whose copper-plate grants are dated in A.D. 1211, 1213 and 1215.<sup>9</sup> The same three grants prove that the new drama was composed in the reign of this

<sup>1</sup> See the definitions in the *Datārūpakam*, III. verse 40, and in the *Sāhityadōrpaṇa*, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, p. 345, where the *Ratnāvalī* and *Viddhaśāstrī* are quoted as examples. Others are the *Priyadarśikā*, *Karṇasundarī*, *Kamalinikālakāṇḍa* and *Vṛishabhānujā*. The prototype of all of them is *Kālikā*'s *Mālavikāgnimitram*, which has however five acts and is therefore styled a *nāṭikam*.

<sup>2</sup> On the formation of *Gaṅgādharīya* (without *eriddhi* of the first vowel) see *Pāṇini*, IV. 1.160.

<sup>3</sup> *Vasantotsava*, v. 8 and l. 27. As this festival takes place on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *purnimānta* Chaitra (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 187), it is also called *Chaitrōtsava* (v. 9), *Madhōtsava* (l. 15) and *Chaitraparvan* (l. 8).

<sup>4</sup> The word *śaḍga*, 'an arrow,' may refer also to the *Bāṇa* king.

<sup>5</sup> "A particular attitude in shooting (standing with the feet a span apart)." — *Monier-Williams*.

<sup>6</sup> In the case of *Kṛishṇa* we have to translate:—"who was able to defeat the leaping (demon) *Bāṇa*; who afforded protection to all the cows (by lifting up the mountain *Gōvardhana*); who made *Rādhā* distressed by being smitten with manifest love." In the case of *Arjuna*, *Rādhā* is the foster-mother of his opponent *Karna*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 232 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> *Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List*, Nos. 195, 197 and 198.

Arjunavarman; for they were composed (*rachita*) by the same *rājaguru* Madana,<sup>1</sup> who was the author of the drama (l. 4).

Arjunavarman's grants report that he defeated Jayasimha.<sup>2</sup> The same enemy is referred to in the drama (l. 7), with the additional information that he was a king of Gārjara (l. 7, vv. 10 and 18) and belonged to the Chaulukya family (v. 7). Hence he seems to be identical with the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II. of Anahilapāṭaka,<sup>3</sup> whose grants are dated between A.D. 1199 and 1238.<sup>4</sup> Although these grants do not apply to Bhīmadēva II. the name Jayasimha, they call him 'the new Siddharāja,' and 'Siddharāja' had been the surname of his ancestor Jayasimha. Hence I believe that Bhīmadēva II. is meant both in the drama and in the grants of Arjunavarman. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that the Jayasimha whom Arjunavarman defeated was the temporary usurper Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddharāja, who ruled in the place of Bhīmadēva II. in A.D. 1223.<sup>5</sup> At any rate, as noted by Bühler,<sup>6</sup> Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* places both the conquest of Gujārāt by Arjunadēva of Mālava and an attempted invasion<sup>7</sup> by his father Subhaṭa in the lifetime of Bhīmadēva II. himself.

The drama locates the decisive battle between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha on the borders of the land at the foot of a mountain called Parvapārvata (l. 7). The name of Arjunavarman's minister is stated to have been Nārāyaṇa (v. 8). To Arjunavarman himself the drama applies the surname Trividhāviraśūḍāmaṇi (l. 7 and v. 9). Even this detail is corroborated from two different sides. The same surname occurs as Trividhāvira in the grants,<sup>8</sup> and as Virachūḍāmaṇi in the colophon of the *Rasikasaṃjivini*, a commentary on the *Amaruśatakam*.<sup>9</sup> This commentary is attributed to king Arjunavarman, who at the beginning of it calls himself 'the son of king Subhaṭavarman' and 'the light of Bhōja's family.'<sup>10</sup>

In his commentary on the first verse of the *Amaruśatakam* (p. 2) Arjunavarman quotes a Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse of 'the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana whose other name was Bālasarasvatī.'<sup>11</sup> The same person seems to be meant by the '*upādhyāya*' who is quoted as the author of an Āryā (p. 15) and of two Anuśṭubh verses (pp. 16 and 44). The *upādhyāya* Madana is of course identical with the *rājaguru* Madana, the author of the *Pārijātamañjarī* and of Arjunavarman's grants.<sup>12</sup> The quotations in the *Rasikasaṃjivini* show that he produced other poetical works besides these,<sup>13</sup> and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amaruśatakam*.

Finally the drama mentions a few localities within and near the city of Dhārā. According to the prologue, the first performance of the drama took place in a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī.<sup>14</sup> The scene of the first act is the top of the royal palace (v. 8), and that of the

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. V. p. 379; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26, verse 17.

<sup>3</sup> This was already suggested by Dr. Hall, *ibid.* p. 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos. 188 and 216.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* No. 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> This invasion is alluded to in the grants of Arjunavarman; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, verse 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.* verse 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Kāvyamālā* edition, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1, verse 5. On p. 23 Arjunavarman quotes a verse of 'our ancestor Muñjadēva whose other name was Vākpatisrāja.' Compare *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol. XLVII. p. 98.

<sup>11</sup> Bālasarasvatī-Madana was taught poetry by the Jaina Āśādhara, a contemporary of the Mālava king Arjuna and of his two successors Dēvapāla and Jaitugidēva (Jayasimha). See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 104 f.; Bühler in *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol. XLVII. p. 94; and Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V. App. p. 92, note 2.

<sup>12</sup> See the two first lines of this page.

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts* mention three MSS. of the *Bālasarasvatīyam*, a *kāvya* by Bālasarasvatī, which Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 425) assigns to the *upādhyāya* Madana.

<sup>14</sup> Śāradādevī, l. 3, or Bhārati, l. 3.

second act a pleasure-garden (*līlōdyānam* or *pramadōdyānam*) on the *Dhārāgiri*, a hill near the city (ll. 6, 12, 31, v. 30, ll. 36 and 75).

The *dramatis personæ* are: The stage-manager (*sūtradhāra*); the actress (*naṭī*); king *Arjunavarman*; the jester *Vidagdha*; queen *Sarvakalā*; her maid *Kanakalēkhā*; the royal gardener *Kusumākara*; his wife *Vasantalīlā*; and the heroine *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī*. The king and *Kusumākara* speak Sanskrit, the remaining persons *Prākṛit*—*Śaurasēnī* in the prose passages, and *Māhārāshṭrī* in the verses. The pretty verses of the bards, which are recited behind the stage, are also in *Prākṛit*.<sup>1</sup>

In the prologue (*āmukham*, l. 15) the stage-manager informs the actress that, when the army of *Jayasimha* took to flight and the victorious *Arjunavarman* was still seated on his war-elephant, a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree (*pārijāta-mañjarī*) fell on his breast and, on touching it, was transformed into a beautiful maiden, while a voice from heaven spoke thus:

"Enjoying this lovely, auspicious *Vijayaśrī*, thou, O lord of *Dhārā*, shalt become equal to *Bhōjadēva*" (v. 6).

The stage-manager further explains this miracle in a somewhat complicated verse (7), which has probably to be translated as follows:—

"The *Chaulukya* king's daughter, (who was an incarnation of) the goddess *Jayaśrī* (i.e. the goddess of victory) herself, (and) who, having found her death in the defeat, caused to be irrigated the young forest of *tamāla*-trees, which was the grief of (her) father, through the waves of the tears of the harem,—she (is) this cluster of blossoms of the celestial tree (*svaradruma-mañjarī*), which, after being hidden in a bud, developed into a lady."

To shelter her from the public gaze, the king placed her under the care of his chamberlain *Kusumākara*, who was in charge of the royal gardens, and whose wife *Vasantalīlā* waited on her in an emerald pavilion on the *Dhārāgiri* hill.

The first act bears the title 'the spring-festival' (*vasantōtsava*, l. 31). It describes the king viewing his sporting subjects from the top of his palace in the company of the jester, the queen and her maid.

In the introductory scene (*viśhkambhaka*, l. 39) of the second act, *Kusumākara* and *Vasantalīlā* compare notes on the mutual passion of the heroine and the king.

The title of the second act is 'the reflecting ear-ring' (*tāḍaṅka-darpaṇa*, l. 82). The king, accompanied by the jester, repairs to the pleasure-garden, in order to witness a ceremony performed by the queen: the marriage of a mango-tree to a spring-creeper. *Vasantalīlā* and the heroine watch the proceedings from behind a tree. Bending aside the branches, the former reveals to the king the image of his beloved, reflected in the queen's ear-ring. The king's delight and confusion arouse the suspicions of the queen, who leaves abruptly together with her maid. The heroine and *Vasantalīlā* also withdraw. At the advice of the jester, who reminds the king of the proverb that 'killed and eaten comes to the same' (l. 59), both follow them to the emerald pavilion. The king's *tête-à-tête* is interrupted by the appearance of *Kanakalēkhā*, who is the bearer of the ear-jewel and of an ironical message from the queen. The king tries in vain to hide *Pārijātamañjarī* behind his back. At the end he leaves her in order to pacify his jealous queen. The heroine also departs, threatening to commit suicide, and *Vasantalīlā* follows her.

The foregoing summary of the two preserved acts will remind the reader of another, well-known drama—the *Ratnāvalī*. The poet *Madana*, no doubt, derived the plot of his work from this or similar *nāṭikās*. But, as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 17-19 and 28; but vv. 72-74 are in Sanskrit.

of the poet. It would have been a poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters. Hence I believe that, as stated in the drama, his chief queen was actually named Sarvakalā<sup>1</sup> and was the daughter of the king of Kuntala (v. 11),— who is perhaps identical with the then reigning Hoysala king Viraballā II.,<sup>2</sup>— and that Pārijātamañjarī<sup>3</sup> or Vijayaśrī<sup>4</sup> happened to be Arjunavarman's favourite at the time when the drama was composed. Her miraculous appearance and her fanoiful connection with the vanquished king of Gujārāt may have been suggested to the poet by her real name. They could not fail to please the king and his mistress, and could perhaps be risked all the more easily because the lady was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms.

Another instance in which the wedding of the favourite queen of a reigning sovereign forms the subject of a romantic story is that of Chandaladēvi in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharitam*.<sup>5</sup> In this case, contemporary inscriptions and Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* prove that the heroine's name was not invented by the poet Bilhaṇa, but that she was actually one of the wives of Vikramāditya VI.<sup>6</sup> Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīyam* deserves to be mentioned in the same connection, as it includes a drama that resembles the *Pārijātamañjarī* in being the panegyric of a reigning king.<sup>7</sup>

TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 श्रीः<sup>9</sup> ॥ श्रीं सरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अत्र कथंचिदलिखिते अतिलेखं लिख्यते  
शिलायुगले । भोजस्यैव गुणोर्जितमर्जुनमूर्त्या ऽवतीर्णस्य ॥ १ ॥  
तत्तादृक्कुमनीमनीहरतनुर्वामांगनृगारिणी सुष्टिस्त्रीकरणीयमध्यमधुरावष्टम्भन-  
माकृतिः । आकर्णान्तनटकटाक्षविशिखव्यापारधन्या जयत्यन्या चापल-  
तेव चंद्रसुहृदी
- 2 देवस्य कान्ता रतिः ॥ २ ॥ अपि च । <sup>10</sup>वलाहाणजयक्ष्मी विजयते  
निःशेषगोत्राणकृष्णः कृष्ण इवार्जुनो ऽर्जुन इव श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।  
विस्फूर्जद्विषमेषुवेधविधुरां राधां विधत्ते स्म यस्तूर्ण्यं पूर्णमनोरथश्चिरमभू-  
द्वांगेयभंगीस्त्ववे ॥ ३ ॥ नाद्यंते सूत्रधारः । आर्ये । इतस्तावत् ।  
प्रविश्य नटी । आणवेदु<sup>11</sup> अज्जी । सूत्र । प्रिये । आ-
- 3 दिष्टो ऽस्मि तत्रभवत्या परिषदा (I) यथा ऽद्य त्वया ऽस्मिन्नेव चैव-  
पर्वणि [चतु]रशीतिचतुःपथ<sup>12</sup>सुरसदनप्रधाने धारापुरीयुवतिनृगारमुक्तासजो  
जगज्जडतांधकारघातनशरचंद्रिकायाः <sup>13</sup>सारदादेव्याः सद्गनि सकलदिगंतरो-  
पागतानेकत्रैविद्यसहृदयकलाकीविदरसिकसुकविसंकुले गौडान्वयगंगापुलिनरा-

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 11, 37, 55, 62 and l. 76; Samastakalā in v. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See the Table of the Hoysalas in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 28, 29, 33, 35, 38, 43, 44, 48, 59, 64, 78, 80; Kusumaśrī in l. 12, and Kusumamañjarī in l. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 8, 15, 55 and l. 69; Jayaśrī in v. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Bühler's edition, p. 38 ff. of the Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 449 and note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 f.

<sup>8</sup> From three inked estampages.

Cancel the *visarga*; the syllable *ś* is expressed by a symbol resembling the *ne* employed at the beginning of the Bhōpāl plates of Udayavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 254, Plate.

<sup>10</sup> Read वलाहाण°.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 117 below A.

<sup>12</sup> Read चतुष्व°.

<sup>13</sup> Read सारदा°.



- 4 [जहं]सस्य [गंगाध]रायणे[मंदनस्य रा]जगुरोः कतिरभिनवा समस्तसामाजिक-  
मधुग्रतानंदमकरंदप्रपा पारिजातमंजरीत्परास्था विजयश्रीर्नम नाटिका  
नाटयितव्या । तदाविर्भाव्यतां रंगमंगलसंपदां संप्रदायः । नटी [१\*]  
सहर्ष । जं पञ्जी पाणवेदि । किं च मए वि सुखिदं (१) जधा  
मलयानिलमंदमंदंदोलणमहमहत-
- 5 मायंदमलमयरंद[पिंडि]द[परायपुंजपिं]जरिजंतमंजरीकवलपरप्यरोप्यकैलिपञ्जा-  
उलकलयंठमिहुणमहुरकलयलहेलावहृत्पिदविहृत्यमाणंसिणीमाणं पि (१)  
परिमलतरंगचंगचंपयचसयमहु[थ]क[थ]किदल्लक्षरणचारणरणभणकारमुहलं पि  
(१) जंतकुंजरकरसीयरासारसीयसरसविभ्रसं-
- 6 [त]विविहृविडकुडंगवधंधयारं पि (१) धारागिरिलीलीळाणं परिहरिय  
कोदुहलपंपुल्लोयणो भारहीभवणहुत्तं सहस त्ति परावडिदो जेव लोचो  
त्ति । ता कधेहि केरिसं इत्य कथासंविहाणयं । सूच । आकाशे  
। किमाचक्षते भवतः । स्थाने सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वं सुदीनामतिसुंदरं ।  
याक्षेचं कांतमासाय विभ्रति क्षितमा-
- 7 धुरीं । [४ १\*] तन्नीः<sup>४</sup> साधूत्तं । नटीं प्रति च । अर्ये [१\*] युतं  
त्वया । सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वमिति । नटी । अथ<sup>५</sup> इ । सूच ।  
प्रिये [१\*] शृणु तर्हि । त्रिविधवीरचूडामणेः सार्वभौमश्रीभोजदेवान्वय-  
मूर्धन्यस्य राज्ञः श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य गूर्जरपतिना जयसिंहेन सह पर्व-  
पर्वतोपलम्भापरिसरेषु हिरण्यकसिपु<sup>६</sup>कदनकुपितवैकुण्ठकंठोरवकंठ-
- 8 जादचकितदिग्वारणेंद्रमुक्तबिम्बभरानिपतनोहेलसप्तार्णवसहस्रिंकेतुस्यतुसुलकीला-  
हलः कलहो बभूव ॥ नटी । अथ<sup>७</sup> [१\*] जहिं चउत्सवलयुगलधूली-  
कडप्येहिं कवलदिदधि मञ्जुमंडले सयंवरकोदुहलहनुप्यलमिखंतसुरसुंदरी-  
सुहृदं<sup>८</sup>चंदायवेण नियपरविहाणो संजादी सुखीयदि ॥
- 9 सूच । अर्ये [१\*] एवमेवेतत् । नटी । तदो<sup>९</sup> २ [१\*] सूच ।  
ततश्च प्रतिवक्षे पत्न्यायमाने जयसिंहुरत्नंधाधिष्ठस्य धनुषतो धारापते-  
स्तत्कालीपसंहृतनाराचदुर्दिनस्य पुरंदरपुरद्वारकवाटविकटे कक्षसि लोकोत्त-  
रपरिमलामोदवासितदिगंतरा विजयसुंदारकहंदकुसुमवृष्टिमध्यादेका पारि-  
जातमंजरी पपात ॥

<sup>१</sup> See p. 117 below, B.<sup>२</sup> Read 'पपुह'.<sup>३</sup> The engraver has left a blank space between the two *aksargas* प and र.<sup>४</sup> The *visarga* had been omitted by the engraver and was inserted by him on revision.<sup>५</sup> See p. 117 below, C.<sup>६</sup> Read 'कसिपु'.<sup>७</sup> See p. 117 below, D.<sup>८</sup> Read 'मह' (P).<sup>९</sup> See p. 117 below, E.

10 नटी । सकोत्सुकं । तदो<sup>१</sup> २ [१\*] सूच । ततश्च । चन्धोन्धं गल-  
हृद्वनोपनतयोर्द्वेन वसोमयोः कर्णोऽङ्गवजाधिगेव वयनहृदेन देवा-  
किनी । पद्मं विष्णुविष्णोचनोत्सववीचंद्रोदयं विभ्रती साभूहास्य-  
स्त्रिगोपुयीववसुरामाद्यस्तनुः कामिनी ॥ [५\*] तदैव चाकाशवाक्  
मदुरासीत् । मनोभ्रां निर्विश्रयेतां कल्पा-

11 श्रीं विष्णुत्रियं । सदृशी भोक्तेवेन धाराधिप भविष्यसि ॥ [६\*]  
नटी । चण्ड<sup>२</sup> [१\*] ता किं दिव्यमासुसीए सा कथा । सूच ।  
प्रिये । न खल्वेवं । किं तु । या चैन्दुस्वमहीमहेन्द्रदुहिता  
देवी जयश्रीः स्त्रयं भये सन्मुखवाप्य 'वाप्यसलिलैरंतः' पुरस्वोर्गिलैः ।  
स्तुः शोकतमासवाप्तविपिनं चण्डे नदीमाह्वं (१)<sup>३</sup> सियं स्वर्दुम-  
मंजरी कि- (१)

12 सखि संक्रम्य जातान्गना ॥ [७\*] नटी । सख्युपाचर्य । तदो<sup>४</sup> २ ।  
सूच । ततश्च (१) देवेन जसकुंजरकुंभस्त्रयादाकृत्य तस्याः कुचसलिले  
दृष्टिं संचारितवता महाजनसज्जया सा कुसुमश्रीः [८\*] कंबुकिनः  
कुसुमाकरवासमधेवस्त्रीयानाधिकादिः समर्पिता । तेन चानीय धारा-  
गिरिजर्भमरकातसंछये वसंतलीलां स्मरति-

13 श्रीं योगसेमकारिणीं दत्त्वा<sup>५</sup> स्मरिता । नेपथ्ये । इत इतो देवः ।  
सूच । तत्रावलीकितकेन । प्रिये [१\*] पद्म । नारायणेमात्स्यशुची  
निवेश्य सौराज्यभारं स्वयमाररोह । देवी वसंतोत्सवकौतुकेन नवीन-  
रत्नोज्ज्वल<sup>६</sup> हर्म्यमृगं ॥ [८\*] चण्डो रामश्रीयकं परमारमूर्त्तयस्व ।  
हयानमतरंगितचिविधपीरचूडामभि-

14 प्रगीतरसरंजितां रतिमवेष्य मोहायिते । यदीयविहृदं करः परपुरंभ्रिवन्धुं  
जगौ स एष नृपसुंदरी जयति जैचचीचीत्सवे<sup>७</sup> ॥ [९\*] सविस्मयं ।  
चंतःपुरवनिताश्च हिरदघटाश्च गूर्जरैद्रस्य । नृसलिता यदनीकैः स  
एष सुभटचितींद्रसुतः ॥ [१०\*] नटी । पसि<sup>८</sup> उष चंतैरिया  
विय कावि एषा । सूच । समुच्चयेन या

15 सृष्टा कलानां परमेष्ठिना । कुंतलेंद्रसुता सियं राज्ञः सर्वकला प्रिया  
॥ [११\*] तदनया सहितो मानयतु मधुसूतं देवः । आवामप्यनंतर-

<sup>१</sup> See p. 127 below, B.

<sup>२</sup> See p. 117 below, G.

<sup>३</sup> Read वाप्य<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>४</sup> The *risarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.

<sup>५</sup> This mark of punctuation seems to have been cancelled by the engraver himself.

<sup>६</sup> See p. 117 below, H.

<sup>७</sup> Read दत्त्वा.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'रत्नोज्ज्वल'.

<sup>९</sup> Read जैचचीचीत्सवे.

<sup>१०</sup> See p. 117 below, I.

- करणीयाय सज्जीभवावः [१\*] इति निःक्रांतावासुख<sup>१</sup> ॥ ततः प्रविशति  
विदूषकेण सह वसंतवेषरमणीयो राजा (i) साख्या<sup>२</sup> सह राश्री च ।  
राश्री । सहकारमंजरीं दर्शयित्वा (i) सलीलस्मितं । अञ्ज-  
16 त्त<sup>३</sup> [१\*] नोद्धलियं गेह<sup>४</sup> एदं । कीदृशसरवाहुलेण मणहरा पठम-  
मंजरी एसा । तुह उच्छ्वस्मि हु मए विणिउत्ता गायणीइ जहा  
॥ [१२ ॥\*] राजा । सहर्षादरं (i) हस्तद्वयेन गृहीत्वा । देवि ।  
त्वयोपनीयमानोयं सहकारांकुरो मया । अतः पुष्पायुधस्थेपुराश्नास्त्रीका-  
रलाङ्कनं ॥ [१३ ॥\*] अपि कुसुमे नवफलिकाव्यपदेशः पेशलांगि युक्तस्ते  
17 । फलमेव कुसुममपि मे प्रसन्नया यच्चया दत्तं । [१४ ॥\*] विदूषकः ।  
साकूतं । अहो<sup>५</sup> अञ्जरियं [१\*] भायधेएण वयस्स<sup>६</sup> कुसुममंजरी  
फलत्तणेण हत्थे चडिदा । राजा । सीत्कंठमात्मगतं । या मन्मथस्म<sup>७</sup>  
जयिनोभिनवास्त्रदेवी मूर्त्ता पपात हृदये मम युद्धभूमौ । भंम्या  
मनोहरतनुं विजयत्रियं तां प्राणेश्वरीमयमुदाहरते वय-  
18 स्यः ॥ [१५ ॥\*] किं च । या शारदी शशिकलेव कलेवरं मे 'संघाम-  
डामरसमुत्तसितप्रतापं । लावण्यकांतिसुधया अपयांचकार सा मे हृदि  
खलति मन्मथविह्वलांगी ॥ [१६ ॥\*] नेपथ्ये वैतालिकाः । सुपद्मायसि-  
रीसहिदो<sup>८</sup> सूरौ वि तुहच्छ्वेण कीलंती । वालायवसिंदूरं दियंगणां  
सुहे खिवइ ॥ [१७ ॥\*] जं सीमंताहिंती हियं तए गुम्फरिंदर-  
19 मणीणं । मन्ने सिंदूरेणं तेण हिय रमइ तुह लोपो ॥ [१८ ॥\*]  
वाणेहिं अञ्जनारी विसमसरणावि नियरिउ रइपो । अञ्जुषवन्म तए  
उण अवल हिय विरइभा रिउपो ॥ [१९ ॥\*] ॥ विदू ॥ कल-  
कलमाकर्ण्य (i) नेपथ्य[१\*]वलोकितकेन । वयस्स<sup>६</sup> [१\*] पेच्छ २ पहरि-  
सकीलिदं नायरजणस्स । राजा । सहकारमंजरीं विदूषकस्यार्प- (i)  
20 यित्वा (i) सकौतुकं पश्यन् । सखे [१\*] किमुच्यते । राश्रीं प्रति च ।  
देवि [१\*] प[श्य] २ [१\*] सिंदूरं क्वचिददृष्टासनिगदेरुडमुच्छीयते  
कस्तूरीनिकरः क्वचित्क्वचिदपि श्रीखंडरेणूत्करः । काष्ठीरद्रवशीकरैर्दृति-  
मुखोन्मुत्तरतिव्याकुलः पीरैः खैरमनेकधायमधुनारब्धो मधोबलवः ॥  
[२० ॥\*] अपि च । पीथीराभरणैर्मनोभ्रतनवः  
21 खैरं दधत्तोधुना सेंदूरीमरुणीकृतालकलतां खेखां ललाटीतटे । नृत्वंत्यो  
मदविह्वलं लयविसंवादेषु पीरांगनाः क्रीडामौरजिकस्वकांतवदनाभ्या-

<sup>१</sup> Read निःक्रांती । आसुख.<sup>२</sup> See p. 117 below, K.<sup>३</sup> See p. 118 below, A.<sup>४</sup> Read सख्या.<sup>५</sup> Read मन्मथस्म.<sup>६</sup> See p. 118 below, B.<sup>७</sup> See p. 117 below, J.<sup>८</sup> Read संघाम<sup>०</sup>.<sup>९</sup> Read काष्ठीर<sup>०</sup>.

लीकयन्ति स्मिताः ॥ [२१ ॥\*] राज्ञी [१\*] कर्णं दत्वा<sup>१</sup> (i)  
 स्त्रीज्ञासं । अज्जउत्त<sup>२</sup> । एदं पि आयस्सेहि (i) समयसुहावयं हिंदो-  
 लयं । राजा । प्रिये [१\*] किसुच्यते । <sup>३</sup>अंसन्यासग्रहकृतपदं  
 ता- (i)

22 डितं मंद्रभूमौ षड्भु<sup>४</sup> तन्वन्<sup>५</sup> ऋषभरहितं धैवतेनापि हीनं । हिंदो-  
 लाख्यः सुखयति दधन्मध्यमं तारदेशे कपं विभ्रत्किमपि रुचिरं  
 षड्भुके पंचमे च ॥ [२२ ॥\*] विद्रू । वयस्स<sup>६</sup> [१\*] जाणिदं मए  
 वि । एसो सो हिंदोलभो (i) जहिं हिंदोलयचउत्थीए इत्थोउ  
 कीलन्ति । राजा । स्मितमभिनीय (i) सोपहासं । नूनमभिन्नो  
 भवान् ग्राम- (i)

23 रागीषु । विद्रू । सदप्यं । कधं<sup>७</sup> गेयं न जाणामि । जदा मे  
 वंभसी षड्भुवियड[दं]तसुंदरं सुहं पसारिय मंगलाहं गाएदि तदा  
 हं <sup>८</sup>गीरिगीयगहिहो हरिणी व्य पाणे दाउमिच्छामि ॥ इति विद्रू-  
 षकं विहाय सर्वे हसन्ति । राजा । स्मिता [१\*] सखे ।  
 एतावता गीते सम्यगभिन्नो भवान् । कनकलेखा<sup>९</sup> अंचलपिहितं  
 सिंदूरमुष्टिं राज्ञी-

24 हस्तेर्पयति । राज्ञी गृहीत्वा स्मितमभिनीय च (i) राज्ञी मस्त-  
 कमुद्रूलयितुं मुष्टिसुत्तिपति । राजा । शिरो नमयन् सस्मितं ।  
 सिंदूरोद्भूतनायैष मूर्च्छा नञ्जीकृतो मया । एष एव प्रणामश्च  
 तन्निषेधाय दर्शितः ॥ [२३ ॥\*] राज्ञी (i) सखीलस्मितं (i) सख्याः  
 सिंदूरमर्पयति । कनकलेखाविद्रूषकौ परस्परं सिंदूरोद्भूतनं नाट-  
 यतः । विद्रू ॥

25 कस्तूरीचोदमर्पयन् । वयस्स<sup>१०</sup> [१\*] तुमं पि देविं भरेहि । [रा]ज्ञी (i)  
 विशृङ्खलचरचारविंदमपसरति । राजा । देवि त्वन्मुखमुल्लसत्परिमलं  
 ओरा[र]विंदभ्रमाङ्गुणासुपसेदुषां प्रतिमया स्निग्धेद्रनीलत्विषां । संजाते  
 मृगनभ्रमपच<sup>११</sup>मकरोङ्गारलीलायिते चेतोहारि करोति कः पुनरिदं  
 कस्तूरिकापंकिलं ॥ [२४ ॥\*] उपसृत्य (i) लला-

26 [ट\*]स्नेदमुत्पुंसयन् । अलं संभ्रमेण [१\*] अपनीयतां श्रमः । इदानीं  
 हि । <sup>१२</sup>संभोगोत्कलिकामिलत्सहचरीङ्गावमर्शद्रवत्कस्तूरीमृगमीलितेक्षण-

<sup>१</sup> Read दत्ता.

<sup>२</sup> See p. 118 below, C.

<sup>३</sup> Read अंसं.

<sup>४</sup> Corrected by the engraver from षड्भु.

<sup>५</sup> Read तन्वन्मुषमं.

<sup>६</sup> See p. 118 below, D.

<sup>७</sup> See p. 118 below, E.

<sup>८</sup> Read गीवी.

<sup>९</sup> Read 'लेखा'चल.

<sup>१०</sup> See p. 118 below, F.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'पच'.

<sup>१२</sup> 'लिका' looks almost like 'लिका'.

भरसीषाशुमिश्रोहमः । गीतैकांतनिषण्णकिन्नरवधूकंदर्पकेलिक्रमस्वेदच्छेद-  
विचक्षणो विचरति श्रीखंडशैलानिलः । [२५ ॥\*] विदू । वयस्<sup>१</sup> ।  
जदि तुमं एदाए दासीधूआए क-

27 [ण\*][य]लेहाए सह मम पाणिगहणं करावेसि (i) तदा अहं पि  
तुमं व नायरियनारीसहिदी वसंतसवं<sup>२</sup> माणेमि । राजा (i) राज्ञी  
च अयेते । कनक । सनासासंकोचं विचिकित्स्वते । राज्ञी [i\*]  
स्मृतिमभिनीय । अज्जउत्त<sup>३</sup> [i\*] पाणिगहणवयणेष संभराविद न्हि ।  
मए माहवीलदाए सहयारस्स पाणिगहो कारिदब्बो [i\*] तुम्हे वि  
तहिं (i)

28 [णि\*]मंतिदा चिद्ध । ता दाणि उवसंभारसंपादणकज्जेण उज्जाणं गमिस्सं ।  
राजा । यदभिरुचितं देव्यै । इति सख्या सह राज्ञी निःक्रांता<sup>४</sup> ।  
राजा । सखे । क सा नवफलिका पारिजातमंजरी । न न [i\*]  
विष्मृतं [i\*] सहकारमंजरी । विदू । सखितं [i\*] वयस्<sup>५</sup> ।  
ण खु एदं विंभरणं । संभरणं जेव एदं । इति सहकारमंजरीं  
समर्पयति । रा-

29 [जा\*] । गृहीत्वा (i) सकण्णमात्मगतं । परिज्ज्ञानामिमां दृष्ट्वा नूतनां  
चूतमंजरीं । अरामि विरहक्रांतामंतः प्राणेश्वरीं नवां ॥ [२६ ॥\*] इति  
तादात्म्यमभिनीय शून्यमवलोकते । विदू । वयस्<sup>६</sup> । मजे पारि-  
ज्वायमंजरीसणाहं पि दे सुवं हिययं । राजा । सखे [i\*]  
किसुण्णते । रामं सांध्यमिवाह<sup>७</sup> इत्यविरलं शून्यत्वमासेदुषि प्रीतीलज्जववि-  
प्रयो- (i)

30 [ग\*][त]मसि व्योम्नीव सा मे हृदि । वासा चांद्रमसी कलेव वसति  
स्तोतव्यनव्योदया पंचषोर्जयिनः प्रतापमसमं साक्षाद्विधत्तेपि च ॥ [२७ ॥\*]  
नेपथ्ये । सुहवारिणी<sup>८</sup> भीदु मज्जन्नसंभा देवस्स । तिसियाण काण्णसुं  
तुह रिउ[र]मणीण विंण्णनिहेण । वयणाइं हारमुत्तासु सखिलकज्जेण  
व विसंति । [२८ ॥\*] विदू<sup>९</sup> । वयस्<sup>१०</sup> [i\*] देवेणाहवणिज्जिदाण

31 सहसा वंदीकदंतैरं दितेणं समिदा विष्णोयवियणा ज्ञाणं वसंतुम्भमे ।  
एदे ते णमिज्जण पावजुवलं दंडप्पणामेण दे पत्तिच्छत्तभरेण भूमिव-  
हणी वसंति वासाज्जयं ॥ [२९ ॥\*] ता किं इध छिदेण । एहि [i\*]

<sup>१</sup> See p. 118 below, G.

<sup>२</sup> Read निःक्रांता.

<sup>३</sup> Read "मिवीह".

<sup>४</sup> The symbols दू ।

<sup>५</sup> Read वसंतसवं.

<sup>६</sup> See p. 118 below, I.

<sup>७</sup> See p. 118 below, K.

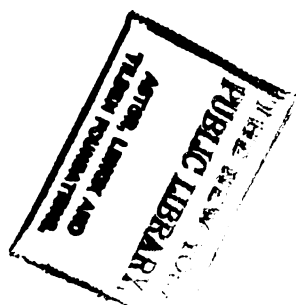
वय seem to be corrected from वयस्.

<sup>८</sup> See p. 118 below, H.

<sup>९</sup> See p. 118 below, J.

<sup>१०</sup> See p. 118 below, L.

2	गुण
4	शतसु
6	मिद
8	मिद
10	मिद
12	मिद
14	मिद
16	मिद
18	मिद
20	मिद
22	मिद
24	मिद
26	मिद



- धारागिरिलीलोद्यानं चैव मञ्जामो । राजा । सप्रत्यायं सोत्कण्ठं  
च । यदभिरुचितं वयस्यायेति निःक्राती<sup>1</sup> । वसंतोऽसौ नाम
- 32 प्रथमोऽङ्कः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३० ॥ श्रीः<sup>3</sup> ॥ प्रविश्य कुसुमाकरः । देव्या समस्तकलया  
मलयानिलिन चूतातिसुक्तकलतामियुनोत्सवेन । वारांगनामखणमंगलगीत-  
रंगैर्धारागिरिः कमपि सम्मदमातनोति ॥ [३० ॥\*] अद्यैव<sup>4</sup> च ।  
मत्तानां मलयानिलैर्विष्टपिनां यूनां स्मितश्रीमतां संवन्धोचितनर्मणामिव  
वल्गादाकृष्टकेशांशुकान् । भ्रूभंगेन विवृ-
- 33 [त्य] पञ्चवक्त्रान् रोमांचितान् कोरकोरस्यत्याकुलपाणिकंकणभूषणत्कारेण  
वारांगनाः ॥ [३१ ॥\*] केवलं वत्सा पारिजातमञ्जरी राजदर्शनोत्कलिका-  
परंपराभिरुत्ताम्यंती मर्मणि व्यथयति । सा हि ॥ सायं कोक-  
वियोगदर्शनदलभ्रमेक्षणा पक्षिणः किं नोच्छेय मिसंख्यमी द्रुतमिति क्वांता  
सुहृः पृच्छति ॥ सीतारामकथासु कंपितकुचा स्वा<sup>5</sup>
- 34 [क्षे]न शून्योद्गमं हुंकारं ददती करोति करुणाविस्मारितार्थी सखीं  
॥ [३२ ॥\*] किं बहुना । तन्वी तापातिरेकेण धत्ते यस्माद्विहसतां ।  
प्रवालहस्तै [हं]धन्ति तस्येदोरातपं लताः ॥ [३३ ॥\*] नेपथ्यावलोकित-  
केन । कथं प्रिया मे वसंतलीला ॥ सप्रणयादरं । प्रिये [१\*]  
अयमहमित इतो भवती । निर्वर्ण्य । नूनमियमिदानीं । ऋक्षुस्यधु-  
जेनाधोहस्तेनाकाशगले-
- 35 [खि]नी । नतानना मंदगतिस्तद्धितामेव गाहते ॥ [३४ ॥\*] ततः अवि-  
श्रुति यथानिर्दिष्टा वसंतलीला । कुसुमाकरः । उपसृत्य । प्रिये  
[१\*] कथमास्ते वत्सा पारिजातमञ्जरी । वसंत । उत्तुंगे<sup>6</sup> यणमंडलस्य  
सिंहरे श्रीःपुष्पवालप्यहापुंजं कुंजरगामिणी वहदि सा चिंतानमंता-  
शया । अंतो नीहरिज्जण सासलहरीसत्येण पञ्जसुखं दूरारोहनिहासि-
- 36 [अ\*][पि]ययमं रत्नं व चित्तं नियं ॥ [३५ ॥\*] कुसुमा । सकलवर्णधिता-  
वात्सल्यं<sup>7</sup> । प्रिये [१\*] तत्किमर्थमागतासि तामेकाकिनीं वालां  
विहाय । वसंत । रायागमणपउत्ति<sup>8</sup> उवलंभिदुं । कुसुमा । प्रिये [१\*]  
साधूक्तं । कथितं हि मे राज्ञो नर्मसुहृदा विदग्धेन यस्माद्य<sup>9</sup>  
माधवीसहकारविवाहारंभदर्शनापदेशेन देवो धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमागत्य  
युष्मांतयुष्मांतच-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read वयस्याय । इति निःक्राती.<sup>2</sup> Corrected by the engraver from चाद्यैव.<sup>3</sup> See p. 119 below, A.<sup>4</sup> Read अद्यैव.<sup>5</sup> Read प्रथमोऽङ्कः.<sup>6</sup> Read 'रस'त्या.<sup>7</sup> Read 'वास'ल्यं.<sup>8</sup> युष्मांत was corrected by the engraver from युष्मांत.<sup>9</sup> Read वासेन.<sup>10</sup> See p. 119 below, B.



- 37 [ण\*]सहचारिणीं प्राणेश्वरीमवश्यमेकांति संभावयिष्यतीति । वसंत । आश्व-  
सिति । कुसुमा । प्रिये । एवं च कथितं । देवः परिजनस्योक्ती-  
रज्ञातार्थोपि चिंतया । अभ्युपैति<sup>1</sup> कथांताय शून्यं कंठितमस्तकः  
॥ [३६ ॥\*] किं तु । नो संभावयति प्रसादविभवैर्भृत्यांश्चकोरास्त्रिजानु-  
ज्ञासं निदधाति नो कुवलये नो वाहिनीभर्त्तरि । राजा सर्वकला-
- 38 [त्रि]तोपि दिवसप्राये वियोगे प्रियां तामेव क्षणदामभीषति नवामापांङ्गि-  
मानं गतः ॥ [३७ ॥\*] तदमुना संविधानकेन त्वया सविशेषमाश्लास्य  
परितोषणीया वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । यतः । विरहे नूनमेकस्य  
दुःखेन लभते सुखं । सुखेन चेतरो दुःखं प्रेम्णो हि कुटिला गतिः  
॥ [३८ ॥\*] वसंत । जं<sup>2</sup> आणवेदि पिषयमी । कुसुमा । अह-  
मपि<sup>3</sup> एतत्का-
- 39 यानुरूपस्वाभिप्रायज्ञापनाय विदग्धद्वितीयस्य राज्ञः सकाशमेव गच्छामीति<sup>4</sup>  
निःक्रांती । विष्कंभकः ॥ ततः प्रविशति राजा विद्रुषकश्च । राजा ।  
समंतादुद्यानमालीक्य । सखे । तस्या एव सुखेन निर्मलनिजज्योत्स्ना-  
भिराप्याधिताः शंकेमी तरवी मनोज्ञमसृणच्छायाभिरायाभिजः । सौरभ्यं  
कुसुमोत्करेण दधतस्तस्यैव सं- (1)
- 40 [स्का]रजं भंपालंपटमाङ्गयंति मधुलिदसंतानमुच्चैस्तरां । [३९ ॥\*] विद्रु ।  
वयस्<sup>5</sup> [१\*] जुत्तमणुमाणं ते । जदो वणस्सईणं चंदी राया ।  
राजा (1) दक्षिणाक्षिस्त्रंदनं सूचयित्वा (1) सप्रत्याशमुत्कंठते । नेपथ्ये (1)  
मंगलध्वनिः । [रा]जा । आकर्णितकेन । सखे । मध्यादुक्त्य तारं  
सृग्दलघुकुचाकंपकष्टेन यासां श्वासेनैवावरुढं व्रजति यतिविदां संसक्तं  
रक्कि-
- 41 [मे]व । ताभिर्ग्राम्योपि गीतध्वनिरयमधुना माधवीमंगलार्थं वारस्त्रीभिः  
प्रयुक्ती गमयति गमकैर्नागरत्वं मनोज्ञैः ॥ [४० ॥\*] तदेहि [१\*]  
देवीं प्रत्युपसर्पावः [१\*] इति परिक्रामतः । विद्रु । वयस्<sup>6</sup> ।  
जधा एस समकालुकंठिदकेलिदीहिष्पाकलहंसकूडदकरंविदी 'असमंजसमं-  
जीरकलयली जधा य थीउन्हायमाणकप्परपरिमलुम्मीसिदी किलं-
- 42 [त]कुसुमामोषो पञ्चासकी हवदि तथा (यणम)<sup>7</sup> हंपठमियामिलंतीहिं  
वियडनियंवीरुभरपरिक्खलंतचलणारविंदाहिं दाहिणानिलंदीलिरवसंतमाला-

<sup>1</sup> Read अभ्युपैति.<sup>2</sup> Read गच्छामि । इति निःक्रांती.<sup>3</sup> See p. 119 below, D.<sup>4</sup> These three aksharas are due to a mistake of the engraver; they occur again in their proper place as part of the compound क्षौरयचर्म<sup>8</sup> in the same line.<sup>5</sup> See p. 119 below, C.<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from 'संपाट'.<sup>7</sup> See p. 119 below, E.<sup>8</sup> Read अहमव्येत<sup>9</sup>.<sup>9</sup> Read असमंजस<sup>10</sup>.

मणहराहिं योरथमंडलुव्वहणपरिस्स[मस]सिदमंदपञ्चायमाणतस्मीलरसाहिं  
वारविलासिणीहिं सेविज्जंती अम्भुद्धिदा देवी । राजा । निर्वण्णं ।  
सखे [1\*] किमुच्यते । वारांगनामुख- (i)

43 [ज्यो]त्स्नालंघनीत्कंधरद्युतिः । देवी दुग्धारणवे लक्ष्मीरत्नसंतीव लक्ष्यते ॥  
[४१ ॥\*] ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा राज्ञी । विदू । वयस्स<sup>१</sup> [1\*]  
इदो वि पेच्छ [1\*] जधा एस कुसुमायरो मम सम्युहं सखं  
करेदि तथा अ[संसयं] पारिजायमंजरिं वसंतलीलाए सह इध ज्जेव  
संचारइस्सदि । राजा । निर्वण्णं (i) किंचिदास्सस्य च । ज्ञांतो  
विरहदावेन तामेव प्रति-

44 [धा]वति । अंतःकरणपक्षी मे लावण्यामृतवाहिनी । [४२ ॥\*] ततः  
प्रविशति विटपांतरिता पारिजातमंजरी वसंतलीला च । राज्ञी<sup>२</sup>  
उपसृत्य (i) राजानमवलोक्य स्मितेन संभावयति । विदू [1\*]  
ससंभ्रमं । अही<sup>३</sup> अरिहमरिहं । चूओ चंपयकुसुमेहिं चंपओ पाडला-  
पसूणेहिं । वडलो सिरीसउप्पेहिं वियसिओ हंत अच्चरियं ॥ [४३ ॥\*]  
राजा । सस्मितं । धिस्सूखं [1\*] नेदमरिहं किं तु देव्यायमस्माक-

45 [मा]चार्यकेण चित्रप्रयोगो नाम वृक्षायुर्वेदभेदः प्रदर्शितः । कनकलिखा ।  
विहस्य [1\*] भट्टा<sup>४</sup> [1\*] ण खु एसो वियक्खणत्तणेण वियट्ठो किं  
तु विसेसेण दट्ठा<sup>५</sup> त्ति । इति सर्वे हसन्ति । नायिका । राजानं  
ससृहमवलोक्य<sup>६</sup> (i) अपवारितकेन [1\*] अज्जे<sup>७</sup> [1\*] अन्नपायवे अन्न-  
कुसुमेहिं वियसाविट्ठुं अत्थि मे कीदुहज्जं । वसंत । वच्छे<sup>८</sup> [1\*]  
एसो ज्जेव राया तुह उवज्जाओ हविस्सदि । नायिका ॥

46 [उ]ष्णं निश्चस्य (i) सवितर्कमात्मगतं । कत्तो<sup>९</sup> अम्हाणं तारिसा भायधेया ।  
राज्ञी । अज्जउत्त<sup>१०</sup> । एदं तं माहवीसहयारमिहुणं । [रा]जा । देवि  
[1\*] साधु दर्शितं । पूर्वासुखालंकातयोर्माधवीसहकारयोः । कापि  
वैवाहिकी लक्ष्मीरियमाज्ञादतेतरा । [४४ ॥\*] किं च । धन्योयं  
सहकारसुंदरयुवा चैवानिलादीलनेरद्युक्तः परिरिप्सते प्रियतमां वामांग-  
विभ्रंभिणी । <sup>११</sup>एषाप्यर्चसुवासिनी नवसता

<sup>१</sup> See p. 119 below, F.

<sup>४</sup> See p. 119 below, H.

<sup>७</sup> See p. 119 below, I.

<sup>१०</sup> See p. 119 below, L.

<sup>२</sup> Read राश्युप°.

<sup>३</sup> Read दट्ठी.

<sup>६</sup> See p. 119 below, J.

<sup>११</sup> Read एषाप्यर्च°.

<sup>५</sup> See p. 119 below, G.

<sup>८</sup> Read °लीक्षाप°.

<sup>९</sup> See p. 119 below, K.

- 47 [न]न्नीमवन्ती धृशं निर्वधेन 'परासुखी न सहते वैयात्यवार्त्तामपि ।  
[४५ ॥\*] वसंत । नायिकां प्रति । अख्यो<sup>१</sup> [1\*] एवं जेव तुम्हारिसीभी  
सुधाभी दूरे गादुक्कंठिरीओ पियसयासे परंसुहीओ ह्वति । नायिका ।  
किंचिदिहस्य (i) सास्यमिव । अज्जे<sup>२</sup> [1\*] तं अन्नं जेव किंपि  
जंपन्ती चिहसि । अहं उण एत्तिगं जेव भणामि जं अन्नपायवे  
अन्नकुसुमेहिं वियसाविदुं अत्थि मे कोदुह्वं । वसंत । स्वगतं । देवी<sup>३</sup>
- 48 [जा]व उत्तरासुहृदिदा माह्वीसहयारमिहुणं अणुरायभिंभला भन्नुणो पच्छि-  
मासुहृदिदस्य दंसयन्ती चिहदि (i) ता सुहुत्तं पारिजायमजरिं पायडं  
करेमि (i) जधा देवीए कर्हिपि आहरणे पडिविविदं पेच्छदि णं  
राया । इति विटपपल्लवानपसार्यं नायिकां प्रकटीकरोति । राजा ।  
राज्ञीताडंके प्रतिविवितां नायिकामवलोक्य (i) सहर्षावहित्यमात्मगतं ।  
अये जितं मनोरथैः ।
- 49 [य]दियं वलधूलिघोरांधकारदुःसंचरसमरसंकेतनवाभिसारिका से प्राणेश्वरी  
प्रथमप्राणेश्वरीताडंकदर्पणे लोचनगोचरं गता । सवितर्कात्भुतं<sup>४</sup> च ।  
नूनमियमस्मान् पश्चिमेन विटपांतरे वसंतलीलया केनचिदुल्लेखलंपाकेन  
वचसा नर्ममर्मणि स्पृष्टा सस्मितमसूयते । सद्यः 'साव्यसधूसरेण विक-  
सहैललक्ष्मीस्पृष्टा कर्णतालसदृष्टिनाधरपुटोन्नमि-
- 50 [त]न्नीमता । [स]ख्येर्थाभिनयभ्रुकुंसधकुटीसौभाग्यनृंगारिणा तन्वीयं वद-  
नेदुना मम दृशोर्दत्ते सुधाचर्वणां ॥ [४६ ॥\*] सकलानुरागं च ।  
प्रतिविवमिषादेष्ठा [ख]यं दौत्यमुपागता । अत्यंतदुर्वलैरगैर्व्रूते विरहदुर्दशां ॥  
[४७ ॥\*] इति कोमलांगुलिग्रहेण कर्णं धृत्वा 'साविलासमवलोकयति ।  
राज्ञी (i) सरोमांचमवनतमुखी स्पर्शसुखानुभवं नाटयति । वसंत ।  
ताडंके नायि-
- 51 [का]प्रतिविवं निर्वर्ण्यं राश्वेष्टया चित्तोपलक्षितकेन<sup>५</sup> (i) अपवार्यं साकूतं ।  
वच्छे<sup>६</sup> [1\*] पेच्छ देवीए ताडंकस्य रामणिज्जयं (i) जं राया साव-  
हित्यमेकदिहीए पेच्छंतो चिहदि । नायिका । राज्ञीताडंके स्वप्रतिविवं  
राजानं च निर्वर्ण्यं (i) सवितर्कप्रत्याग्रमात्मगतं । अस्महे<sup>७</sup> [1\*] किं  
एसो राया मे पडिविवं पेच्छदि (i) आदु देवीए ताडंकं जेव ।  
ता<sup>८</sup> दाव अमयकालजडाण अंत-

<sup>१</sup> The two white lines across the प are due to a fault in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, and are absent in the two other copies of the inscription.

<sup>२</sup> See p. 119 below, M.

<sup>३</sup> See p. 120 below, A:

<sup>४</sup> See p. 120 below, B.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'तर्काभुतं.

<sup>६</sup> Read साव्यस.

<sup>७</sup> Read सवि.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'केनाप.

<sup>९</sup> See p. 120 below, C.

<sup>१०</sup> See p. 120 below, D.

<sup>११</sup> Corrected by the engraver from त.

- 52 [रा]लि दोलाद्द न्हि । इति चिंतां नाटयति । वसंत । नायिका-  
याचित्तमुपलब्ध । वच्छे<sup>1</sup> [1\*] मा अन्वहा मनेहि । देवीए ताडके  
कसाहरणाहिदेवयं व तुमं । संकाणुरायनिहुषी पेच्छइ पडिविवियं  
राया ॥ [४८ ॥\*] अइ उष न पत्तियसि ता खण्णं तुमं पल्लवं-  
तरिदं करेमि (i) जधा पडिविविचुण्णं ताडकं पेच्छंतस्स कैरिसी दिङ्गी  
भत्तुणी भोदि त्ति जाणासि । इति नायिकां पुनः पल्लवांत-
- 53 [रि]तां करोति । राजा (i) सखेदावहित्यं शून्यदृष्टिरालोकते । वसंत ।  
वच्छे<sup>2</sup> [1\*] पेच्छ २ । ताडके तुह पडिमं अणियंती भत्ति भत्तुणी  
दिङ्गी । विश्वरियनिहाण्णं<sup>3</sup> व्व सुन्नपल्लाउक्षा जाया ॥ [४९ ॥\*]  
राजा (i) सावेगं पृष्ठतोवलोकते । साङ्गादमात्मगतं । येनायोधनदर्शनो-  
त्सवसुवां वैमानिकीनां 'सुखान्यजानीव निशाकरेण गगने नीतानि  
विच्छायतां । भूयो दृष्ट-
- 54 [मि\*][दं] तदेव सुतनोः स्मेरं किमप्याननं विच्छेदातपल्लीढलोचनसुधा-  
निष्पदिचंद्रातपं ॥ [५० ॥\*] नायिका (i) ससाध्वसं राजानमपांगिनावलोक्य (i)  
लज्जयापसर्तुमिच्छंती परिक्रामति । वसंत । तां वृणहि । राजा ।  
निर्वर्त्य ससृहमात्मगतं । उच्छ्वासि स्तनयोर्हयं तदपि यत्सीमाविवा-  
दोत्सवं लोलोक्तेहि गतं तदप्यनुप[मं] श्रीणित्रिया मंथरं । दीर्घं  
दृग्युगलं तद-
- 55 [प्य\*][तु]गतं साख्येन किंचिद्भुवोरेतस्यास्तु मध्यमं विजयते सौभाग्यवीजं  
वयः ॥ [५१ ॥\*] सखीविद्रुषकौ विदितराजनायिकावृत्तांतौ परस्परं  
साकूतमवलोकयतः । राजा स्मृतिमभिनीय (i) सातकं (i) पुनस्तथैव  
ताडकमवलोकयति । सविमर्शपक्षपातमह[ृ]५ । अन्नातदोषा ताडकं  
'महृष्टाक्षिगितं प्रिया । धत्ते निखलमा[द्या]पि' प्रीत्या मदनुवृत्तये  
॥ [५२ ॥\*] राज्ञी (i) द-
- 56 [चि]वाचिष्यदितकेन<sup>6</sup> (i) अघृतिमभिनीय सोद्वेगमुन्मुखी सखीसुखमीचते ।  
तच्छेष्टां परिकलय्य (i) सासूयवितर्कमात्मगतं । अथी<sup>7</sup> [1\*] कुदो उष से  
इदासाए अज्ज वियइसंसुद्धी सवियारा दिङ्गी । सविमर्शमात्मगतं ।  
पडिहाइ<sup>10</sup> अज्जउत्ती स[व्या]वसिण्हसुंदरसहावो । असुहं पि व कहइ  
पुचो दाहिणनयणं पुरंतं मे ॥ [५३ ॥\*] कनक । राज्ञी सवि-<sup>11</sup> (i)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 120 below, E.<sup>2</sup> Corrected by the engraver from सुचण्णं.<sup>3</sup> Read मइव्या<sup>०</sup>.<sup>4</sup> See p. 120 below, G; read अनी.<sup>5</sup> See p. 120 below, F.<sup>6</sup> Read मयापि.<sup>7</sup> See p. 120 below, H.<sup>8</sup> Against the metre.<sup>9</sup> Read पातम् । अइइ.<sup>10</sup> Read 'केनापु'ति<sup>०</sup>.<sup>11</sup> Read सवे<sup>०</sup>.

- 57 [ल]क्ष्मितमीक्षते । राज्ञी । औत्सुक्यमभिनीय (i) साकृतं । [स]हि<sup>1</sup>  
[i\*] किं तए हसिदं । कनक । सविलक्ष्य<sup>2</sup> जोषमास्ते । राजा ।  
विदूषकं प्रति<sup>3</sup> अपवारितकेन । सखे । नूनमनया दासीपुण्या दानसं-  
मोनपूर्व<sup>4</sup> चिरनिवारितयाप्यथ<sup>5</sup> सर्वं प्रकाशिष्यते । विदू । अपवार्य ।  
अध<sup>6</sup> इ । राजा (i) दृष्टिसंज्ञया कनकलेखां प्रसादयति । राज्ञी (i)  
राजचेष्टां परिकलय्य तं भूभंगेन त-
- 58 [ज]यंती कनकलेख[i व]ाहो<sup>7</sup> धृत्वा सावहेलं परिक्रम्य निःक्रामति<sup>8</sup> ।  
नायिका । सर्वेषां चेष्टाः परिकलय्य सदैव्यमात्मगतं (i) राजानं प्रति ।  
चंदस्<sup>9</sup> व तुह मेहंतरमि खणदंसणेण जा ससिया । सीयामि सा  
चओरि व्य पुण वि तइ अंतरिज्जते ॥ [५४ ॥\*] प्रकाशं । अज्जे<sup>10</sup> [i\*]  
नूणं देविं पसादिदुं गमिस्सदि राया । ता एहि [i\*] गच्छन्ह [i\*]  
इति निःक्रांते<sup>11</sup> । राजा । सप्रत्याशं पृष्ठतोषलीक्ष्य
- 59 [ना\*]यिकामदृष्ट्वा विदूषकं प्रति सवैलक्ष्यं [i\*] सखे [i\*] दृष्टं त्वया  
यन्ममापतितं । अपि सर्वकला देवी यदर्थेभूत्परासुखी । सापि जाता  
दुशोर्दूरे<sup>12</sup> विजयन्तीः प्रिया मम ॥ [५५ ॥\*] तत्किमत्र कर्त्तव्यं ।  
विदू । व[य]स्स<sup>13</sup> [i\*] मारिदस्स भुंजिदस्स य एकं जेव णामं । थोओ  
वह्ण वा अव[रा]ही अवराहो ज्जेव । ता संभावेहि महाभाइणिं  
पारिआयमंजरिं । राजा । सोत्कंठं । सखे [i\*] एवं करोमि । इ-
- 60 [ति] परिक्रामतः । विदू । वयस्स<sup>13</sup> [i\*] पेच्छ [i\*] एदं तं रविरहत्तरंग-  
मकंतिसच्छायं मरगयमंडवं । राजा । दक्षिणभुजस्यंदनं सूचयित्वा (i)  
सप्रत्याशं । सखे [i\*] साधु दर्शितं । एतच्चेतो हरति पुरतः  
पार्वतीकांतकंठच्छायाकांतं मरकतशिलामंडपं स्नानमण्योः । यिनीहां-  
तैर्युतिकिसलयैर्निर्झृतानामलीनां<sup>14</sup> मालात्मानं खलु विवृणुते मंजुना  
गुंजितेन ॥ [५६ ॥\*] इति परिक्रामतः ॥
- 61 [रा]जा । तस्या लोलदृशः स्तनौ सद्दयौ सम्यक् प्रमाणोद्धतावुक्षुं  
निजदोषमप्रतिहतावाक्रांतकक्षांतरौ । संरक्षौ<sup>15</sup> नवपत्रभंगिरचनारंभेण

<sup>1</sup> See p. 120 below, I.<sup>2</sup> Read सवैलक्ष्यं.<sup>3</sup> Read प्रत्यप°.<sup>4</sup> Read °याप्यथ.<sup>5</sup> See p. 120 below, J.<sup>6</sup> Read वाही.<sup>7</sup> Read निःक्रामति.<sup>8</sup> See p. 120 below, K. ; the स्स is spoiled in the inked stampage from which the Plates were prepared, but is quite clear and regular in the two other copies.<sup>9</sup> See p. 120 below, L.<sup>10</sup> Read निःक्रांते.<sup>11</sup> Corrected by the engraver from दुशोर्दूरे.<sup>12</sup> See p. 121 below, A.<sup>13</sup> See p. 121 below, B.<sup>14</sup> The engraver has erased an *anusvāra* above the वा of °ताना°.<sup>15</sup> Read संरक्षौ नवपत्र°.

[illegible]

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- वादस्वले [मा]ध्यस्थेपि ययोर्वलिचयमधस्तस्थौ तनुप्रातिभं ॥ [५७ ॥\*]  
 इति परिक्रम्योपसृत्य नायिकां पश्यन् सङ्घर्षासं धृतिनिश्चासं विमुञ्च ।  
 उपधाय वयस्या[हं ज्ञानत]स्थोत्पलाङ्कुरा । वियोगयोगनिद्रायाभियमास्ते
- 62 [प्रि\*][या] मम ॥ [५८ ॥\*] तद्भवतु [१\*] निर्वर्णयामि तावत् । ततः  
 प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा नायिका सखी च । राजा [१\*] स्वगतं ।  
 अहह । सुखस्थोत्पलाङ्कुरैरस्माः पीते तमसि मांसले । इन्द्रनीलांश-  
 [व]ः शिवाः परभागं दधत्वमो ॥ [५९ ॥\*] सकलवच[म]त्कारं ।  
 मरकातमयमेदिन्यां भा[ति] प्रतिविविता क्षणांगीयं । अंतर्जलशयनीयं  
 तापेन निवेवमाशेव ॥ [६० ॥\*] वसंत । सकलवचमाकाशे ॥ छ (१)
- 63 . . [वा] वल्लभाहं य मयरक्षय जयसि सङ्गमच्छाए । तं चिय इत  
 कुचंतो शिखीवं होहिसि कहां व ॥ [६१ ॥\*] नायिका । व[सं]त-  
 लीलां वाष्पार्द्रमवलोक्य (१) सगद्[दं] । अज्जे<sup>३</sup> । तस्मिं<sup>४</sup> सङ्घाव[सु]हए  
 सख्यकलासंगयन्नि दिष्टे वि । क्षिप्येमि ओसही विय सो दूरं दुःखो  
 राया । [६२ ॥\*] राजा (१) कुसुमान्ववचित् (१) च्छ्वं<sup>५</sup> च्छ्वसुपसृत्य  
 तेर्नायिकामेकैकेन प्रहरति । नायिका । स- (१)
- 64 . . . त्विगं (१) राजानमवलोक्य । इही<sup>६</sup> । एस शिहणी पञ्चको ज्वे  
 कुसुमाडहो मं मन्दभाहणिं पहरदि । ता परित्तायदु २ अज्जा  
 [१\*] इति वसंतलीलामासिंगितुमिच्छंती मूर्च्छति । राजा [१\*]  
 सङ्घसोप[सु]त्त्य । हा प्रिये पारिजातमंजरि [१\*] देहि मे प्रतिवचनं  
 [१\*] इति सकलं नायिकाहृदयस्पर्शं नाटयति । वसंत । राजा-  
 नमवलोक्य (१) नायिकां वीजयंती साम्बासं
- 65 [सकल\*][च] च । वच्छे<sup>७</sup> [१\*] समक्षस २ [१\*] च सु एसो कुसु-  
 माडहो [१\*] तुह हिययवत्तहो सु भट्टा<sup>८</sup> एसो । नायिका (१) संघां  
 लभते । राजा । साम्बासं निर्वर्ण्य । यत्तस्यः पुटमेदसाससससत्यक्षां-  
 चले चक्षुषो सोत्कंपस्तनया प्रसीदति धृतिश्चासत्रिया यम्मुखं । यच्चायं  
 पुलकः पुरा परिचितस्पर्शोपसंभासगौ तेनेयं सुतनुर्वभूव विधुरे जीवार्गला  
 मे इदि ॥ [६३ ॥\*] नायिका (१) राजा-
- 66 [मसुप\*]सम्भ (१) ससाध्वसमुत्थायात्मानं पर्यवस्थापयति । धृतिनिश्चास-  
 सुसृज्य (१) वसंतलीलां प्रत्यपवा[रि]तकेन । अज्जे<sup>९</sup> [१\*] अह वत्तहे

\* Read 'वली'.

\* Read 'वलि'.

\* See p. 121 below, F.

\* See p. 121 below, C.

\* Read 'वत्'.

\* Corrected by the engraver from भाट्ट.

\* See p. 121 below, D.

\* See p. 121 below, E.

\* See p. 121 below, G.



वि परस्वसे जणे केरिसो वारं वारमणुबंधनिबन्धी । ता एहि [1\*]  
गच्छन्ह । इति राजानं सलज्जाभिमानमपांगिनावलोक्ष्य पराक्षुखी परि-  
क्रमितुमिच्छति । राजा । सौख्यं (1) वाही छत्वा नायिकां  
निर्वर्णयन् स्वगतं । उत्थानं क-

- 67 [धमप्य\*] जायत गतिस्त्रिभस्तु मामीहते वैलज्जाददनेदुनैव वलितं दृष्टिस्तु  
सार्द्रा मयि । अंगान्वेव पराक्षुखानि पुलको मत्पक्षपाती पुनर्मान-  
प्राथम्यकल्पिकी हृग्दृग्दृष्टैव चिन्तयते ॥ [६४ ॥\*] अपि च ॥  
तल्लेदीवरमुद्राभिरंकितानि हृग्दृग्दृशः । सुरभिस्त्रेदविद्वनि मदयं त्यंगकानि  
मां ॥ [६५ ॥\*] ससृहातिरेकं । उत्थानं जघनेन विघ्नितमभूदस्याः क-  
68 . . [क\*] रो नीवीरक्षसौविदक्षपदवीं वामः प्रकामं गतः । नीरंगी-  
सिचयांचलं कुचतटे वध्नाति वामेतरस्तन्वंग्यास्तपयावगुंठितमिदं लीलायितं  
जुंभते ॥ [६६ ॥\*] प्रकाशं । अयि शशिसुखि<sup>१</sup> मानं मुंच दृष्टि-  
प्रसादैरुपजनय सुभिच्छं स्मेरनीलोत्पलानां । अपि भवतु भवत्याः  
कीमलालापभंग्या भगिति गलितगर्वो वल्लकीनां निनादः ॥ [६७ ॥\*]  
इति प्र- (1)

- 69 [णमति] । नायिका (1) हस्ताभ्यां राजानं किरीटेन प्रेरयंती सस्मितम-  
पसरति । विदू । मा<sup>२</sup> कहवि कोवि इह देवीए परिअणो संचरेदि ।  
ता आसासेहि कंठमहेण तुरियं जेव महाभायं विअयसिदि । राजा  
[1\*] आलिङ्ग्य (1) सुहृत्समिवानन्दमुद्रां नाटयित्वा (1) स्वगतं । शीघ्र-  
मंतर्मुखैर्भूत्वा विलीनं नवनीतवत् । करणैः स्पर्शलाभाभ्यो सुखाद्वैते  
मनः स्थितं । [६८ ॥\*]  
70 [अ]पि च । उन्मीलितपुलकांकुरस्तमतटस्त्रे<sup>३</sup> दां वुज्जवालितश्रीखंडप्रभविष्णुसौरभगुण-  
ग्राही हठालिङ्गने<sup>४</sup> । आनन्दानुतरंगसंगमचमत्कारत्रिया शीतली विच्छेद-  
ज्वरमावयोर्धृतिभवः<sup>५</sup> श्वासानिलः पीतवान् ॥ [६९ ॥\*] ततः प्रविशति  
ताडकहस्ता कनकलेखा ॥ कनक । सचिंतासंभ्रमं । मए<sup>६</sup> महारा-  
यस्य . . . . .

- 71 [ल\*] द्वा ण उण इत्थि त्ति अज्ज जाव भट्ठिणी विप्पलहा । अज्ज उव  
देवीए सयं जेव उज्झिहिय सव्व उवलहं । अहं शिमित्तमेत्तं जाद  
न्हि । अब्बो सामिणिओअस्स अवसंकरणिज्जदा [1\*] जेण जेव देविं

<sup>१</sup> Corrected by the engraver from पुनर्मन°.

<sup>२</sup> Corrected by the engraver from सुखी.

<sup>३</sup> See p. 121 below, H.

<sup>४</sup> Corrected by the engraver from स्त्रे.

<sup>५</sup> The engraver has struck out a secondary : before the म, and another before the व, of °भवः.

<sup>६</sup> See p. 121 below, L.

वंचिदं अभ्युदितं तं जेव महारायं देवीए निधीएण उचुंठिखं ।  
पुरोवलीक । एदं<sup>1</sup> तं मरगयमंडवं । [इ] . . . . .

72 . राजानमवलोक्य स्वगतं । अम्हा<sup>2</sup> [1\*] कत्तो आसासो भट्टिणीए (1) जीए  
वल्हो अभंगणाणवरंगसिणेहवाउराणिवडिदहिअयहरिणो एवं हिडदि ।  
उपसृत्य (1) वैलयां<sup>3</sup> नाटयंती प्रकाशं । जयदु<sup>4</sup> २ भट्टा । सर्वे  
शंकते । राजा । नायिकां पृष्ठतः कृत्वा (1) कनकलेखाहस्यो ताड-  
कम[व]लो[क] (1) स्वगतं । अ[थे] . . . . .

73 . त्वा देव्या दीपोद्भवेन निपुणमुचुंठिताः स्मः । प्रकाशं । भट्टे । अथ  
स्वस्वकारणकुपितापि देवी प्रसादनीयेति त्वामेव प्रतिपासयतामस्माकमथ  
दिनमतिक्रांतं । त्वत्साहायकसापेक्षं<sup>5</sup> ह्येतत्कार्यं । कनक । सनम-  
स्मितं । भट्टा<sup>6</sup> [1\*] जा एसा अम्हाणं दुदीया भट्टिणी तए पडिं  
दिनेण रोसाविदा चिह्निदि (1) . . . . .

74 [रा\*]जा । स्मिन्त्वा । कनकलीले [1\*] उभयमप्येतत्कार्यं त्वय्येवायतते ।  
तत्किं प्रष्टव्यं भवत्या । कनक । ताडकमर्पयति । राजा । गृहीत्वा  
स्वमतं । कर्णालंकरणं देव्या विवस्थानं जयन्त्रियः । 'संप्रत्युभयघाप्येष  
ताडकः प्रतिभाति मे ॥ [७० ॥\*] प्रकाशं । किं पुनः कारणं ताड-  
कप्रेषणे । कनक । एदं<sup>7</sup> कारणं । एस ताडको अज्ज ग[र]

75 . [व] कथाहरणं देवीए धारिदं । अज्ज खु वसंतलीलाविअङ्गुगोटीमहुमत्त-  
सवणसुअल[स] अहिणव[सो]इम[सु]देरमअहरकुसुममंजरीरसमि [धेण]-  
हसरअच[रि]दस भत्तुओ धारागिरिपमदुल्लाणे जेव सन्धो दिणो अदि-  
कंतो । रयणी उअ अए विआ कधं ममिअदि त्ति विर[ह]

76 [पे\*]सिदो । वसंतलीलाविदग्धौ (1) सभयमन्धोन्यं प्रप्यतः । राजा ।  
स्वमतं । अन्ने प्रक्रीतिपरियाटोपाटवञ्चापनं । यदि वा (1) देवीं  
सर्वकाममधिकृत्य स्तोकेतत् । किं तु [1\*] देवी प्रसादनीयेत्येनां  
मुंचासि कातरां विरहे । स्वहृदयमयोस्मि जातो वयं तु सुकोमलं  
हृदयात् ॥ [७१ ॥\*] नेपथ्ये । [अ] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> See p. 121 below, J.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 121 below, L.

<sup>7</sup> Read संप्रत्युभय<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 121 below, K.

<sup>5</sup> Read सापेक्षं.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 121 below, N.

<sup>3</sup> Read वैलय्यं.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 121 below, M.

- 77 . णि प्राची कीकिलमेचकेन तमसा मासिन्यमालंवते । या प्रातः परिरंभ-  
निर्भरक[रं] दोषापलापक्षमं लब्ध्वा रागिणमेव<sup>1</sup> वक्ष्यति सुखं स्मेरं  
प्रसादत्रिया ॥ [७२ ॥\*] अपि च । विस्फूर्जत्करदीपिकांकुरमरुद्धं धावधृतं  
जमद्वाणप्राणमपक्कमं विदधतः कर्पूरभंगानिलैः । सिंहहारि नि[वा]  
. . . . .
- 78 . [त]वंदिपाठतुमुलं ताम्यंति शृंगारिणः ॥ [७३ ॥\*] किं च । नासीरचंद्रातप-  
दीपिकाभिः पूर्वाचलेनांतरितोनुमेयः । अपींदुरत्ताम्यति राजभावाद्भूमं-  
डलाखंडल सेवितुं त्वां ॥ [७४ ॥\*] नायिका । वसंतलीलां प्रति  
• सकरुणं । तए<sup>2</sup> वि देवीए भएण मंदभाइणी पारिजायमंजरी परिहरि-  
दव्वा । अदो ज्ञे[व] . . . . .
- 79 . [ज\*]णे केरिसो वा[रं] वारमणुबंधणिब्धं<sup>3</sup> । वसंतलीला नायिका [सा]-  
स्रमालिंगति । राजा । अपवारितकेन नायिकां चिबुके स्पृष्ट्वा । प्रिये  
[।\*] अलमन्यवा संभावनया । मुहूर्त्तमास्थानमधिष्ठाय प्रतिनिवृत्त एवा-  
स्मि । वसंतलीलां प्रति । आर्ये । भवत्यास्मदृदयं गतया सास्त्रनीयवं  
तावद[स्म] . . . . .
- 80 . [वि]दूषककनकलोखाभ्यां सह परिक्रामति । सकरुणं पृष्ठतोवसोक्त्वा (।)  
स्वगतं । आः प्रिये पारिजातमंजरी । उल्लिख्यमानचंद्रांशुदंष्ट्राकराखे  
निशाचरोमुखे सुच्यमानासि । नायिका । सासं । महाभाय<sup>4</sup> [।\*]  
इत्तिगं दिट्ठो सि मए मंदभाइणीए । राजा । सव्यथमाकगतं ।  
किमपि मसु . . . . .
- 81 . हृदयशिलायां विश्वशृंगारशिल्पी । तव ऋतुगुणसूचन्यासरेखांकितायां  
लिखति विशिष्टकैः पुष्पकोतुः प्रशस्तिं ॥ [७५ ॥\*] इति निःक्रांतः<sup>5</sup> ।  
नायिका । सानुतापमुद्गीषिकावसोक्तिकेन । कथं<sup>6</sup> सोयषपहं अदिकंतो  
परव्यसो जणो । स्वगतं । ता' दाणि जं देवीए कारिदव्वं तमहं  
सयं जेव [करइस्सं मं]द[भाइणी ।]
- 82 [इ]ति सोहेगसुज्ञांतहृदया परिक्रामति । वसंत । सीलुक्कं । नूचमे-  
दाए<sup>7</sup> किंपि अमंगलमक्कवसिदं । ता सव्वधा धारइस्सं ॥ इति  
निःक्राताः<sup>8</sup> सर्वे [।\*] ताडकदर्पणो नाम द्वितीयोद्धः ॥ श्रीः<sup>10</sup> ॥ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Corrected by the engraver from 'चमेव'.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 122 below, A.

<sup>3</sup> The same passage has occurred before in line 66.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 122 below, B.

<sup>5</sup> Read निःक्रांतः.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 122 below, C.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 122 below, D.

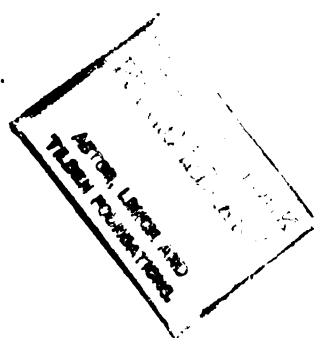
<sup>8</sup> See p. 122 below, E.

<sup>9</sup> Read निःक्राताः.

<sup>10</sup> The vicarga was inserted by the engraver on revision.

by Mad.

54 नरसीत  
56 विरसादे  
मदीमात  
58 चतदाण  
रिबपण  
60 दुआमप  
नमरुत  
62 नाःति  
सकपुण  
64 माटिबि  
पद्यण  
66 पसीटी  
डनिगव  
68 चातन्  
विपसा  
70 मतिगि  
निल्ल  
72 विविदं  
रतवारा  
74 कनका  
रुपति  
76 मुदह  
ममुवा  
78 लोकर  
मीलंग  
80 पुबाम  
मिना  
82 कना  
गी



रूपकारप्रकांडस्य सीहाकस्यांगजन्मना । प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा रामदेवेन  
शिल्लिना ॥ [७६ ॥\*] ✽ ॥

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF THE PRAKRIT PASSAGES.<sup>1</sup>

A.—Text, line 2.—आन्नापयत्यर्थः ।

B.—Text, l. 4.—यदार्थं आन्नापयति । किं च मयापि श्रुतं यथा मलया-  
निलमन्दमन्दान्दोलनप्रसरद्भन्व<sup>2</sup>माकन्दमकुलमकरन्दपिण्डितपरागपुष्पपिण्डर्यमाणमञ्जरीकवक्ष-  
परस्परार्षण<sup>3</sup>केलिपर्याकुलकलकण्ठमिथुनमधुरकलकलहेलापहस्तित<sup>4</sup>विहस्तमानवती<sup>5</sup>मानमपि  
परिमलतरंगचार<sup>6</sup>चम्पकचषकमध्ववसर<sup>7</sup>विलम्बित<sup>8</sup>षट्पराधारणभरणभक्षणत्कारसुखरमपि यन्त्र-  
कुञ्जरकरशीकरासारसेकसरसविकसद्दिविधविटपकुडङ्कवृक्षान्धकारमपि धारागिरिलीलोद्यानं  
परिहृत्य कौतूहल<sup>9</sup>प्रफुल्ललोचनो भारती<sup>10</sup>भवनाभिमुख<sup>11</sup> सहसेति परापतित एव लोक  
इति । तत्कथय कीदृश<sup>12</sup>मच कथासंविधानकम् ।

C.—Text, l. 7.—अथ किम् ।

D.—Text, l. 8.—आर्यं । यच्च चतुरङ्गवल्युगलधूलीनिकरैः<sup>13</sup> कवलिते मार्तण्डमण्डले  
खयंवरकौतूहलाकुलत्व<sup>14</sup>मिलत्सुरसुन्दरीमुखमन्दचन्द्रातपेन निजपरविभागः संजातः श्रूयते ।

E.—Text, l. 9.—ततस्ततः ।

F.—Text, l. 10.—ततस्ततः ।

G.—Text, l. 11.—आर्यं । तत्किं दिव्यमानुष्याः सा कथा ।

H.—Text, l. 12.—ततस्ततः ।

I.—Text, l. 14.—पार्श्वे पुनरन्तःपुरिकेव काप्येषा ।

J.—Text, l. 15.—आर्यपुत्र । नवफलिकां गृह्णाणताम् ।

कोकिलस्वरबाहुष्येन मनोहरा प्रथममञ्जर्येषा ।

ततोत्सवे खलु मया विनियुक्ता गायन्त्या यथा ॥ १२ ॥

K.—Text, l. 17.—अहो आश्चर्यम् । भागधेयेन वयस्यस्य कुसुममञ्जरी फलत्वेन  
इस्ते चटिता ।

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes :—*Dś.* = Hémachandra's *Dśādharmadīpikā*, ed. by Prof. Pischel. — *Hāla* = Hāla's *Saptatatakam*, ed. by Prof. Weber. — *Hēm.* = Hémachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, ed. by Prof. Pischel. — *Jacobi* = Prof. Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*. — *Pd.* = Dhanapāla's *Pdīgalach-  
chāt Nāmamālā*, ed. by Prof. Bühler. — *Pischel* = Prof. Pischel's *Prākṛit Grammar*.

<sup>2</sup> Hēm. IV. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Hēm. I. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Hāla, p. 533, s. v. *avahattihis*.

<sup>5</sup> For *māṇasī* = *mānavatī* see *ibid.* p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> *Dś.* III. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Dś.* V. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Hēm. IV. 259.

<sup>9</sup> Hēm. I. 117, and II. 99.

<sup>10</sup> *Gāḍgavaḥo*, verse 107.

<sup>11</sup> *Dś.* VIII. 70.

<sup>12</sup> Pischel, § 121.

<sup>13</sup> *Dś.* II. 18.

<sup>14</sup> With *hallapphala* compare *hallapphala*, *Dś.* VIII. 59; *hallapphala*, Hāla, p. 27 f.; and *hallophala*, Jacobi, p. 155.

A.—Text, l. 18.—

सुप्रभातश्रीसहितः सूर्योपि तवोत्सवेन क्रीडन् ।  
 बालातपसिन्दूरं दिगङ्गनानां सुखे क्षिपति ॥ १७ ॥  
 यत्कीमन्तावृतं त्वया गूर्जरेन्द्ररमणीनाम् ।  
 मन्ये सिन्दूरेण तेनैव रमते तव लोकः ॥ १८ ॥  
 बाणैरर्धनारी विषमशरेणापि निजरिपू रचितः ।  
 भर्जुनवर्मस्त्वया पुनरबला एव विरचिता रिपवः ॥ १९ ॥

B.—Text, l. 19.—वयस्व । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व प्रहर्षक्रीडितं नागरजनस्य ।

C.—Text, l. 21.—आर्यपुत्र । एतमप्याकर्णय समयसुखापकं<sup>१</sup> हिन्दोलकम् ।

D.—Text, l. 22.—वयस्व । ज्ञातं मयापि । एष स हिन्दोलको यत्र हिन्दोल-  
 कचतुर्थी क्षियः क्रीडन्ति ।

E.—Text, l. 23.—कथं गेयं न जानामि । यदा मे ब्राह्मणी बहुविकटदन्त-  
 सुन्दरं सुखं प्रसार्य मङ्गलानि गायति तदाहं गोपीगेयग्रहिलो<sup>२</sup> हरिण इव  
 प्राणान्दातुमिच्छामि ।

F.—Text, l. 25.—वयस्व । त्वमपि देवीं पूरय<sup>३</sup> ।

G.—Text, l. 26.—वयस्व । यदि त्वमेतया दासीदुहित्रा कनकलेखया सह मम  
 पाणियहणं कारयसि तदाहमपि त्वमिव नागरिकनारीसहितो वसन्तोत्सवं मान-  
 यामि ।

H.—Text, l. 27.—आर्यपुत्र । पाणियहणवचनेन स्मारितास्मि । मया माधवी-  
 क्षतया सहकारस्य पाणियहः कारयितव्यः । युवामपि तत्र निमग्नितौ तिष्ठथः ।  
 तदिदानीमुपसंभारसंपादनकार्येषोद्यानं गमिष्यामि ।

I.—Text, l. 28.—वयस्व । न खल्वेतद्विस्मरणम्<sup>४</sup> । स्मरणमेवैतत् ।

J.—Text, l. 29.—वयस्व । मन्ये पारिजातमञ्जरीसनाथमपि ते शून्यं हृदयम् ।

K.—Text, l. 30.—सुखकारिणी भवतु मध्याह्नसंध्या देवस्य ।

दृषितानां काननेषु तव रिपुरमणीनां बिम्बननिमन ।

वदनानि हारमुक्तासु सलिलकार्येणैव विशन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

L.—Text, l. 30.—वयस्व ।

देवेनाह्वयनिर्जितानां सहसा वन्दीकृतान्तःपुरं  
 ददता<sup>५</sup> शमिता वियोगवेदना<sup>६</sup> शेषां वसन्तोद्गमे ।

<sup>१</sup> Compare *sahdvoḥ-sukhayaṭi* in Hāla and in the *Gaṇḍavaho*.

<sup>२</sup> With *gahilla* for *grahila* compare *gaṇḥilla* for *granthila*; Pischel, § 595.

<sup>३</sup> Compare *bharci* in the *Gaṇḍavaho*, verse 231, and Jacobi, p. 133, s. v. *bharidga*.

<sup>४</sup> Pischel, § 313, end.

<sup>५</sup> Hām. II. 84.

<sup>६</sup> For *dinta* = *dadat* see Jacobi, p. 117, s. v. *dei*.

<sup>७</sup> *Pd.* p. 96.

एते ते नत्वा पादयुगलं दण्डप्रणामेन ते  
पादोच्छ्रमरेण भूमिपतयो व्रजन्ति<sup>1</sup> वासालयम् ॥ २८ ॥  
तत्किमिह स्थितेन । एहि । धारागिरिलीलोलोद्यानमेव गच्छावः ।

A.—Text, l. 35.—

उत्तुङ्गे स्तनमण्डलस्य शिखरं शीघ्रप्रवालप्रभा-  
पुष्पं कुञ्जरगामिनी वदति सा चिन्तानमदानना ।  
अन्तर्निर्हृत्य श्वासलहरीसार्धेन पर्युत्सुकं  
दूरारोहनिभालितं<sup>2</sup> प्रियतमं रत्नमिव चित्तं निजम् ॥ ३५ ॥

B.—Text, l. 36.—राजानमनप्रवृत्तिसुपलब्धम् ।

C.—Text, l. 38.—यदाज्ञापयति प्रियतमः ।

D.—Text, l. 40.—वयस्य । युक्तमनुमानं ते । यतो वनस्रतीनां चन्द्रो राजा ।

E.—Text, l. 41.—वयस्य । यथैष समकालोत्कण्ठितकेलिदीर्घिकाकलहंसकूजितकर-  
म्बितो ऽसमञ्जसमञ्जीरकलकलो यथा च 'स्तोकोभायमाणकर्पूरपरिमलोन्मिश्रितः  
क्षान्तकुसुमामोदः प्रत्यासन्नो भवति तथाहंप्रथमिकामिलन्तीभिर्विकटनितम्बोरुभरपरि-  
खलञ्चरणारविन्दाभिर्दक्षिणानिलान्दोलनशील'वसन्तमालामनोहराभिः स्थूल'स्तनमण्डलो-  
द्गहनपरिश्रमश्चित्तमन्दप्रत्यायमानताम्बूल'रसाभिर्वारविलासिनीभिः सेव्यमानाभ्युत्थिता  
देवी ।

F.—Text, l. 43.—वयस्य । इतोपि प्रेक्षस्व । यथैष कुसुमाकरो मम संसुखं  
संज्ञा<sup>3</sup> करोति तथासंश्रयं पारिजातमंजरीं वसन्तलीलया सहैव संचारयिष्यति ।

G.—Text, l. 44.—अहो अरिष्टमरिष्टम् ।

चूतसम्पककुसुमैश्चम्पकः पाटलाप्रसूनैः ।

वकुलः शिरीषपुष्पैर्विकसितो हन्ताश्चर्यम् ॥ ४३ ॥

H.—Text, l. 45.—भर्तः । न खल्वेष विचक्षणत्वेन विदग्धः<sup>4</sup> किं तु विशे-  
षेण दग्ध इति ।

I.—Text, l. 45.—आर्ये । अन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

J.—Text, l. 45.—वत्से । एष एव राजा तत्रोपाध्यायो भविष्यति ।

K.—Text, l. 46.—कुतो<sup>5</sup> ऽस्माकं तादृशं भागधेयम् ।

L.—Text, l. 46.—आर्यपुत्र । एतत्तन्माधवीरुहकारमियुगम् ।

M.—Text, l. 47.—अप्यो<sup>10</sup> । एवमेव युष्मादृश्यो सुग्धा दूरे गाढोत्कण्ठाशीलाः  
प्रियसकामि परासुख्यो भवन्ति ।

<sup>1</sup> Hém. IV. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Pischel, § 596.

<sup>3</sup> With *tammōla* compare *tambōla*, Hém. I. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Hém. II. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Pd. p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> Hém. I. 124 and 255.

<sup>7</sup> Pischel, § 197.

<sup>8</sup> Hém. II. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Jacobi, p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> Hém. II. 204.



A.—Text, l. 47.—आर्ये । त्वमन्यदेव किमपि जस्यन्ती<sup>1</sup> तिष्ठसि । अहं पुनरे-  
तावदेव<sup>2</sup> भणामि यदन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

B.—Text, l. 47.—देवी यावदुत्तरासुखस्थिता माधवीसङ्कारमिथुनमनुरागविह्वला<sup>3</sup>  
भर्तुः पश्चिमासुखस्थितस्य दर्शयन्ती तिष्ठति 'तावन्मुहूर्तं पारिजातमञ्चरीं प्रकटां'  
करोमि यथा देव्याः कुचाप्याभरणे प्रतिबिम्बितां प्रेक्षत एनां राजा ।

C.—Text, l. 51.—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व देव्यास्ताडङ्गस्व रामणीयकं यद्राजा सावहि-  
त्यमेकदृष्ट्या प्रेक्षमाणस्तिष्ठति ।

D.—Text, l. 51.—अम्भहे<sup>4</sup> । किमेष राजा मे प्रतिबिम्बं प्रेक्षते ऽथ वा<sup>5</sup> देव्यास्ता-  
डङ्गमेव । तत्तावदमृतकालकूटयोरन्तराले दोलायितास्मि ।

E.—Text, l. 52.—वत्से । मान्यथा मन्यस्व ।

देव्यास्ताडङ्गे कर्णाभरणाधिदेवतामिव त्वाम् ।

शङ्कानुरागनिधतः<sup>6</sup> प्रेक्षते प्रतिबिम्बितां राजा ॥ ४८ ॥

यदि पुनर्न प्रत्येषि<sup>7</sup> तत्क्षणाच्च त्वां पञ्चवान्तरितां करोमि यथा प्रतिबि-  
म्बशून्यं ताडङ्गं प्रेक्षमाणस्व कीदृशी दृष्टिर्भर्तुर्भवतीति जानासि ।

F.—Text, l. 53.—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व ।

ताडङ्गे तव प्रतिमामपश्यन्ती<sup>10</sup> भटिति<sup>11</sup> भर्तुर्दृष्टिः ।

विस्मृतनिधानस्थानेव शून्यपर्याकुला जाता ॥ ४९ ॥

G.—Text, l. 56.—अब्जो । कुतः पुनरस्या हताशया अथ विसंवाद<sup>12</sup>संमुखी  
सविकारा दृष्टिः ।

H.—Text, l. 56.—

प्रतिभात्वार्यपुनः सद्भावस्यैव सुन्दरस्वभावः ।

असुखमपीव कथयति<sup>13</sup> पुनर्दक्षिणनयनं स्फुरन्ते ॥ ५१ ॥

I.—Text, l. 57.—सखि । किं त्वया हसितम् ।

J.—Text, l. 57.—अथ किम् ।

K.—Text, l. 58.—

चन्द्रस्येव तव मेघान्तरे अणुदर्शनेन या सञ्चिता ।

सीदामि सा चकोरीव पुनरपि त्वय्यन्तर्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

L.—Text, l. 58.—आर्ये । नूनं देवीं प्रसादयितुं नमिष्यति राजा । तदेहि ।  
मन्त्रावः ।

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, § 296.

<sup>2</sup> Hém. I. 271.

<sup>3</sup> Pischel, § 156.

<sup>10</sup> Hém. IV. 181.

<sup>11</sup> Hém. IV. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hém. II. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Hém. I. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Hém. I. 131.

<sup>11</sup> Hém. I. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Pischel, § 209.

<sup>8</sup> Hém. IV. 284.

<sup>9</sup> Pischel, § 281.

<sup>12</sup> P. d. verso 246.

A.—Text, l. 59.—वयस्व । मारितस्व भुक्तस्व चैकमेव नाम । स्तोको बहुर्वापराधो  
ऽपराध एव । तत्संभावय महाभागिनीं पारिजातमञ्जरीम् ।

B.—Text, l. 60.—वयस्व । प्रेक्षस्व । एतत्तद्विरयतुरंगमकान्तिसञ्चार्य मरकत-  
मण्डपम् ।

C.—Text, l. 63.—

. . . . वसयानीव मकरध्वज जयसि ज्ञस्व<sup>1</sup>मध्यया ।  
तामेव हन्त कुर्वन्निर्जीवां भविष्यसि कथमिव ॥ ६१ ॥

D.—Text, l. 63.—आर्ये ।

यस्मिन्संभावसुखदे सर्वकलासंगते दृष्टेपि ।  
दीप्य<sup>2</sup> ओषधिरिव स दूरं दुर्लभो राजा ॥ ६२ ॥

E.—Text, l. 64.—हा धिक्<sup>3</sup> । एष निर्दयः प्रत्यक्ष एव कुसुमायुधो मां  
मन्दभागिनीं प्रहरति । तत्परिचायतां परिचायतामार्या ।

F.—Text, l. 65.—वक्षे । समानसिद्धि समानसिद्धि । न खल्वेष कुसुमायुधः ।  
तव हृदयवक्त्रभः खलु भर्तेषः ।

G.—Text, l. 66.—आर्ये । अयि वक्त्रभेपि परवर्षे<sup>4</sup> जने कीदृशो वार  
वारमनुबन्धनिर्वन्धः । तदेहि । गच्छावः ।

H.—Text, l. 69.—मा कथमपि<sup>5</sup> कीपीह देव्याः परिजनः संचरत् ।  
तदान्वासय कण्ठग्रहेण त्वरित<sup>6</sup>मेव महाभागां विजयन्त्रियम् ।

I.—Text, l. 70.—मया महाराजस्व . . . . . लब्धा  
न पुनः स्त्रीत्वस्य यावद्भट्टिनी विप्रलब्धा । अथ पुनर्देव्या स्वयमेवोक्तिस्त्व सर्वसुप-  
लब्धम् । अहं निमित्तमात्रं<sup>7</sup> जातास्मि । अथो स्वामिनियोगस्यावश्यंकरणीयता ।  
येनैव देवीं वक्षयितुमभ्यर्थिता तमेव महाराजं देव्या नियोगेनोत्तुष्टिष्यामि ।

J.—Text, l. 71.—एतत्तन्मरकतमण्डपम् ।

K.—Text, l. 72.—अन्महे । कुत आश्वासी भट्टिण्या यस्या वक्त्रभो ऽग्याङ्गनानव-  
रङ्गस्त्रेहवागुरानिपतितहृदयहरिण एवं हिण्कते ।

L.—Text, l. 72.—जयतु जयतु भर्ता ।

M.—Text, l. 73.—भर्तः । यैषास्माकं द्वितीया<sup>8</sup> भट्टिनी त्वया पृष्ठं<sup>9</sup> ददता  
रीषिता तिष्ठति . . . . .

N.—Text, l. 74.—एतत्कारणम् । एष ताडङ्गो ऽय . . . . .  
कर्णभरणं देव्या धारितम् । अथ खलु वसन्तलीलाविदग्धगोष्ठीमधुमत्तत्रयवलयग-

<sup>1</sup> For *soṣṭa* (which is here written with the dental s) see Pischel, § 815.

<sup>2</sup> Hém. I. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Hém. I. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Hém. I. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Hém. II. 192.

<sup>6</sup> Hém. IV. 172.

<sup>7</sup> Hém. I. 85 and 129.

<sup>8</sup> Pischel, § 196.

<sup>9</sup> Hém. I. 81.

सत्याभिनवसौभाग्यसौन्दर्यमनोहरकुसुममञ्जरीरसे स्तैन्यवद्वरणचरितस्य भर्तृधारागिरि-  
प्रमदोद्यान एव सर्वं दिनमतिक्रान्तम् । रजनी पुनर्मया विना कथं गमिष्य-  
तीति विरह . . . . . प्रेषितः ।

A.—Text, l. 78.—त्वयापि देव्या भयेन मन्दभागिनी पारिजातमञ्जरी परिहर्तव्या ।  
अत एव . . . . . जने कीदृशो वारं वारमनुबन्धनिर्बन्धः ।

B.—Text, l. 80.—महाभाग । एतावदृष्टोसि मया मन्दभागिन्या ।

C.—Text, l. 81.—कथं लोचनपथमतिक्रान्तः परवशो जनः ।

D.—Text, l. 81.—तदिदानीं यदेव्या कारयितव्यं तदहं स्वयमेव करिष्यामि  
मन्दभागिनी ।

E.—Text, l. 82.—नूनमेतया किमप्यमङ्गलमध्यवसितम् । तत्सर्वथा धारयिष्यामि ।

# ✓ No. 10.—KARKALA INSCRIPTION OF BHAIRAVA II.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1508.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The village of Kārkaḷa, which is mentioned as Kārakaḷa in this inscription (text line 14) and other connected ones, is 18 miles east-south-east of Uḍipi, the head-quarters of the tāluḳa in which it is situated, and 10 miles north of Mūḍabidure. It is the largest Jaina settlement in the South Canara district of the Madras presidency and contains, besides the colossal image of Gummāṣa,<sup>4</sup> a number of Jaina temples which are ruined and out of repair with the single exception of the Chaturmukhabastī.<sup>5</sup> This temple is situated opposite to the Jaina maṭha<sup>6</sup> at Kārkaḷa, on a hillock<sup>7</sup> half as high as the hill on which the colossus stands. Hiriyaṅgaḍi, i.e. 'the big bāzār,' which is now a few furlongs distant from Kārkaḷa, but appears, from its very name, to have once formed the commercial quarter of the town,<sup>8</sup> contains, besides some bastis, a beautifully

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, § 176.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pischel, § 357.

<sup>3</sup> Hém. II. 156.

<sup>4</sup> A photograph of this colossus is given above, Vol. VII. Plate facing p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed description of this temple by Mr. Walhouse see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 39 f.; Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 89 f. and the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 6.

<sup>6</sup> The Jaina maṭha at Kārkaḷa is presided over by a pontiff, just as the maṭhas at Mūḍabidure, Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa and Humcha. He bears the title Lalitakīrti and is reported to be the trustee of the Jaina temples at Kārkaḷa and in its neighbourhood. In the inscriptions at Hiriyaṅgaḍi near Kārkaḷa, the teachers to whose pontificate Kārkaḷa and the surrounding country belonged are generally called Lalitakīrti-bhaṭṭārakadēva, with the word *Maladhārī* prefixed to it in two of them, viz. Nos. 66 and 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901. No. 67 of the same collection makes Lalitakīrti the *vichārakartā* or 'supervisor' of the charity recorded therein; and No. 70 says that these teachers belonged to the Kundakunda division, were lords of the lineage of Panasōkā and members of the Kāḷōgragaṇa. In v. 4 of the subjoined inscription, which does not mention their division (*avaya*), it is stated that the Lalitakīrtis belonged to the Dēśigaṇa. Perhaps Kāḷōgragaṇa was a local branch of the Dēśigaṇa. Panasōkā has been identified with Hanasōge in the Mysore State; see above, Vol. VII. p. 110, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription gives this hill the name of Chikkabēṭṭa (i.e. 'the small hill') in order to distinguish it from the higher hill on which the colossus is set up.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 40.

preserved Jaina pillar<sup>1</sup> (*mānastambha*).<sup>2</sup> A lithograph of a similar pillar at Vēṇūr is given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. Plate facing p. 39. Prof. Hultsch, who has published<sup>3</sup> three of the inscriptions at Kārkaḷa, asked me to edit the subjoined record.<sup>4</sup> The black granite slab on which it is engraved is set up on the proper right of the western entrance into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Chaturmukhabasti. At the top of the slab are, in relief, the following sculptures. In the centre, within a *maṇḍapa* surmounted by a triple umbrella, is a Jaina figure squatting on a raised seat; the *maṇḍapa* is flanked on both sides by a lampstand, and beyond the lampstand is the disk of the sun on one side and the crescent of the moon on the other; below the moon is the figure of a cow suckling its calf. The inscribed surface of the slab, including the erased lines at the end measures roughly 4' 4½" by 3' 2".

The record is written in Kanarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs, between two margins which are marked out on both sides of the slab by two double lines with a space of ½" between them. These double lines are entered on either margin up to l. 42 where the main portion of the inscription ends. It contains eight Sanskrit verses (ll. 1 to 8, l. 15 f. and l. 49 f.) and four short sentences (ll. 1, 3 and 8) in the same language. The remainder of the inscription is in Kanarese prose. At the end is a diagram, consisting of a square bounded by a double line. Within this is another square, similarly bounded by a double line and sub-divided into 25 minor squares with single letters written in each. The diagram is inserted between ll. 42 and 49 just in the centre of the slab, thereby dividing ll. 43 to 48 into two equal halves. About a dozen syllables in l. 42, the second halves of ll. 43 to 46, the diagram itself and the remainder of the inscription are faintly engraved. A few lines at the end of the inscription are completely erased. Although comparatively modern, the Kanarese characters in which the inscription is written differ in many points from those of the present day. Aspirates are not generally distinguished by a vertical stroke added at the bottom of the letter, except in *pha* of *phala* (l. 38); *da* is distinguished from *dha*, as in old Kanarese, by a small opening at the right side of the letter; in *bha* the aspiration is marked by the *talekaṭṭu* and a small projecting stroke at the bottom of the left side, which seems to be the origin of the vertical stroke of the modern *bha*; *kha*, *gha*, and *tha* are distinguished, by their very form, from the corresponding unaspirates. *Ohha*, *ḡha* and *ḥha* do not occur in their primary form as independent letters, but only in their subscript secondary forms. *Cha* is differentiated from *ba* sometimes by the *talekaṭṭu* alone (e.g. *cha* of *aicharu*<sup>5</sup> in l. 40), and in other cases by the *talekaṭṭu* and a slight indenture at the middle of the left side (e.g. *cha* of °*chandra*, l. 13); in modern Kanarese this indenture is projected out into a horizontal stroke. In cases, however, where the i-curl is added to *cha*, this horizontal stroke is necessarily introduced. The same remarks hold good as regards the indenture in the middle of *ka*. The loop on the left side of *ḡa* is not fully developed. *Ta* and *ṭa* still preserve their older forms. *Sha* is, as in old Kanarese, written like *pa*, with a small slanting stroke cutting its left side in the middle. *Ṛa*, which is now altogether replaced by the common *ra*, occurs in ll. 12 (twice), 17, 25, 27, 28,

<sup>1</sup> *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 171, note 5. The *mānastambhas*, which are generally graceful, high and imposing, have to be distinguished from other Jaina pillars neither so tall as the former nor bearing any *maṇḍapas* on their tops. These latter are called Brahmadēva pillars and appear to be usually set up in front of colossal statues. The Tyāgāda-Brahmadēva Pillar (figured on Plate facing p. 38 of the Introduction to Mr. Rice's *Śravana-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*) is set up opposite to the colossal statue on the Doḡḡabeṭṭa hill at Śravana-Belgoḷa; the Kūge-Brahmadēva pillar at the entrance into the *bastis* on the Chikkabeṭṭa hill of the same village, indicates perhaps the existence of the unfinished colossus on that hill (*ibid.* p. 29, note 1); and the colossi at Kārkaḷa and Vēṇūr have similar pillars in front of them, bearing an image of Brahmadēva on their tops (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraphs 6 and 7).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A tentative transcript and translation of it was published by Mr. Walhouse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 40 ff.

30, 32, 34, 37, and 43; *la* is written in its proper form but looks like a hook with the *talekaffu* attached to it. Among vowels, initial *u* and *ū* which occur in ll. 37 and 9, respectively, are written exactly as in modern Telugu. The vowel-signs *i* and *ī* are not always distinguished; and where they are, *ī* is represented by a loop at the end of the *i*-curl; *e* resembles *i* in almost every respect, except that, before being added, it makes a small angle with the letter, which the *i*-curl does not. The angle perhaps is meant for the *talekaffu* which represents the *a*-sign, and this with the *i*-curl attached to it gives the compound *e*-sign. *O* and *ō* (the latter being occasionally distinguished from the former by a loop at the end of the *o*-curl) are expressed, as in Telugu, by attaching to the top-stroke of the letter two small semi-circular curves, the second of which is bent down a little lower than the first. Exception is, however, made in the case of *ma*, *ya* and certain conjunct consonants where, as in modern Kanarese, *o* is denoted by *ś*+*ū*. Many of these remarks are found, on comparison, to be applicable also to the Harihar stone inscription of Achyutarāya of Śaka-Samvat 1460 (=A.D. 1538-39) which is photo-lithographed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. Plate facing p. 362. It may be remarked that to this day the Jains use an older Kanarese script than other Kanarese people, and that their way of writing *bha*, *la* and *ka* and of affixing *i*, *e* and *o*-curls to consonants is not very different from what we find in this inscription. As regards orthography: The nasals preceding other letters of their class are invariably changed into an *anusvāra*; of double nasals of the same class, the first always becomes an *anusvāra*, provided it does not come after an *r*, the only exception being *nni* of °*pānni*° (l. 7); and the doubling of the consonant after an *r* is common. A hiatus between two vowels, which is not allowed by the rules of *sandhi*, occurs in °*travā* for °*travā*° (l. 9), °*raṇe*° for °*raṇe*° (l. 18), and °*sthāi*° for °*sthāy*° (l. 26). *Sāl*- for *śāl*- (l. 19) and *sīta* for *śīta* (l. 41), double dental *n* for the double lingual *n*, the aspirate for the unaspirated letter and *vice versa* are purely graphical errors. Among words deserving particular mention are certain special phrases of Jaina ritual (*hāladhāre*, *aśīdhnikā*, *siddhachakra*, etc.), some fiscal terms peculiar to the South Canara district (*māḍe*, *hāne*, *kuḍute*, *hāḍa*, *beṭṭu*, *bāḷu*, etc.), and some expressions which are not intelligible to me (e.g. *aḍipina-mūḷiti*, *bajakaḷa*, *kambuḷa*, etc.). The use of the Kanarese word *āgara* instead of the Sanskrit *āgāra* in v. 7 is a mistake. The construction of the Kanarese passages is often complicated.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vitarāga and the verse *śrīmat-parama-gambhīra*, etc., with which almost all Jaina inscriptions begin. It then invokes (verses 2 and 3) the blessings of the Tirthakaras (Jina, Jinapa, Jinendra or Tirtha), of Dōrbali, and of the goddess Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha on the donor Bhairava or Bhairavendra, called also Bhairarasa-Vodeya and Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Vodeya in the Kanarese passages (ll. 48 f. and 13 f.). We may at once call this chief Bhairava II.<sup>1</sup> in order to distinguish him from his maternal uncle and namesake Bhairava I. referred to in the inscription as Bhairavarāja (l. 6) and Bhairarasa-Vodeya (l. 12). The record goes on to state that, at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakīrti of the lineage of Panasōge and of the Dēśigaṇa (v. 4), Bhairava II. built (l. 19) the temple of 'the three jewels' (ll. 7, 8 and 17), by which evidently the Chaturmukhabasti is meant. Verse 6 and the Kanarese prose passage which follows it give the date of the foundation and consecration of the temple, viz. the Śāli-(or Śālivāhana-)Śaka year 1508, the Vyaya-samvatsara, the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, a Wednesday, when the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśīra or Mrigaśīrā (ll. 8 and 9) and the *lagna* Vṛisha or Vṛishabha (*loc. cit.*). This date has been calculated<sup>2</sup> by Prof. Kielhorn and is found to be correct in all details for Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1596. The Kanarese passages in ll. 10 to 14 and 17 to 18 contain a string of

<sup>1</sup> The distinction applies only to this paper, because there have been in this family many chiefs bearing the same name prior to the donor of our inscription. The Jaina chiefs belonging to other families on the western coast also frequently called themselves Bhairava. Writers on the history of the northern portion of South Canara invariably refer to the Kārkaḷa chiefs as "Byrasu Wodears."

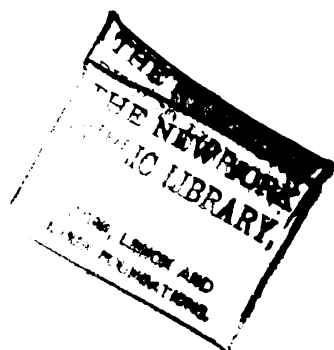
<sup>2</sup> *List of Southern Inscr.* No. 993.

**The Chaturmukha - Basti at Karkala.**



E. Hultzsch, photo.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.



*birudas* of Bhairava II. and furnish the name *Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya*<sup>1</sup> (l. 17) for the temple, which is described as being auspicious on every side (*sarvatōbhadra*)<sup>2</sup> and as having four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).<sup>3</sup> It was built on the Chikkabetṭa hill in the vicinity of the blessed Gummatēśvara at Pāṇḍyanagari in Kārkala (l. 14 f.). Pāṇḍyanagari, just like the modern Hiriyaṅgaḍi, was apparently another suburb of Kārkala and comprised within itself the Chikkabetṭa hill, on which the Chaturmukhabasti is built, the colossal statue, and the long narrow street that runs between them, containing a few Jaina houses and the *maṭha*. It probably received its name from Pāṇḍyarāya or Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who set up the famous colossus.<sup>4</sup> In ll. 19 ff. we are told that Bhairava II. set up the images of the three Tīrthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata<sup>5</sup> on each of the four faces of the temple and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tīrthakaras and those of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati.<sup>6</sup>

Ll. 22 to 42 record the grant of the village of Teḷāra, which yielded a revenue of 700 *māḍe* of rice. Besides this, 238 pagodas (*gadyāna* or *varaha*, l. 28) from the *siddhāya* (i.e. the established revenue) of the villages Rañjāḷa and Nallūru were also granted. The income was to be utilised for the requirements of worship in the four symmetrical central shrines of the temple<sup>7</sup> and in the subordinate shrines, by fourteen families of Sthānikas<sup>8</sup> appointed for that purpose. Provision was also made for temple servants and musicians. The four groups (*tanḍa*) of Jaina mendicants who had quarters in the temple were supplied annually with 8 blankets, to protect themselves from cold, and with 1 blanket to receive the daily doles of rice which they collected from door to door. They were also given the necessary requirements for oil-baths, viz. oil, soap-nut and fuel. Ll. 43 to 47 record two additional grants, perhaps by the same chief, for the daily offerings (1) to Chandranātha in the *basti* situated within the quadrangle of the *hiriya-aramane* (i.e. the big palace),<sup>9</sup> and (2) to Pārśvanātha in the *basti* on the Gōvardhanagiri hill.<sup>10</sup> The inscription ends with a puzzle (v. 8), which was composed by the author of the inscription in order to celebrate the power of the five syllables *Śrīvitarāga* (i.e. Jina), which the donor Bhairava II. is said to have affixed to the inscription with his own hand in token of his approval of the charities recorded therein. The four erased lines at the end of the inscription may have contained the clue for the right interpretation of the puzzle.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps so named in imitation of the Hosabasti at Mūḍabidure, which according to the inscriptions of that temple was called Tribhuvanachūdāmaṇi-Chaityālaya and was built in Śaka-Samvat 1351, i.e. 157 years prior to the construction of the Chaturmukhabasti.

<sup>2</sup> This attribute given to the temple appears to have suggested the insertion of the puzzle in the *sarvatōbhadra* verse at the end of the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *Chaturmukhabasti*, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 f.

<sup>5</sup> Same as Suvrata mentioned in v. 8.

<sup>6</sup> These two deities are different from the Brāhmagical gods of the same name. Brahma and Padmāvati in Jaina mythology are two demigods (*yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī*) who attend invariably upon the Tīrthakaras.

<sup>7</sup> The allotments made for the worship at each gate are very carefully recorded, and from these it appears as if the western gate, which enjoyed the largest share of the gift in money, was the primary one, while the three other symmetrical gates were only of secondary importance. This is also proved by the fact that at this particular gate alone the images of the 24 Tīrthakaras were consecrated (ll. 20 and 39).

<sup>8</sup> The Jaina priests are now generally known by the name *Indra* (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5). The name *Śīḍaṅka* given to them in the inscription appears to be used in imitation of the name given to a section of Brāhmaṇas in South Canara, whose sole profession is temple service.—See Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> This might be the name of one of the palaces of Bhairava II. himself, which was probably situated either at Pāṇḍyanagari or Hiriyaṅgaḍi, both of which are still covered with ruins of buildings.

<sup>10</sup> This is perhaps one of the many small hills that surround Kārkala. I was informed while there, that one of these bears at its top a Jaina *basti* even now. It will be too fanciful to connect the name with Gōvardhanagiri in the Shimoga district, which is said to have been fortified by Jinadatta ' (the mythical founder of a Jaina line of king's in the south) ; (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 452).



The donor Bhairava II. belonged to the lunar race (v. 5 and l. 11), to the Kāśyapa-gōtra (l. 11) and to the family of Jinadatta or Jinadattarāya (ll. 6 and 12) and was the son of Gummaṭāmbā (ll. 6 and 13) and of Vīra-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra (l. 13).<sup>1</sup> Gummaṭāmbā was the sister of Bhairava I. (v. 5), the son of Honnamāmbikā (l. 12). Some of the titles of Bhairava II. were: (1) *arīḍya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi*, (2) 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities,' and (3) 'he who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha.' The second and third of these, coupled with his professed descent from Jinadatta, connect Bhairava II. with the Śāntara chiefs of Pombuchcha, who also traced their ancestry to Jinadatta and were worshippers of the goddess Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice in the Introduction to Vols. VI. and VII. of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* mentions a number of records which he assigns to the early members of the Śāntara family,<sup>3</sup> most of whom, as stated therein, were feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and were ruling the Śāntalige country.<sup>4</sup> Pombuchcha, the capital of the Śāntaras, is spelt in early records as Pombuḷcha or Paṭṭi-Pombuchhapura and is identical with the modern Humcha or Hombucha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district; it is mentioned in connection with the Śāntaras even in their earliest records. The alleged descent of the Śāntaras from Jinadattarāya, the mythical founder of the line of Jaina kings in the south, is not warranted by any of these earlier inscriptions. A long account of the Śāntaras which connects them with Jinadatta, first appears in a record of A.D. 1077 at Humcha itself.<sup>5</sup> The Baligāmi record of A.D. 1149<sup>6</sup> makes no reference whatever to the mythical Śāntaras; the stone inscription from Punēdahaḷi<sup>7</sup> dated in A.D. 1237, connects Jinadatta with the Chālukya family. In any case the

<sup>1</sup> In No. 993 of Professor Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscr.*, which deals with the date of this record, Chaṅganarēndra has to be corrected into Vaṅganarēndra, and the title 'supreme lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura' there applied to Bhairava I. should, according to the present interpretation of the passage, be transferred to his son Bhairava II.

<sup>2</sup> See below, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Śāntaras of Pombuchcha and the Kadambas of the western coast appear from these records to have been related to each other in some unexplained way. This fact is cleared up in one of the later Śāntara inscriptions at Bājagāmi, which states that the Śāntara chief Jagaddēva, who was a feudatory of the Western Chālukya Jagadēkamalla II., and the Kadamba chief Jayakēśin, who was the son of Vijayādityadēva, were sons of two uterine sisters (Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2). The Ālupas of the western coast, some of whose early inscriptions are found at Udiyāvara near Uḍipi, may have had some connection with Pombuḷcha, since in two unpublished inscriptions from that village (Nos. 97 and 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) Pombuḷcha and Udayāpura (i.e. Udiyāvara) are mentioned together with reference to certain tolls and *nakaras* (trading classes?) of the two places; another (No. 108 of the same collection) states that Śvētavāhana, who was the lord of Paṭṭi (*Paṭṭi oḍeyōṇa*), (i.e. Paṭṭi-rājya, the province of which Humcha was the capital), fell in battle while entering (i.e. capturing) Udayapura; and Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 37 refers to the reign of Chitravāhana, evidently an Ālupa king, over Pombuchcha.

<sup>4</sup> The exact position of this territorial division is not fixed. Dr. Fleet places it somewhere west of the Mysore State (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 306), and Mr. Rice states that it corresponds with the present Tirthahāḷi tāluka of the Shimoga district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 17). As however Humcha in the Nagar tāluka was the capital of the Śāntara chiefs who were ruling over the Śāntalige one-thousand country, as the earlier Śāntara records found in the Shikarpur tāluka of the Shimoga district mention certain villages of this tāluka as belonging to the Śāntalige country, and as Sētuvinabḍu or Sētu, the capital of the Śāntara chief Jagaddēva in A.D. 1149, 'would be located by Mr. Rice somewhere in Canara' (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458, note 1), it may be assumed that Śāntalige included the western portion of the Shimoga district, i.e. the Shikarpur, Nagar and Tirthahāḷi tālukas, and probably also a portion of the South Canara district.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. No. 35. This record makes Jinadatta a member of the family of Ugra-varāṇa and the hereditary lord of Uttara-Madhurā. It gives also the story of the goddess Padmāvatī, who, being pleased with Jinadatta's prowess, built for him the city of Pomburcha or Kanakapura. One of his descendants, Vikrama-Śāntara, is stated to have fixed the boundaries of the Śāntalige thousand province (*J. E. A. S.* for April 1905, pp. 295 and 298).

<sup>6</sup> No. 32 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Sk. 312.

claim which Bhairava II. puts forth to belong to the family of Jinadatta implies nothing more than his connection with the Śāntaras and the Jaina creed which he followed.

Vol. VI. of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* contains also a number of inscriptions of a family called by Mr. Rice **Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa**. He gives an account of these chiefs in his Introduction to the same volume, pp. 19 to 21. The texts published by him show that they had no connection whatever with the Śāntaras of Humoḥa, and that of the records prior to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II. only a single one may be assigned to the family, *vis.* Mg. 65 dated in A.D. 1209, where the chief **Vira-Balludēva** receives the title *maṇḍalika-gaṇḍara ḍāvani*, which in the slightly altered form *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvani* was assumed by almost all the subsequent members of the family. From the time of Dēvarāya II. downwards the records are more definite and furnish a connected account of the chiefs, a list of whom is given by Mr. Rice on p. 20 of the Introduction. The donor of the subjoined grant figures as the last person in that list. We gather also from these records that the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs followed the *aḷiya-santāna* law of inheritance and were Jainas in religion, though most of their inscriptions found at Kaḷasa and Koppa record grants to Śiva temples. As a rule they seem to have acknowledged the Vijayanagara kings as their overlords. But in Mg. 48, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1424 (= A.D. 1501-2), which was about the period of the overthrow of the Sāluva usurpers at Vijayanagara and of the acknowledgment of the Tuḷuva Narasa-Nāyaka as sovereign, the Kaḷasa chief<sup>1</sup> **Vira-Bhairarsa-Oḍeya** seems to have been semi-independent, as no mention is made of any overlord in the inscription. The memorable battle of Tālikōṭa dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara empire, and the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly, in a Koppa inscription (Kp. 57), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1510 (= A.D. 1588-89), **Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya**, son of **Vira-Gummaṭadēvi**, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (*sthira-sāmrājya*). The subjoined Chaturmukhabasti inscription of this chief, which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high-sounding *birudas*, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II. had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long; for in Śaka 1531 (= A.D. 1609-10), **Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya**, the son of **Vira-Bhayirarasa-Voḍeya**, was ruling the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Venkaṭa I. (Mg. 63). From the above records we further learn that the country over which these chiefs originally ruled was called the **Kaḷasa-rājya**, which included one thousand villages (see *e.g.* Mg. 88), and the chief town of which was evidently Kaḷasa above the ghats. But in Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 (= A.D. 1516-17), **Kārkaḷa** seems to have been added to it; for **Yimmaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeya**, who in Mg. 39 is stated to have been ruling over Kaḷasa-rājya in the *dvitīya*-Śrāvāṇa of Śaka-Saṃvat 1438, was, according to Mg. 41,<sup>2</sup> ruling over the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya in the (*nija*)-Śrāvāṇa of the same year, and in Śaka-Saṃvat

<sup>1</sup> I have intentionally used the term 'Kaḷasa chief;' for, as will be seen in the sequel, the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs became rulers of both Kaḷasa and Kārkaḷa only in A.D. 1516-17. Prior to this their dominion was limited to the Kaḷasa country; and the name Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa applied to their family prior to A.D. 1516-17 is to be understood as being used only for the sake of uniformity.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara, **Bhujabala-Mahārāya** led a campaign against the Tuḷu-rājya and was encamped at the *dhuvana-idle* in Maṅgalūru. On this occasion the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chief **Yimmaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeya**, being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kaḷasa that the invading forces might leave the Tuḷu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya. **Bhujabala-Mahārāya**, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛṣṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao,' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also an idea of extending their dominions below the ghats, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but, perhaps, on promise of submission were left unmolested.

1446 (= A.D. 1524-25) the same chief was ruling 'the kingdom below and above the ghauts' (Mg. 62). With the extension of the kingdom the capital also seems to have been removed to Kārkaḷa from Kaḷasa; for in an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31) **Vira-Bairarasa-Voḍeya** is said to have been ruling from his throne at **Kārakaḷa** (Kp. 47). It will be seen in the next paragraph how the Kaḷasa chiefs managed to add to their dominions the Kārkaḷa country below the ghauts; but for the present it may be enough to conclude from the Koppa and Mūdgere inscriptions published in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. that Bhairava II. of the subjoined inscription was a direct descendant of the Kaḷasa family, and that his hereditary ancestral dominion was the Kaḷasa country. His name, his title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* and the existence of an inscription of his in the Koppa tāluka (Kp. 57) all point to the same conclusion.

Turning now to the inscriptions at Kārkaḷa itself, from which further information may be expected about the ancestors of Bhairava II., we find that the colossus there was set up by **Vira-Pāṇḍya** or **Pāṇḍyarāya**, the son of **Bhairavēndra** of the lunar race in Śaka 1353, and that in Śaka 1358 the same chief, who is here said to have been the son of Bhairava of the family of Jinadatta, set up the Brahma pillar in front of that colossus.<sup>1</sup> An unpublished inscription<sup>2</sup> at Hiriyāṅgaḍi near Kārkaḷa, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), records a grant to the temple of Nēmināthasvāmin, while the *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi*, the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who had obtained excellent gifts from (the goddess) Padmāvatīdēvi, and who was the uplifter of the ocean which was the family of Jinadattarāya—**Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya**, was ruling over **Paṭṭi-rājya**. A second inscription<sup>3</sup> in the same village, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1514 (= A.D. 1593-94), records grants to Chandra-nāthasvāmin, while *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* **Pāṇḍyappa-Voḍeya**, the son of **Vira-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya**, was ruling his country undisturbed (*sthira-rājya*). This chief is no doubt a son of Bhairava II. and apparently enjoyed the independence which his father also possessed. The earliest of the Kārkaḷa inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> which is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1256 (= A.D. 1334-35), belongs to the time of **Lōkanātharasa**, who, though only a *mahāmaṇḍalēsvara* 'who had acquired the five great sounds,' bears the royal titles *samastabhuvanāśraya*, *prīhivīvallabha* and *mahārājādhirāja*. He also calls himself 'the lord of Uttara-Madhurā,' 'the jewel of the great Ugra-vamśa,' 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura,' 'the worshipper of (the goddess) Padmāvatīdēvi' and 'the pupil of (the Jaina teacher) Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍitadēva.' These titles make Lōkanātharasa decidedly a Śāntara chief.<sup>5</sup> The existence of this record at Hiriyāṅgaḍi makes it certain that the descendants of Jinadatta 'removed the capital first to Sisila or Sisukali and then to Karkala, both in S. Kanara' (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 456). It will now be easy to see how the Kaḷasa chiefs, of whom Bhairava II. was one, came to be connected with the Śāntaras, traced their ancestry to Jinadatta, became more zealous Jainas than their ancestors at Kaḷasa, and eventually stepped into the place of the Śāntaras in the Kārkaḷa country. From the fact that the hereditary title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* of the Kaḷasa chiefs and the prominent Śāntara titles of Lōkanātharasa are found combined in the inscription of the chief Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Oḍeya as early as Śaka 1379, I conclude that the Kaḷasa chiefs must have entered into close relationship of intermarriage with the descendants of the Śāntara Lōkanātharasa, about Śaka-Saṃvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), if not a little earlier. Further it may reasonably be assumed that it was by virtue of this relationship with the local Śāntaras that the Kaḷasa chief Yimmaḍi-Bhairarasa-Oḍeya, mentioned in the previous paragraph, extended his rule to the territory below the ghauts in A.D. 1516-17.

As regards the territory ruled over by Bhairava II. and his ancestors, a rough idea of its extent may be formed from the name given to it—Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya. To ascertain its exact

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff.

<sup>2</sup> No. 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

<sup>3</sup> No. 68 of the same collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 71 of the same collection.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 120 note 5.

boundaries, further places below the ghauts and in the neighbourhood of Kārkaḷa will have to be examined. But an inscription in the Koppa tāluḷa (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 47), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31), states that, while Virā-Bairarasa-Voḍeya was ruling on the throne at Kārkaḷa, his younger sister Kāḷaladēvi was in charge of (the district) Bagguṇji-sime. Mg. 40, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1474 (= A.D. 1552-53), records that Pāṇḍya-Voḍeya was on the throne at Keravase while a certain Bhayirarsaṇṇāji was in charge of Kaḷasa. The same fact is mentioned also in Mg. 60, dated four years later. The district Bagguṇji-sime apparently derived its name from the modern village of Bagguṇji in the Bāḷe-Honnūr tāluḷa, about 8 miles north-east of Śringēri; and Keravase is identical with Keravāṣe, 8 miles east of Kārkaḷa (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 232). Mūḍabidure and Vēṇṭūr, two other important centres of Jaina religion in the South Canara district which are not very far from Kārkaḷa, do not appear to have been included in the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa-rājya. The former of these two villages was in the possession of a family of local chiefs called Ohauṭar, who were under the direct control of the Vijayanagara viceroys at Mangalore, while the second belonged to another petty Jaina principality, known as Puṇḷjaḷi- or Puṇḷjaḷike-rājya, and was ruled over by the Ajilar.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the villages Mūḍabidure and Vēṇṭūr were included within the religious sphere of the Jaina teacher Ohārūkirti, while Kārkaḷa and its chiefs were subordinate to Lalitakirti.<sup>2</sup> It may, therefore, be provisionally assumed that the territory of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs extended from Bagguṇji above the ghauts to Kārkaḷa below the ghauts, including between them the towns of Keravase and Kaḷasa. This comprises almost the whole of the present Bāḷe-Honnūr tāluḷa<sup>3</sup> of the Kaḍṭr district in the Mysore State and the south-eastern portion of the Uḍipi tāluḷa in the South Canara district.

The village of Telāra, which was granted to the Chaturmukhabasti, is situated about 3 miles north-east of Kārkaḷa and is marked on the Madras Survey Map of the South Canara district as Tellār. The two other villages, Raṇḷjāḷa and Nallūru, which together contributed a sum of 238 *varaḷa*, are situated quite close to each other at a distance of about 4 miles due east of Kārkaḷa and are marked on the same map as Nallur and Renjāḷa. Several nameless streams are marked on the map round Tellār, and these may have to be identified with the four boundary streams mentioned in l. 24. Two other proper names which occur in ll. 43 and 47, *vis.* Āṇūru and Kelavase, are identical with 'Arur' and 'Keravase' (Keravāṣe) on the same map, in the Uḍipi tāluḷa.

The requirements for the daily and annual worship in the temple, for which provision is made, call for a few remarks. The complicated calculations are very carefully worked out, and we are enabled to infer that, in measuring rice, 1 *mūḍa* was = 50 *hāne*,<sup>4</sup> and 1 *hāne* = 7½ *kuḍṭe*, and that, in counting money, 1 *ga* was = 10 *m*. Twelve *hāḍa*<sup>5</sup> of oil cost 8 *ga* 4 *m*, and 1 *hāḍa* cost 7 *m*.

<sup>1</sup> See the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5, and above, Vol. VII. p. 114 and note 1. It may here be noted that in an unpublished inscription at Kārkaḷa (No. 69 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901), dated in the cyclic year Viḷambin, a certain Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, son of Virā-Bhairarasa-Voḍeya of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa family, presided over the settlement of a dispute, in which the Chāḍṭaru, Ajilaru, Deṇḅarasaṃaru and Śiḷiladarasaṃaru (*i.e.* the chief of Śiḷila) acted as arbitrators (*madhyastha*).

<sup>2</sup> From the earliest inscription at Kārkaḷa referred to above, it appears as if the Jainas at that place were, about Śaka 1256, the lay-disciples of Kumudachandra-Bhaṭṭarakadēva, a pupil of Bhānukirti-Maladhārīdēva of the Kāṇṭhagaṇa and the Mūḷasaṅga, while the ruling chief Lōkaṇātharasa himself was the adherent of Chārūkirti-panḍitadēva. Perhaps the Lalitakirtis of Hanasōge replaced the Bhānukirtis at Kārkaḷa subsequent to Śaka 1256.

<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions of the Kaḷasa-Kārkaḷa chiefs found in the Koppa and Mūḍgere tāluḷas are chiefly confined to three villages: Kaḷasa, Bagguṇji and Nārve. The first two villages are now included in the newly formed Bāḷe-Honnūr tāluḷa, and the third is on its borders, but included in the Koppa tāluḷa.

<sup>4</sup> In the inscriptions at Vēṇṭūr we find a *mūḍa* = 50 *baḷa* (No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) or sometimes 40 *baḷa* (No. 84 of the same collection).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the Sanskrit grain measure *dhāka* which is equal to 4 *prastha* or 16 *kuḍṭe*; and also the Tamil *ḍaḍam* which is even now used in measuring oil and ghee in the Southern districts.

According to the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. II. p. 508, 1 *māḍe* of corn in South Canara varies between 56, 50, 48, 45, 40 and 35 seers in different localities. The *hāne*, which at Kārkaḷa and in the surrounding country was equal to  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of a *māḍe*, may therefore be taken to be almost equal to our modern seer (i.e. 80 tolas). *Kuḍute* (oodtay), according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), is used only for measuring liquids and is equal to 12 rupees' weight. The late Dr. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* explains *kuḍute* as 'the palm of the hand hollowed or held as a cup.' This may have been the unit which the South Canara people used for measuring both liquids and grain in the latter half of the sixteenth century; for, 1 *kuḍute* in liquid measure being equal to 12 rupees' weight, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *kuḍute* in grain measure being equal to 1 *hāne* (i.e. 80 tolas, as already pointed out), the above supposition will give us 1 *hāne* =  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *kuḍute* = nearly 86 tolas, which is not a serious difference.

The abbreviated form *ga* used in the money calculations denotes a *varaḥa*, as stated in text line 28; and Mr. Brown in his *Telugu-English Dictionary* says that 'in arithmetic it stands for *gaṁḍu*, i.e. a pagoda; ' and under *gaṁḍu* he says that 'among tradesmen it is a cant word for *varaḥa*.' In the Kanarese inscriptions at Kārkaḷa it is used as an abbreviation of *gadyāṇa*<sup>1</sup> and its variants *varahagadyāṇa* or *gadyāṇaka*, which are all synonymous with *varaḥa*, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .' In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg. 48, *ga* is used to denote a *honnu*, which according to Dr. Kittel is 'a gold coin, the half of a *varaḥa*.' The next coin of lower denomination is always written in the inscription after *ga*, with a final *m* preceding it, but there is no indication anywhere as to what this *m* stands for. The expression *ga 7 6 5* (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg. 48) is explained in words as 7 *honnu* and 5 *hāṇa*, the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations *honnu* and *hāṇa*. This symbol (6) is used even now by village accountants and merchants of the Kanarese and Marāṭha countries in their business books to separate the money columns in calculation, even *annas* from *rupees*. Mr. Walhouse in his transcript of this inscription has throughout taken *m* for this symbol.<sup>2</sup> But I do not know whether the symbol 6, which is now used to separate different denominations of Indian and English money, and which was used in Śaka 1424 to separate *honnu* from *hāṇa*, is also meant by the letter *m* inserted between the *varaḥa* (*ga*) and the tenths of *ga*. I have therefore retained the final *m* and not transcribed it by the symbol 6. The fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  is represented in the inscription by the symbol which, in older inscriptions, is used for '9.' The modern method of expressing the fraction one-half is by two vertical strokes (||), each of which represents  $\frac{1}{4}$ . One-eighth is represented by a horizontal stroke (—). In current hand, however, the two vertical strokes that represent  $\frac{1}{2}$  are often merged into one. Consequently the symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$  used in the inscription must be a completely reversed variant of the modern form. In ll. 39, 40 and 42 the symbol = is used only as a mark of punctuation, and not as explained above to represent two-eighths, which would in this case be expressed by one vertical stroke, and not by two horizontal ones.

The puzzle contained in the *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre at the end of the inscription calls for a short remark. *Śiṣupālavadha*, XIX. v. 27 is a verse of the same kind, but it is written in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. Mallinātha's commentary on the verse explains how the letters which form such verses are to be arranged so that, read from any direction in a given order, they may constitute the same verse. I have not found any other *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the *Indravajrā* metre.

<sup>1</sup> The Mūḍabidure inscriptions mention three different types of *gadyāṇas*, viz. the Barakandura-gadyāṇa, the Maṅgalūra-gadyāṇa and the Kāṭhāri-śūkṣa-gadyāṇa (Nos. 52 and 55 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901).

<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that the symbol 6 has been derived from the final *m*; for in old Kanarese inscriptions the formation of this letter is not far different from the symbol in question; compare above, Vol. III. l. 15 on the Plate facing p. 194.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Śrī-Viteśāgaya namaḥ || Śrīmat-parama-gaṇ[*bh*]ira-syā[*dvā*d]-<sup>2</sup>āmōgha-  
lāṃchhanam | jīyāt[*t*]railōkyanāthasya śāsanam
- 2 Jina-śāsanam || [*1*°] Ā-chaṇḍr-ārka[*k*]am sthiraṃ bhūyād-āyuh-śrī-jaya-saṃpa-  
daḥ(dā) | Bhairavēndra-mahī-kānta[*h*°] śrī-Jinēndra-prasādataḥ || [*2*°]
- 3 Avighnam-astu<sup>3</sup> || Bhādrām-astu || Tīrt[*th*]aṅghaḥ [s]ukham-akṣayaṃ cha  
kuratāch-ohhri-Pāśāvanāthō balaṃ kīrtitaṃ Nāmi-Jinaḥ Suvira-Jinapa-
- 4 ś-ch-āyuh śriyaṃ Dōrbballiḥ | kalyāṇāny-Ara-Malli-Suvrata-Jinā[*h*] Pombuochha-  
Padmāvatī ch-ā-chaṇḍr-ārkaṃ-abhiśaṭṭa-dā-stu sukhiraṃ śrī-Bhairava-kāma-
- 5 patēḥ || [*3*°] Śrīmad-Dēśi-gaṇē<sup>4</sup> khyātē Pānasōg-āval-āvarah | yō-bhūl-  
Lalitakīrtty-ākhyas-tan-mun-īndr-ōpadēśataḥ || [*4*°] Śrīmat-Sōma-kul-āṃpit-āmbudhi-  
vidhah
- 6 śrī-Jainadatt-ānvayaḥ śrīmad-Bhairavarāja-tuṅga-bhagini-śrī-Guṇ[*ma*]tāmbā-sutaḥ |  
śrīmad-bhōgi-Surēndra-Chakri-mahima-śrī-Bhairavēndra-prabhuḥ śrī-
- 7 ratna-traya-bhadra-dhāma-Jinapān-nirmatāpya sāmī[d]dhibhāk || [*5*°] Śrīmach-Ohhāli-  
śak-ābdakē cha galitē nāg-ābhara-bāp-āmbudhi-ś-ch-ābdē sad-Vyaya-nāmi Chaitra-  
sita-shash[*th*]yā-
- 8 m Saumya-vārē Vṛishē | lagnē san-<sup>5</sup>Mṛigaśirsha-bhē chirataṃ śrī-  
Bhairavēndreṇa tē śrī-ratna-traya-bhadra-[*dh*]āma-Jinapā bhāntu pratish[*th*]ā-  
pitāḥ || [*6*°] Jināya namaḥ<sup>6</sup> || [*7*°]
- 9 Svasti śrī || [*8*°] Śālivāhana-Śaka-varaha (||)<sup>7</sup> 1508<sup>8</sup>nyaya Vyaya-samvatsarada Chaitra-  
[ś]uddha-śaṣṭhīyū Budhavāra Mṛigaśirś-nakṣatraḥ(vū) [V]ṛishabha-  
lagnadallū Kaliyug-ābhinava-
- 10 Bharatēśvara-chakravartī Gutti-hamṇibhara-gaṇḍa [Pa]ṭṭi-Pombuochha-puravar-  
ādī(dh)īśvara mape-<sup>9</sup>hokkara-kāva Mār-ānta-vairi māma(na)ya-rāya-mastaka-  
sū(śū)la śhaḍ-darśana-s[*th*]ā-
- 11 paṇ-āchāryya Sōma-varṇa-sikhāmapī Kāśyapa-gōtra-pavitrikarapa-dakṣa Pombuochha-  
Padmāvatī-labha-vara-prasāda samyaktv-ādy-āśoka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālakṣita Jina-gaṇḍh-  
ōdaka-pa-
- 12 vitṛikṛit-ōttamāṅga aruvattāru-<sup>10</sup>mamḍalikara-gaṇḍa Hot[*na*]māmbikā-priyakumāra-  
Bhairarasa-Voḍeyar-aliyar-enipa śrīmaj-Jinaḍattarāya-vaṇśa-sudhā-
- 13 mbudhi-pūrnna(rṇṇa)chandra śrīmad-Vīra-Narasimha-Vaṇ[*ga*]narēndra-śrī-  
Guṇmatāmbā-kula-dīpaka-priyasūnu arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaḥ śrīmadh(d)-Iṇmaḍi-  
Bhairarasa-
- 14 Voḍeyaru tamage abhyu[d]aya-ni[*h*°]śrēyasa-lakṣmī-sukha-saṃprā[p]ti-nimittav-āgi  
Kārakaḷada Pāṇḍyanagariyalli śrī-Guṇmatēśvarana samnidhānadalli Kailāsa-  
giri-sa-

<sup>1</sup> From two inked estampages prepared in 1901.<sup>2</sup> The *dv* of *syā* has an indenture at the top, which makes it look like the *dv*-sign attached to *lō* of *trailōkye* in the same line.<sup>3</sup> The whole of this line is engraved so close to the projecting top section of the slab as to make the letters on the estampage look faint and broken, but every syllable can be made out from the back of the impression.<sup>4</sup> The syllable *ga*, here and in the sequel, is written in a peculiar way. The *g*-sign is first affixed to *ṣ* and the *ṣ*-curl then attached to the former.<sup>5</sup> The *ri* of *mṛi* is represented by *s* and *ri*.<sup>6</sup> The five syllables *Jināya namaḥ* are reversed and written from right to left.<sup>7</sup> Here and in what follows the enclosure of superfluous vertical strokes in round brackets does not, as elsewhere, represent a correction, but indicates that they have to be omitted.<sup>8</sup> The *s* of *re* is formed in the same way as in *ga*, note 4 above.<sup>9</sup> The syllables *ttāru* are corrected from *ttāndika*, the subscript *t*, a portion of *s* and the subscript *k* being still visible. A similar *ttāru*, held by certain Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district, has *aruvattāndika*, perhaps correctly; see below, p. 135, note 8.

- 15 *innibha-Chikkabeṭṭadallū* || Śrī-kāntā-kulavēśma kim vara-yaśaḥ-kāntā-pramōdh(d)-  
āgarāṁ bhū-kāntā-rati-sadma saḥ-jaya-vadhū-kṛd-āspadāṁ kim punaḥ | syā-
- 16 *tkār-ōjva(jjva)la-saṁ-naya-dvayamayī śrī.Bhārati-raṅga-bhūḥ* *sva[h\*]-śrī-mukti-Ramā-*  
*svayaṁvara-gṛhaṁ śrī-Jaina-gēhaṁ vṛishē* || [7\*] *Iṁt-appa sakala-jan-āna-*  
*māda-maṁ.*
- 17 *dirav-āda sarvatōbhādra-chaturmmukha-ratna-traya-rūpa-Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-*  
*Chaityālayavanu* *ṛR[dda]da-gōva nikaḥamka-malla baṁṭara-bhāva para-nāri-*  
*sahōdara*
- 18 *nuḍidu-bhāshege-tappava-rāyara-gaṁḍa* *su[va]rṇa(rṇa)-kalaśa-sthāpan-<sup>1</sup>ā[oh]āryyar-*  
*āḍakāraṇa dharmma-sāmrājya-nāyaka-āgi nija-puṇy-ānubāndi(dhi)-puṇyada*  
*prērapei(yi)-*
- 19 *māda tamagū taj-Jina-bhavana-prēkshakar-āda sakala-sīla-guṇa-sampāṇnar-aha-*  
*chatus-saṁghakkū sākshāt-svar-mamōksha-lakshmi-svayaṁvara-sā(ā)l-ōpamav-āgi*  
*nirmāpisi ananta-su-*
- 20 *khada saṁprāpti-nimittav-āgi (l) ā nālku-dikkinallū Ara-Malli-Munisuvrata-*  
*Tīrthakara-pratimega[anū s[th]āpisi | ā paśchima-digbhāgadalli chaturvīmśati-*  
*Tīrthakara-pratimega-*
- 21 *lanū ā bahir-vvālayada guṇḍaṁga[-o]age Jina-bimbamga[anū yeḍa-balaḍalli*  
*Brahma-Padmāvatī-sahitav-āgi saṁsthāpisi [l] sa-vidhānāḍiṁ pratishthāpisi ||*
- 22 *ā nālku-dikkinallū hadinālku vokkalu sthānīkaru naḍasuva abhishēka-pūje-*  
*muṁtāḍavakkū (l) mēle naḍava aṁga-raṁga-vaibhav-ādikarṁgaligū ā Bhairarasa-*
- 23 *Voḍeyaru nija-saṁtōshadim[da] rājyavan-ā[uv-āga ā Tribhuvanatilaka-*  
*Jinachaityālayadalli ā pratishthā-samayada puṇya-kāḷadalli tamage*  
*puṇyārthav-āgi mū-*
- 24 *ḍa Mukkaḍapina-hoḷe | taṁka Yeḍṇeya-hoḷe | paḍuva Polḷakaliyada-hoḷe |*  
*baḍaga Balimeya-hoḷe | ā nālku-hoḷega[anū mārey-āg-uḷla | nidi(dhi) nikshēpa<sup>2</sup> |*  
*akshipi āgā-*
- 25 *mya | jala pāshāpa | siddha sādhyamga[-emba (l) ashta-bhōgamga[-o]agāda*  
*Telāra-grāmavanū | aḍa[-o]age akki mūḍe 700nū | Rāmājāla-Nallūra*  
*siddhāyadallū ga 238-*
- 26 *nū dhārā-pūrvvakav-āgi ā-chaṁdr-ārka-sthāi(yi)y-appante dēvargge mā[ḍ]i-kōṭṭa*  
*dharmma-kahētrādha(da) vivara | ā kshētrada chatuḥ(s)-simey-ōlag-uḷla*  
*Haravar-i(i)-muṁtāḍavara-*
- 27 *lli sa[l\*]luva gēpi-siddhāya baḍḍiya-bhatta huraḷiya-akki jōlakke-kāṭṭida-*  
*akki hoṁna-baḍḍiy-akki saba sa[l\*]luva akki hāne 50ra lekkada mūḍe*  
*700kkaṁ Nallū-*
- 28 *ru-Rāmājāḷadalli vokkalu-tārkkāney-āgi biṭṭa siddhāya ga 238 varahakkū saḥav-āgi*  
*naḍava dharmma | Paḍuvapa-bāgilalli vokkalu 2kke māru-hotti-*
- 29 *na dēvapūjege charu hāne 9 mēlu-charu hāne 3 akshate-akki hā[n]e 1 tōye pāyasa*  
*tuppa kalasumēlōgara tāḷila muṁtāda paṁcha-bhakahakke akki hāne 2*
- 30 *kuḍute 2 aṁtu akki hāne 15 kuḍute 2ga lekkadalli varaha (l) lkke akki mūḍe 110 [l\*]*  
*udayada paṁohāṁṛitad-abhishēkakke ga 7 m 2 paṁohakhajjāyake ga 7½ siddha-*
- 31 *chakrada ārāḍhanēge ga 12 pa(pha)la-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 baigina hāḷadhārege ga ½*  
*m 4 gaṁḍha-dhūpakke ga ½ m 3 yēṁpe hāḍa 12kke ga 8 m 4 ashtāṁnika 3kke ga 3*
- 32 *varah-abhishēka lkke ga 6 aṁtu ga 47 || ● || Baḍagapa-bāgila vokkalu 2kke māru-hottina*  
*dēvapūjege dina lkke charuvige akki hāne (l) 9 mēlu-[cha]ruvig[e]*
- 33 *akki hāne 3 akshatege akki hāne 1 tōye pāyasa tuppa kalasumēlōgara tāḷila muṁtāda*  
*paṁoha-bhakahakke akki hāne 2 kuḍute 2 aṁtu akki*

<sup>1</sup> In *ra*, as in *re* of l. 10, the *s*-sign is first affixed to *r*, and the *o*-curl is then attached to the former.

<sup>2</sup> The *d* of *stād* looks like *ḍ* on account of an indenture in *ḥe* middle.

- 34 dina lkke hāne lō kuṇṭe 2ṛa lekkadalli varsha (i) lkke mūḍe 110 [i\*] udayada baigina  
hāladhārege ga 1½ m 3 paṁchakhajjāyakke ga 7½ pa(pha)la-vastu-
- 35 vige ga 1 m 2 gaṁdha-dhūpakke m 8 yemṇe hāḍa 12kke ga 8 m 4 aṣṭāhṇika 3kke ga 3  
varsh-ābhishēkakke ga 6 aṁtu ga 28 m 7 || i lekkadalli mūḍa-bāgila vokka-
- 36 lu 2kke akki mūḍe 110 ga 28 m 7 || ā temka-bāgila vokkalu 2kke akki(kki) mūḍe 110  
ga [2]8 m 7 || aṁtu bāgila 4kke vokkalu 8kke varsha (i) lkke akki mūḍe 440 ga 133
- 37 m 1 || ● || Paḍuva-bāgila yeḍa-balada guṁḍa 2kke vokkalu lkke oharuvige akki hāne 5ṛa  
lekkadalli mūḍe 36 akshatege akki mūḍe 4 ubhayaṁ mūḍe 40 hāla-
- 38 dhāre 4kke ga 3½ m 1 phala-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 gaṁdha-dhūpakke m 3 yemṇe hāḍa  
5kke ga 3½ aṣṭāhṇika 3kke m 5½ varsh-ābhishēkakke ga 1 aṁtu ga 10 m 1½ [i\*]  
i lekkadalli
- 39 baḍaga (i) mūḍa temkaṇa guṁḍaṁgaḷigū | ā paḍuvana Tirtthakaru Brahma-  
Padmāvatigaḷigū saha vokkalu 5kke akki mūḍe 200 ga 50 m 7½ =<sup>1</sup> ubhayaṁ  
vokkalu
- 40 6kke akki mūḍe 240 ga 60 m 9 [i\*] Brahma-Padmāvatīya aicharuvige akki mūḍe  
4= aṁtū vokkalu 14kke akki mūḍe 684 ga 194 || ● || Dōlu-nāgasara-kombinavara  
jana
- 41 6kke ga 36 ādipina mūlitiyara jana 2kke akki mūḍe 16 bastiyall-iha tapasvigala  
tamḍa 4kke si(sī)ta-nivāraṇeya-hachchaḍa 8kkaṁ kaiyy-akkiya tumbuva sūsuva ha-
- 42 chochaḍa lkkam saha hachchaḍa 9kke ga 5 m 2 maṁḍeya tōḷa-vare yemṇeya hāḍa 2kke  
ga 2 aḍugabbu siḡege saha m 8 aṁtu ga 8 = aṁtu akki mūḍe 700 ga 238 [i\*]
- 43 Hiriya-aramaneya nālku-chaṭ(vu)kada volagana bastiya Chamdranāthasvāmiya  
amṛitapaḍige Ārūr-All[ana]bajakaḷadalli Biliyara-
- 44 sara guttu Jimnappaninda akki mūḍe 20 Bāgilarasara guttu Māṁḍarppā[ḍi]yūḍa  
akki mūḍe 10 ubhayaṁ mūḍe 30 Nallūra
- 45 Bikkirupāṁḍiya-bāḷinalli ga 7½ Jattikōṭiya-bāḷinalli ga 3 Paṁ[jā]ḷadalli kambuva-  
bāḷinalli ga 7½ aṁtū ga 18 | Gōvarddhanagiriya-bastiya
- 46 Pārśvanāḍha(tha)svāmiya amṛitapaḍige Mallilada-kambuḷadalli akkiya mūḍe 30  
ā mēḷaṇa daḍḍi-marugaḷalli mūḍe 4 [Nallū]ra Naṁ[bi]beṭṭi-Nāraṇanalli
- 47 a[kki] mūḍe 6 aṁ[tu\*] mūḍe\* 40 [Ke]lavaseya seṭi-beṭṭina hittila [pha]ḷadalli [ga]  
8 m 2½ [i\*] [I]du paṁoha-saṁsāra-kāl-ōraga-dashṭa-gāḍha-mūrochhi[ta-nā]nā-saṁsāri-  
jīva-prabōdhanaka-
- 48 ra-paṁoha-mahā-kalyāṇa-[bi]j-ōpama[v-āda] Jina-maṁtra-pūt-ātmana | Śrīvitarāga | yemba  
paṁchākshariyānu paṁchaviṁṣati-mala-vidūra-parama-sa[mya]g-dṛiṣṭigaḷ-āḍakāraṇa  
ā Bhairara-
- 49 sa-Voḍeyarē sva-hastadimda vo[ppa koṭṭu]dadakke Imdravajrā-[vṛitta]dimda [chatur-<sup>2</sup>  
viṁṣaty]-akshara-likhita-paṁch-ākshara-rūpa-Sarvvatōbhadra-chitra-prabamdhadim[da]  
rachisida chi[t]ra-ślōka || Śrī-v[ta-vīr-ā]gata-viga-vitam śrī-rāga-vitam ga-
- 50 ta-rāga-rāgaṁ | śrī-[ga]ṁ tataṁ rāgatar-āṁga-rā[ṁgaṁ] śrī-Vitarāgaṁ tata-vi[ra]-<sup>3</sup>gaṁ  
taṁ || ● ||<sup>4</sup> [8\*]

<sup>1</sup> The two horizontal strokes here and in ll. 40 and 42 denote punctuations.

<sup>2</sup> The impression has clear but faint traces of the syllables *chatur-*. The verse contains 44 syllables, while the diagram inserted in the inscription has only 25. I am not sure if *chaturviṁṣaty-* has to be corrected into *chatur-śatviṁṣaty-* or *pañcaviṁṣaty-*.

<sup>3</sup> The reading *ra* is pretty certain; but as this curious verse is purely made up of the five syllables contained in the word *śrīvitarāga* by permutation or combination, I think the author has evidently committed a mistake in inserting the short *ra* (not found in *śrīvitarāga*) here; *sa* or *ga* might take the place of *ra* if either of them would give a better sense.

<sup>4</sup> I cannot trace on my copy of the inscription the syllables *śrī* | *śrī* | given at the end of Mr. Walhouse's transcript (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 42), but find that the continuation of this line and the four following lines are completely erased, and that traces of the beginnings and ends of these lines are still visible on the estampage.



## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed Vitarāga.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 1.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 113.]

(V. 2.) May king Bhairavēndra live permanently as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), (*blessed*) with abundance of age, prosperity and victory, by the grace of the blessed Jinēndras!

(L. 3.) May there be no obstacles! May there be happiness!

(V. 3.) May all Tirthas (*i.e.* Tirthakaras) grant for a very long time endless happiness to the glorious king Bhairava: (*viz.*) the blessed Pārśvanātha,<sup>2</sup> strength; the Jina Nēmi, fame; the Jinapa Suvira, long life; Dōrbali, prosperity; (*and*) the Jinas Ara, Malli and Suvrata, fortune! And may (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha grant (*his*) desires as long as the moon and the sun (*last*)!

(V. 4.) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 110.]

(V. 5.) The moon in the ocean of nectar of the glorious race of the Moon, the glorious chief Bhairavēndra, (*who belonged to*) the prosperous family of Jinadatta, (*who was*) the son of the glorious Gummatāmbā, the renowned sister of the illustrious Bhairavarāja, (*and*) whose greatness (*was equal to that of*) the blessed and happy lord of gods (*i.e.* Indra) and Chakrin (Vishnu), having set up the Jinapas in the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,<sup>3</sup> fulfilled (*his*) object (*in life*).

(V. 6.) May those Jinapas of the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,—set up by the glorious Bhairavēndra while the prosperous year of the Śāli-Śaka (*counted*) by the elephants (8), the sky (0), the arrows (5) and the moon (1)—(*i.e.* 1508)—had dropped (*i.e.* passed away), and in the excellent year named Vyaya, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, in the Vṛisha-lagna, (*while*) the *nakshatra* (*was*) the auspicious Mrigāśirsha,—shine for a long time!

(L. 8.) Obeisance to Jina.

(L. 9 f.) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śālivāhana-Śaka year 1508 which corresponded to the Vyaya-samvatsara, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, (*the day of*) the *nakshatra* Mrigāśirā, the lagna (*being*) Vṛishabha,—the full-moon in the nectar-ocean of the prosperous family of Jinadattarāja, the dear son who illuminates (*both*) the families of the famous Gummatāmbā and of the glorious Vira-Narasimha-Vaṅganarēndra,<sup>4</sup> the tying-rope of cattle (*viz.*) heroic! hostile kings (*arirāja-gaṇḍara-dāvani*), the glorious Immaḍi-Bhairarasa-Vodeya, (*who is*) known as the nephew of Bhairarasa-Vodeya the dear son of Honnamāmbikā, (*who is*) the fresh Bharatēśvara-chakravartin<sup>5</sup> of the Kali age, the chastiser of the twelve (*chiefs*) of Gutti,<sup>6</sup> the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities, the protector

<sup>1</sup> Vitarāga is synonymous with Jinēndra which occurs in v. 2; see also above, Vol. VI. p. 165, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> [Pārśvanātha, Nēmi (Arishtanēmi) and Suvira (Mahāvira) are the 23rd, 22nd and 24th Tirthakaras. Dōrbali (Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin) is the same as Gummatā; see above, Vol. VII. p. 108. Ara, Malli and Suvrata (Munisuvrata) are the 18th, 19th and 20th Tirthakaras; see *e.g.* Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpavṛkṣa*, translated by Prof. Jacobi, p. 280.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> The three jewels (*ratna-traya*) of the Jinas are: *samyak-darśana*, *samyak-jñāna* and *samyak-chāritra*; see above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3. The 'abode of the three renowned jewels' is the Chatarmukhabasti itself, which in l. 17 of the text is described as being the 'embodiment of the three jewels'; the Jinapas herein consecrated are Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata mentioned in l. 20.

<sup>4</sup> I have taken this to be the name of Bhairava's father; but it may as well be a *śirūda* of Bhairava himself.

<sup>5</sup> This is the mythical emperor who, according to Jaina mythology, was the brother of the saint Bāhubalin, Bhujabalin or Gummatā; see Mr. Rice's *Śrāvastī-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> It is impossible that either Bhairava II. or his ancestors could have had anything to do with the well known Gutti in the Anantapur district. The reference is perhaps to the 'Gutti thirty-four tanpapa,' 'the Gōve-Gutti kingdom' or 'the Gōve-Chandragutti kingdom' mentioned by Mr. Rice on p. 39 f. of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Chandragutti is a hill fortress in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district.

of those who seek refuge (*with him*), the deadly enemy of Māra (Cupid?), a spear on the heads of respectable kings, the teacher (*śāhārya*) who has established the six *dāśānas*,<sup>1</sup> the head-jewel of the race of the Moon, the powerful purifier of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (*he*) who has obtained excellent boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī of Pombuchoha, who is adorned by numberless and various (*good*) qualities, *saṃyaktva*,<sup>2</sup> etc., whose head is purified by the sweet-scented water (*which has been used for washing the image*) of Jina,<sup>3</sup> (*and who is*) the lord of sixty-six *maṇḍalikas*,—in order to obtain for himself prosperity, final emancipation, riches and happiness,<sup>4</sup>—at Pāṇḍyanagari (*a suburb*) of Kārakala, in the presence<sup>5</sup> of the blessed Gummatēśvara, and on the Chikkabeṭṭa (*hill*) resembling the Kailāsa mountain—

(V. 7.) Is this the noble abode of the lady Śrī (Lakṣmī)? (*Is this*) the excellent pleasure-house<sup>6</sup> of the lady Fame? (*Is this*) the house of amorous enjoyment of the lady Earth? (*Or*) again, is this the sporting-place of the virtuous woman Victory? (*This*) prosperous Jaina abode (*is indeed*) the stage consisting of the two excellent doctrines resplendent with the word *syāt*, (*whereupon*) the glorious (*goddess*) Bhārati (Sarasvatī) (*dances*), (*and is*) the house where (*the ladies*) Heavenly bliss, Salvation and Prosperity choose their husbands . . . .<sup>7</sup>

(L. 14 f.) (This Bhairarasa) *Ṛōddada-gōva*,<sup>8</sup> *Nikaṭaska-malla*,<sup>9</sup> the soul of warriors, the brother of the wives of others (*and*) the chastiser of kings who do not act up to the words which they utter,—because he was the foremost in setting up golden pinnacles (*or temples*), became (*as it were*) the ruler of the empire of charity, (*and*) actuated by merit (*which was*) the outcome of his good deeds (*in previous births*), caused to be made for (*the use of*) himself and the (*members of the*) four *saṅghas* who possessed all noble qualities and were (*habitual*) visitors of that abode of Jina, the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (*temple*), which is thus<sup>10</sup> a mansion giving pleasure to all people (*who look at it*), (*which is*) auspicious on every side (*sarvatōbhadrā*), has four faces (*chaturmukha*)<sup>11</sup> (*and*) is the embodiment of the three jewels,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I cannot understand how a Jaina chief like Bhairava II. could claim to have established the six systems of philosophy, all foreign to his own. Perhaps he tolerated the study of these systems in his petty dominions.

<sup>2</sup> *Samyaktva* may refer to the possession of the three qualities (*ratna-traya*) referred to on p. 134, note 3, each of which begins with the word *saṃyag*.

<sup>3</sup> The same epithet is applied to the Daṇḍeśvaya Baladeva in Nos. 52 and 53 of Mr. Rice's *Śrāvāṇa-Belgoḷa Inscriptions*.

<sup>4</sup> The predicate of this sentence is the past participle *nirvṛṇḍpisi* which occurs in l. 19.

<sup>5</sup> The Chaturmukhabasti, though at a considerable distance from the colossus of Gummatēśvara, is here represented as being in its presence; for the latter was perhaps considered to be the presiding deity of Kārakala and its suburbs. Besides, as the Chikkabeṭṭa hill is just opposite to the hill on which the colossus stands, it is literally true that the temple "stands in the gaze of the colossus;" *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> *Āgara* seems to be used here, as in Kanarese, for the Sanskrit *āgāra*, which would not suit the metre. A derivative from *ā + grī* is *āgara* which means 'hallooing.' This does not suit the sense of the verse.

<sup>7</sup> I do not understand the meaning and the construction of the word *prīṭi* at the end of the verse. Some word like *nāma* or *dharma*, which characterises an *atpṛīṭi* *śāhārya*, is required. Or can it only be a mistake for *prīṭam* = excellent?—[Perhaps the word *Prīṭi* is repeated by mistake from verse 6.—E. H.]

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Rice (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 39) translates this epithet by 'guardian of Rodda' or 'Gōva of Rodda' (*ibid.* Vol. XII. Translation, p. 91). Elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. III. Introduction, p. 16) he mentions Rodda among the conquests of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvarḍhana and identifies it with 'Rodda on the northern Pennār in the Anantapur district, west of Penukōḍa.' If this is the correct explanation of the epithet *Ṛōddada-gōva*, Bhairava II., whose territory was far away from Penukōḍa, could only have borrowed the title from some other family. A local line of Chōḷa chiefs "in the country round Hēmaṇḍi and Nidugal" (in the Anantapur district) is described on p. 7 of the Introduction to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. These chiefs flourished about the 12th century A.D. and invariably bore the titles *Rōddada-gōva*, *siḡaṭaṅka-malla*, *aravattandika-maṇḍalikara-tale-gōḷḍa-gaṇḍa*, *baṇṭara-bōva* and *mayevoga-bōva*, which are almost the same as those assumed by Bhairava II. Besides, the Chōḷa chiefs of the Anantapur district belonged to the same Kāśyapa *gōtra* as Bhairava.

<sup>9</sup> *I.e.* *Niṣṭhalaṅka-malla*, 'the spotless wrestler.'

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.* as described in v. 7.

<sup>11</sup> The temple has four doors, each of which opens on three identical stone images of the Tīrthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 134, note 3.

just as if it verily were a hall wherein the glorious (*goddess of*) Heavenly emancipation was to choose her husband.

(L. 19 f.) And in order to acquire endless happiness, (*he*) set up on the four sides of that (*temple*) the images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata; on the western side of that (*temple*) (*he set up*) the images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras; and in the niches (*gumṇa* ?) (at each entrance) of the outer enclosure of that (*temple*) (*he*) set up images of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati to the left and right (*respectively*); (*and*) consecrated (*them all*) according to rule.

(L. 22 f.) (*And*) for the bathing, worship, *etc.* (of the images) performed by fourteen families of Sthānikas (*living*) in the four directions of that (*temple*), and for the *aṅga-raṅga-vasbhava*,<sup>1</sup> *etc.* which follow after (*worship*), that Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, while ruling (*his*) kingdom with true delight, on the auspicious occasion of the consecration in that Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (*temple*), conferred on (*that*) god<sup>2</sup> for his own merit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), with libations of water, 238 *ga*<sup>3</sup> from the established revenue of Rañjāla and Nallūru, also the village of Telāra subject to the eight enjoyments known as deposits, hidden treasures, permanent profit, future profit, water, stone, established income and feasible income, (*and*) having for (*its*) boundaries four streams, *vis.* Mukkaḍapina-hole to the east, Yemṇeya-hole to the south, Polḷakaliyada-hole to the west (*and*) Balimeya-hole to the north, and 700 *māḍe* of rice in that (*village*). The (*following are the*) details of the land (*thus*) granted.<sup>4</sup>

(L. 26 f.) From the 700 *māḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *hāne* (for each *māḍe*), accruing from the tribute on contracts due from the Haravar<sup>5</sup> and such others that live within the four boundaries of that village, paddy (*in payment of*) interest, rice (*in lieu of*) gram, rice commuted from millet, and rice (*in lieu of*) the interest (*payable*) in money; and from the *ga* 238 *varaha* of established income granted (*subject to*) the personal observation<sup>6</sup> of the tenants of Nallūru (*and*) Rañjāla together, the (*following*) charities are (*to be*) managed.

(L. 28 f.) To the 2 families (*who have*) to worship three times (*each day*) at the western gate, (*the following allotment has been made*): <sup>7</sup> 9 *hāne* (for) the rice offering; 3 *hāne* (for) the superior rice offering; <sup>8</sup> 1 *hāne* (for) consecrated rice; 2 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kuḍute* of rice for *tōye*,<sup>9</sup> *pāyasa*,<sup>10</sup> ghee, *kalarumēlōgara*,<sup>11</sup> *tāḷīla*<sup>12</sup> and others (*together with*) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (*and*) 2 *kuḍute* of rice (*altogether for one day*), the rice (*required*) for

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* all kinds of enjoyments; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 70, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> This word is here used in the collective sense for the three gods Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

<sup>3</sup> This is an abbreviation of *gaḍyāḍa*.

<sup>4</sup> The details hereafter specified are not those of the 'land granted,' but of the 700 *māḍe* of rice which was the revenue in grain realized from Telāra, and of *ga* 238 which was the income in coin from Rañjāla and Nallūru.

<sup>5</sup> On this ethnic name, which is perhaps the same as Parava, see Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> According to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *tārkaṇe* means 'personal observation.' The sense appears to be that the tenants of the two villages were held directly responsible for the regular payment of *ga* 238 assigned to the temple by the king from the revenue of those villages.

<sup>7</sup> The grain allotments of this paragraph are to be taken as made at *daily* rates. This specification, which is omitted here, is inserted in its proper place in the next paragraph.

<sup>8</sup> *Chāra* means 'an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes;' see Mouier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

<sup>9</sup> 'A dish prepared of boiled split pulse.'

<sup>10</sup> 'A dish (or oblation) of milk, rice and sugar, *etc.*'

<sup>11</sup> 'A mixture of boiled vegetables to which pepper, salt, *etc.* are added.'

<sup>12</sup> This is perhaps the Jaina spelling of *tāḷada* or *tāḷida*, which means 'boiled and seasoned vegetables.'

1 year (is) 110 *mūḍe*. For bathing (the images) with *pañchāmṛita*<sup>1</sup> in the mornings, *ga* 7 *m* 2;<sup>2</sup> for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*),<sup>3</sup> *ga* 7½; for the worship of the *Siddhachakra*,<sup>4</sup> *ga* 12; for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2; for the evening *hāladhāre*,<sup>4</sup> *ga* ½ *m* 4; for sandal (and) incense, *ga* ½ *m* 3; for 12 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4; for 3 *ashṭāhnikas*,<sup>4</sup> *ga* 3; for 1 annual bathing, *ga* 6; total (for one year) *ga* 47.

(L. 32 f.) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the northern gate, (the following allotment has been made): for 1 day 9 *hāne* of rice for the rice offering; 3 *hāne* of rice for the superior rice offering; 1 *hāne* of rice for consecrated rice; 2 *hāne* (and) 2 *kuḍute* of rice for *tōye*, *pāyasa*, ghee, *kalasumēlōgara*, *tāḍila* and others (together with) the five kinds of cake; thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (and) 2 *kuḍute* per 1 day, the rice (required) for 1 year (is) 110 *mūḍe*. For the morning and the evening *hāladhāre*,<sup>5</sup> *ga* 1½ *m* 3; for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*), *ga* 7½; for fruits (and other similar) things, *ga* 1 *m* 2; for sandal (and) incense, *m* 8; for 12 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4; for 3 *ashṭāhnikas*, *ga* 3; (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 6; total (for one year) *ga* 28 *m* 7.

(L. 35 f.) At this rate, 110 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the eastern gate; (and) 110 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the southern gate. Thus (altogether), for the 8 families at the 4 gates for 1 year, 440 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 133 *m* 1.

(L. 37 f.) For 1 family (worshipping) at the 2 niches to the left and right of the western gate (the allotment is as follows): at the rate of 5 *hāne* of rice (per day) for the rice offering, 36 *mūḍe* (for one year); 4 *mūḍe* of rice for consecrated rice; the two together (amount to) 40 *mūḍe*. For 4 *hāladhāres*, *ga* 3½ *m* 1; for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2; for sandal (and) incense, *m* 3; for 5 *hāḍa* of oil, *ga* 3½; for 3 *ashṭāhnikas*, *m* 5½; (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 1; in all, *ga* 10 *m* 1½ (for one year).

(L. 38 f.) At this rate, for the 5 families in all,—(viz. those who worship) at the niches in the northern, eastern and southern (gates), (those who worship the images of) the Tirthakaras of that western (gate), and (those who worship the images of) Brahma and Padmāvatī,—(the allotment comes to) 200 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 50 *m* 7½. (Thus) for the 6 families altogether (the total is) 240 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 60 *m* 9. 4 *mūḍe* of rice (have been also allotted) for the five rice offerings to Brahma and Padmāvatī. Altogether, for the 14 families,<sup>6</sup> 684 *mūḍe*<sup>7</sup> of rice (and) *ga* 194.

(L. 40 f.) For 6 persons who have (to beat) the drum (and to blow) the pipe (and) the horn, *ga* 36 (have been allotted for one year); (and) for the 2 *māḷitī*-women of the *adīpu*,<sup>8</sup> 16

<sup>1</sup> The five nectarious substances: 'milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar.'

<sup>2</sup> Here and in the subsequent money calculations of this paragraph, the allotments appear to have been made for the whole year, though the daily rate is not specified.

<sup>3</sup> This word is more commonly spelt with the unspirited *k*; it means 'the five pleasant articles of food (mixed together),' viz. *avalakki* (flattened rice), gingelly seeds, *kaḍḍa* (Bengal gram fried and split), dried kernel of cocanutt, and jaggery.

<sup>4</sup> *Siddhachakra*, *hāladhāre* and *ashṭāhnikā* are apparently technical terms of Jaina worship, which are unknown to me. *Ashṭāhnikā* may perhaps correspond to *ashṭavidh-arachana*, which occurs frequently in Mr. Rice's *Śravanā-Belgoja Inscriptions*, e.g. in Nos. 80, 81, 86, 87.

<sup>5</sup> It is strange that two *hāladhāres* both in the mornings and evenings are provided for at the northern, southern and eastern gates, while at the western gate, which was the most important one and received the largest allotment of money, provision was made for only one *hāladhāre*.

<sup>6</sup> This number includes the 8 families at the four main gates and the 6 families mentioned in this paragraph.

<sup>7</sup> The total 684 is arrived at by adding together 440 *mūḍe* allotted for the 4 gates; 240 *mūḍe* allotted for the niches, Tirthakaras, and Brahma and Padmāvatī; and 4 *mūḍe* specially allotted for the five rice offerings to the two last-mentioned images.

<sup>8</sup> I do not understand the meaning of *adīpina māḷitīyaru*. This may perhaps refer to certain maid-servants of the temple, such as cooks, etc.

*mūḍe* of rice. For the 4 groups of ascetics who dwell in the *basti*, 8 blankets to ward off cold and 1 blanket for receiving (and) spreading (i.e. drying ?) hand-rice<sup>1</sup>—altogether, for 9 blankets, *ga* 5 *m* 2; for 2 *hāḍa* of oil for the head and arms (of the ascetics), *ga* 2; and for fuel (and) soap-nut (for the same), *m* 8; altogether, *ga* 8. In all (the allotments come to) 700 *mūḍe* of rice (and) *ga* 238.

(L. 43 f.) For the rice offering<sup>2</sup> of Chandranāthasvāmin of the *basti* within the four squares (i.e. the quadrangle) of the big palace :— in the Allapabajakala (field ?) at Ārūru, 20 *mūḍe* of rice from Jinnappa, the lessee<sup>3</sup> (?) of Biliyarasa, (and) 10 *mūḍe* of rice from Māṇḍarpāḍi, the lessee<sup>3</sup> of Bāgilarasa; both (together), 30 *mūḍe*. From the land held (*bāḷu*)<sup>4</sup> by Bikkirupāṇḍiya (i.e. Vikramapāṇḍya) of Nallūru, *ga* 7½, from the land held by Jattikōṭi, *ga* 3, (and) from the land held by Kambuva at Pamjāla, *ga* 7½; altogether, *ga* 18.

(L. 45 f.) For the rice offering of Pārśvanāthasvāmin of the *basti* (on) the Gōvardhanagiri (hill),— from the Kambuḷa (field ?) at Mallila, 30 *mūḍe* of rice, from the enclosing hills beyond, 4 *mūḍe*, from Nambibēṭṭi-Nārāṇa of Nallūru, 6 *mūḍe* of rice; altogether, 40 *mūḍe*. From the produce of the backyard of Seṭi-bēṭṭu<sup>5</sup> at Kelavase, *ga* 8 *m* 2½.

(L. 47 f.) Inasmuch as that Bhairarasa-Voḍeya, possessed as he was of that excellent right perception which keeps aloof from the twenty-five impurities, himself with his own hand affixed in (token of) approval (of the grant) the five syllables (*pañcākṣari*), viz. *Śrīvitardga*— of Him whose soul is purified by (the recitation of) the Jina-mantra—which may be compared to a seed (that can produce) the five great virtues and can awaken the soul, (passing through) varied transmigration and heavily stupefied by the bite of the black viper, (viz.) the five-fold *samsāra*, this wonderful (*chitra*) verse (was) composed in the style of the Sarvatōbhadrā puzzle (*chitrāprabandha*), consisting of five letters combined as twenty-four (different) syllables, in the Indravajrā metre.

[Verse 8 contains the puzzle alluded to above and is not quite clear to me.]

#### NO. 11.—NAGPUR MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTA I. JANAMEJAYA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Mr. Venkayya sent me one set of ink-impressions of this unpublished inscription, with the following remarks :—

“The Curator of the Nagpur Museum says, the locality from which the plates containing this inscription came is unknown. There are three copper-plates, of which only the second bears writing on both sides. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom.

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the rice collected by the Jaina mendicants in begging from door to door. It is customary even now in India to give a ‘haadful of rice’ to beggars that call at the door. This seems to be the reason why such rice is called *kaiy-akki*.

<sup>2</sup> *Amṛitapāḍi* in the sense of ‘rice offering’ is not given in Kittel’s *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary*. It corresponds to the *amudupāḍi* of Tamil inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> *Guttu* appears to be used here in the sense of *guttigadga*, ‘a lessee.’ Or, the meaning might be that Biliyarasa’s lease, (viz.) 20 *mūḍe* of rice, was to be collected from (his tenant) Jinnappa.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Dr. Fleet’s remarks on *baḷasidor* on p. 51 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Seṭi-bēṭṭu*, or more correctly *seṭṭi-bēṭṭu*, means ‘the beṭṭu of the merchant.’ According to Mr. Sturrock’s *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I. p. 86, *beṭṭu* means ‘a walled enclosure with a colossal statue.’ The word here cannot be meant for the fiscal term *beṭṭ*—a land capable of producing one crop of rice annually—(*ibid.* p. 122); for, in this case the backyard (*kittila*) mentioned in connection with it would not be intelligible.

At the broadest part they measure nearly 9 inches. Their height varies from  $5\frac{3}{8}$ " to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a ring, which has been cut by me with the permission of the Curator. The ring, which is not quite circular, measures about 3" in diameter. Its ends are secured in the base of a circular seal measuring  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a counter-sunk surface, an image of Lakshmi, seated apparently on a lotus and flanked by two lampstands, of which the one on the left is not quite distinct. The lotus extends on both sides to the height of the shoulders of the goddess and is surmounted on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk. This is the usual representation of the goddess Gajalakshmi. The base of the seal is slightly damaged, and a nail seems to have been driven in to fix the seal to the ring."

The inscription records a grant of land, made by king Mahābhavagupta (I.) surnamed Janamējaya in the eighth year of his reign. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of the same prince which have been published by Mr. Fleet. Initial *o* and *au* occur in *Ōḍra* (l. 16), *ojjhā* (l. 44) and *Autathya* (l. 15), and the letter *jh* occurs in *ojjhā* (l. 44). The letter *ṣ* of *paṣu* (l. 5) differs in shape from that of *kupumvi* (l. 10), etc. The group *ṣṣa* is throughout written as *ṣa*, except in *āpḥōṣṭayanti* (l. 28), where it is wrongly employed. A final form of *t* is used in *samvat* (l. 41), and the *virāma* in *dadyāt* (l. 27), *vrāhmaṇin* (l. 9), *ētān* and *pārthivēndrān* (l. 35); elsewhere the *virāma* is omitted. The decimal figures 1, 2 and 8 occur in l. 41.

The language is Sanskrit. There is one verse in ll. 3-6, and 11 of the customary verses occur in ll. 23-38; the remainder of the record is in prose. The *visarga* is omitted in several cases. The rules of Sandhi are neglected in *śrīmān* (l. 4), *°chchhinnaḥ* and *°āgīrasa* (l. 15), *°dhyāyinaḥ* (l. 16), *dadyāt* (l. 27) and *ashṭamē* (l. 40). The orthography is defective in many respects. The vowel *i* is mixed up with *ī*, and *u* with *ū*. In *nōpūra* (l. 1) for *nāpura* and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f.) for *dūtaka*, *ō* is used instead of *ū*. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *sumāhatri* (for *°hartṛi*) and *sannidhātri* (l. 11), *tridāsa* (l. 4) and *Trikalīnga* (ll. 8 and 39). In *kriḥhna* (l. 5) and *samvachchharā* (l. 40), *ts* is represented by *chh*. The dental *n* takes the place of the lingual *n* in *punya* (ll. 19 and 30), *hiranya* (l. 20), *grihnāti* (l. 29 f.) and *Saṅgrāmēna* (l. 44). Of sibilants, *s* is used for *sh* in *niriddha* (l. 14), and *ś* for *s* in *śatila*, *purastara*, *tama* (l. 18) and *vaśtā* (for *vaśēt*, l. 26). A *y* is inserted in *tākhyā* (l. 16) for *tākḥā*, and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f.) for *dūtaka*. The consonant *b* is always represented by *v*, which must have been pronounced as *b* just as in Bengali. This may be concluded from the spellings *sāmra* (l. 14) for *sāmra*, *tāmra* (l. 19) for *tāmra*, *°dattām=vā* (l. 32), *samvachchharā* (l. 40) and *samvat* (l. 41). Other irregularities are *vuḍḍhā* (l. 38) for *buddhvā*, *triyārishaya* (l. 15) for *tryāreshāya*, *Kaivilāsa* and *utkirīta* (l. 44) for *Kailāsa* and *utkirṇa*.

The inscription opens with the words: "Om. Hail! From the prosperous Muraśīman, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens, (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters." Another grant of Mahābhavagupta I. is dated from the same Muraśīman, which is there spelt with a long *ū* in the first syllable,—apparently by mistake, as *Mura* is a well known word, and as *ū* is used erroneously for *u* in many other instances.<sup>1</sup> The next word of the same grant, *-samāvāsita*, may be meant for *-samāvāsitaḥ*. As, however, it would be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to correct *-samāvāsītāt* and to take the following word *kaṭaka* to mean 'a camp,' and not the city of Cuttack.<sup>2</sup> Thus the inscription of the sixth year is dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Muraśīman." With the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Kielhorn kindly refers me to three very similar instances in inscriptions from Northern India:—

1.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, text line 6 f.—*śrīmād-Vishṇupur-dadaṣita-śrī-vijaya-kaṭakā*.

2.—*Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 121, text line 23,—*śrī-Vaḍaviha-grāma-samāvāsita-vijaya-kaṭakā*.

3.—*Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 309, text line 83, and Vol. V. App. p. 58, note 4,—*Prāgyā-samāvāsita-śrīmād-vijaya-kaṭakāt*.

same alteration, the three inscriptions of the 31st year<sup>1</sup> are dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at the prosperous Ârâma."

Lines 3-6 contain a verse which celebrates the king under his surname Janamêjaya—contracted into 'Janmêjaya' for the sake of the metre—and states that he claimed descent from the race of the Moon (*Śoma-vamśa*). The same verse occurs in the grant of the sixth year, where it is placed at the end of the whole document (ll. 43-45).

Then follows the preamble of the grant itself (l. 6 ff.) :—

"This *Paramabhakṣāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the ornament of the race of the Moon (*Śoma-kula-tilaka*), the lord of Trikalīṅga, the glorious *Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*,—who meditates at the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the glorious *Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*,<sup>2</sup>—being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmaṇas in the village of *Satallamā* attached to the *Kaśalōḍā* district (*viśaya*), commands the ryots residing in that (village), the inhabitants of that district at the time, (and) all servants of the king, (*vis.*) collectors, attendants, irregular and regular soldiers, spies, staff-bearers, eunuchs, favourites of the king, *etc.*"

The king then states that he granted this village (*vis.* *Satallamā*, l. 9) by a copper-plate edict (*tāmra-śāsana*, l. 19) "to the *Bhaṭṭaputra Sānthakara*, son of *Dhṛitikara* (l. 17 f.), who belonged to the *Gautama gōtra*, who had the three *pravaras* of *Gautama*, *Āṅgīrasa* and *Autathya*, who studied the *Vājasaneyi-Mādhyaṇḍina śākhā*, who had immigrated from the village of *Purushamaṇḍapa* in the *Ōḍra* country (*dēśa*), (and) who resided in the village of *Murujuṅga*." Of the proper names mentioned in this passage I can identify none besides *Ōḍra*, which is the Sanskrit form of *Oḍḍa*, i.e. *Oriasa*.<sup>3</sup>

11 verses from the *Dharmasāstra* are quoted in ll. 23-38. Then follows the date of the grant :—"In the victorious reign of the *P. M. P.*, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the lord of Trikalīṅga, the glorious *Janamêjayadēva*,—in the eighth year, in the second half of the month of *Kārttika*, on the twelfth *tithi*,—and in figures : *Samvat 8*, *Kārttika śudi 12*." The *Dātaka* was the *Mahāmahattama Bhaṭṭa Sādhāraṇa*, son of *Śōbhana* (l. 41 f.). This person must be the same as the donee of three other grants of *Mahābhavagupta I.*, where he is called the *Bhaṭṭa Mahattama Sādhāraṇa*, son of *Bhaṭṭa Śōbhana*,<sup>4</sup> and he seems to have been the prime-minister of the king.<sup>5</sup>

According to ll. 42-44, "this edict was written by the *Kāyastha Āllava*, son of *Kailāsa*, who was attached to the *Mahāsāndhivigrahi Rānaka Mallādatta*, son of *Dhāradatta*." The same minister is referred to in the remaining published inscriptions of *Mahābhavagupta I.* In the three grants of the 31st year he is called *Mallādatta*,<sup>6</sup> while the grant of the sixth year has *Mallādhāradattasuta*,<sup>7</sup> which, as the new grant suggests, is meant for *Mallā[datta]*, son of *Dhāradatta*.

The inscription ends with the statement that it was engraved by *Samgrāma*, son of *Rayanā-ojjhā*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 347, text line 1.

<sup>2</sup> The other grants of *Mahābhavagupta I.* omit the word *mahā* before *Śivagupta's* name.

<sup>3</sup> *Ōḍra-dēśa* is mentioned also in an inscription of *Mahāśivagupta II.*; above, Vol. III. p. 353, text line 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 348, text line 12 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 345 and 350.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 350.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 344, text line 42.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *ibid.* p. 212, note 2. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *ḍja* (or *edja*) means (1) 'a teacher,' and (2) 'an artificer.' In Tamil we have the forms *vaachōka* and *ḍōhōka*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 299, note 2. The word is evidently a *tadbhava* of *wpdīdyā*; compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 393, note 23. A similar honorific term, also applied to artisans in Southern India, is *dehārya*; see above, Vol. VII. p. 168, note 8.

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24 मृशु नमः नय पलं मा रुय पलं गङ्गा वः परय नुति पृथिवी वाः 24  
 मृशु नमः पलं मृशु नमः पलं मृशु नमः पलं मृशु नमः पलं मृशु नमः 26  
 26 त्वा यतिरुमियः आविष्कारावुमकाय नावयवराकिवाणा न जगुपय नमः 26  
 थमं मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 28  
 28 य उ मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 28  
 30 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 30  
 30 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 30  
 32 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 32  
 32 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 32  
 34 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 34

36 कालिपालविष्णुवर्द्धनः सर्वोत्तमः कालिपालः पृथिवी वृष 36  
 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 36  
 38 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 38  
 38 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 38  
 40 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 40  
 40 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 40  
 42 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 42  
 42 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 42  
 44 मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः मृशु नमः 44

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्थनेकवरविष्ठासिनीचरणीपूररवोद्भान्तमत्तपारावत-<sup>3</sup>  
 2 कुलात्<sup>4</sup> सकसदिगन्तरामतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकीर्त्तः श्रीमतो सुरसिन्धः<sup>5</sup> [1\*]  
 3 अस्ति श्रीश्रीश्रीराजाममलमसिन्धुचामन्वयात्<sup>6</sup> कौस्तुभाभः श्रीर्यत्वागा-  
 4 'मुरा[शि]र्विरचितविधिवद्दान(1)शुभीकृताभः [1\*] श्रीमान्ज्योत्स्नायस्सुदृश-<sup>7</sup>  
 5 पतिसम[:\*] कृष्णगं<sup>10</sup> भोक्तकामः प्रस्थातृष्विष्वंशप्रविदलनपटुर्भूपति<sup>11</sup> सो-  
 6 मवंशे [1\*] सोयं<sup>12</sup> परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहा-<sup>13</sup>  
 7 शिवगुप्तराजदेवपादानुध्यात्परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-<sup>14</sup>  
 8 श्वरसोमकुलतिलकतुक्लिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः<sup>15</sup> कु-  
 9 श्लो<sup>16</sup> कश्लोडाविषयप्रतिवक्षसतत्त्वमाश्रमे<sup>17</sup> ब्राह्मणान् सम्युज्ज<sup>18</sup> त-  
 10 अतिनिवासिकुटुम्बिजनपदान<sup>19</sup> तद्विषयीययथाकालाध्यासिन[:\*] समा-  
 11 'हृदिसन्निधाचिचाटभटपिगुनवेचिकावरोधजनराजवत्तभादीन<sup>21</sup> स-

## Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 वान<sup>22</sup> राजपादोपजिविन<sup>23</sup> समान्नापयति [1\*] विदितमस्तु भवत[1] यथा-  
 13 आभिरयं ग्राम[:\*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिः<sup>24</sup> सर्ववाधाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिकर-  
 14 करादानसहितः<sup>25</sup> साम्प्रमधुक[:\*] सगर्तोषरः<sup>26</sup> प्रतिनिसिन्धुचाटभटप्रवेश-<sup>27</sup>  
 15 चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः<sup>28</sup> गौतमगोत्राय गौतमाङ्गिरसश्रीतथ्यचियारिषयप्र-<sup>29</sup>  
 16 वराय<sup>30</sup> वाजसनेयेमाध्वन्दिनशास्त्राध्यायिने<sup>31</sup> श्रीकृद्देशे पुरुषमण्डपग्राम-  
 17 'विनीर्गताय सुवर्जुंगग्रामवास्तव्याय<sup>32</sup> भटपुत्रश्रीसान्वकरनाम्ने हृति-  
 18 करसुताय<sup>33</sup> शशिलधारापुरस्सरमाचन्द्रतारकार्कचितिशमकालाप-<sup>35</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a set of ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a plain symbol.<sup>2</sup> Read 'मुर'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'कुलात्'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'सीन्धः'.<sup>3</sup> Read 'वात्'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'मुराशि'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'श्रीमान्'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'सिन्धु'.<sup>10</sup> Read 'कृष्णगं भोक्तु'.<sup>11</sup> Read 'भूपतिः'.<sup>13</sup> The र of भटारक is corrected by the engraver from क; read 'महारक'.<sup>14</sup> The र of 'वर' was inserted subsequently.<sup>14</sup> Read 'पादावध्यावपरमभटारक'.<sup>15</sup> Read 'विकलिङ्गा'.<sup>16</sup> Read 'प्रतिवक्ष'.<sup>17</sup> Read 'ब्राह्म'.<sup>18</sup> Read 'सम्युज्ज'.<sup>19</sup> Read 'कुटुम्बिजनपदान्'.<sup>20</sup> Read 'हृदिसन्निधात्'.<sup>21</sup> The व of 'वरोध' is written on an erasure; read 'दीन'.<sup>22</sup> Read 'वान्'.<sup>23</sup> Read 'पजिविनः'.<sup>24</sup> Read 'वाधा'.<sup>25</sup> Read 'साध'.<sup>26</sup> Read 'निधि'.<sup>27</sup> Read 'प्रवेशचतुः'.<sup>28</sup> Read 'च्छिन्नी'.<sup>29</sup> Read 'रसीतव्यवर्च' ; compare above, Vol. III p. 45, note 4.<sup>29</sup> Read 'वाजसनेधि'.<sup>30</sup> Read 'ब्राह्मणाविन'.<sup>31</sup> Read 'विनिर्ग'.<sup>32</sup> Read 'भटपुत्र'.<sup>33</sup> Read 'सुताय'; the *ss* of 'पुरस्सर' is written as *ss*.<sup>35</sup> Read 'चितिसमकालीप'.

- 19 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च <sup>1</sup>पुन्ययशोभिहृषये <sup>2</sup>ताम्रशासनेनाकरिहृत्य<sup>3</sup>  
 20 प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य <sup>4</sup>समुचितभोगभागकरहिरन्यादिकमुपनय-<sup>5</sup>  
 21 स्निभवद्भिः<sup>6</sup> सुखेन प्रतिवस्तथ्यमिति [1\*] भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरियमस्म-  
 22 दिया<sup>7</sup> धर्मगौरवादस्मदनुरोधश्च <sup>8</sup>स्वदतिरिवानुपालनीया [1\*] तथा चोक्तं ध-  
 23 र्मशा[स्त्रे] [11\*] <sup>9</sup>वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य<sup>10</sup> यस्य यदा  
 भूमि-<sup>11</sup>

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 24 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [11\*] मा भुदफलंशङ्का<sup>12</sup> वः परदत्तेति  
 पार्थिवाः [1\*]  
 25 स्वदानात्फलमत्यन्तं परदानानुपालने [11\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे  
 26 मोदति भूमिदः<sup>13</sup> [1\*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वशीत<sup>14</sup>  
 [11\*] अग्नेरप[त्यं] प्र-  
 27 यमं स्ववर्ण<sup>15</sup> भुव्यैष्णवी <sup>16</sup>सुर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*] यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं  
 च दद्यात्<sup>17</sup>  
 28 दत्तास्त्रयस्त्रेण भवन्ति लाकाः<sup>18</sup> [11\*] आस्तीत्यन्ति<sup>19</sup> पितरः प्रवल्गा(य)न्ति  
 पिताम-  
 29 द्वाः [1\*] भूमिदाप्ता<sup>20</sup> कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति [11\*] भूमि<sup>21</sup>  
 यः प्रतिगृह्णा-<sup>22</sup>  
 30 ति यस्य भूमि<sup>23</sup> प्रयच्छति [1\*] उभौ तौ <sup>24</sup>पुन्यकर्माभौ नियतं स्वर्गगामि-  
 31 नौ [11\*] तडागानां सहस्राणि<sup>25</sup> वाजपेयमतानि<sup>26</sup> च [1\*] गवां कीटिप्र-  
 दानेन भूमिहर्ता  
 32 न शुध्यति [11\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताभ्या<sup>27</sup> यो <sup>28</sup>हरेदसुन्धरां [1\*] स  
 विष्ठायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा प-  
 33 ण्यते पितृभिः सह [11\*] आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुव्रह्मा<sup>29</sup> सोमो इतामनः  
 [1\*] <sup>30</sup>शुलपा-  
 34 णिस्तु<sup>31</sup> भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं [11\*] सामान्यीयं धर्मसेतुर्दृष्ट्वा काल<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read पुण्य°.

<sup>2</sup> The ग of भाग was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> Read °स्निभवद्भिः.

<sup>4</sup> Read बहुभिः.

<sup>5</sup> Read भूदफलशङ्का.

<sup>6</sup> Read स्ववर्णं भूव्यै°.

<sup>7</sup> Read लाकाः.

<sup>8</sup> Read भूमि.

<sup>9</sup> Read पुण्य°.

<sup>10</sup> Read दत्तां वा.

<sup>11</sup> Read भूमि.

<sup>12</sup> Read ताव°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °दीया.

<sup>14</sup> Read °भिः । यस्य.

<sup>15</sup> Read भूमिदः.

<sup>16</sup> Read सुर्य°.

<sup>17</sup> Read आस्तीत्यन्ति.

<sup>18</sup> Read °गृह्णाति.

<sup>19</sup> Read सहस्रेष्व.

<sup>20</sup> Read हरेत् वसु°.

<sup>21</sup> Read °विष्व.

<sup>22</sup> Read °करीकृत्य.

<sup>23</sup> Read °हिरन्या°.

<sup>24</sup> Read स्वदति°.

<sup>25</sup> Read भूमि°.

<sup>26</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>27</sup> Read दद्यात्.

<sup>28</sup> Read भूमिदाता.

<sup>29</sup> Read भूमि.

<sup>30</sup> Read °शतेन.

<sup>31</sup> Read विष्णुव्रह्मा.

<sup>32</sup> Read काल.

## Third Plate.

- 35 काले पालनियो<sup>1</sup> भवद्भिः [I\*] सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्  
 36 भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः [I\*] इति कमलदलासुविन्दुलो-<sup>2</sup>  
 37 [ख]<sup>3</sup> श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य<sup>4</sup> मनुष्यजीवितंश्च<sup>5</sup> [I\*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं<sup>6</sup>  
 38 बुद्धा<sup>7</sup> न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः [II\*] परमभटरकमहा-<sup>8</sup>  
 39 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुल[ति]लकतृकलिङ्गाधिपति-<sup>9</sup>  
 40 श्रीजनमेजयदैवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्बच्छरे<sup>10</sup> षष्ठमे कार्तिकमा-  
 41 सहित्यपच<sup>10</sup> तित्यौ द्वादश्यां यथाहृतोपि सम्बत्<sup>11</sup> ८ कार्तिके यदि १२  
 [I\*] द्यौः<sup>12</sup>  
 42 तत्कश्च<sup>13</sup> महामहत्तमभटश्रीसाधारणः [I\*] शोभनसुतः [I\*] लिखितमिदं शासनं  
 43 महासाध्विविग्रहिराणकश्रीमन्नादस्तधारदस्तसुतप्रतिवक्षेन<sup>14</sup> का[य]स्थथा-  
 44 ज्ञवेन कै(वि)लाससुतेन<sup>15</sup> उत्किरितं<sup>16</sup> संग्रामेन<sup>17</sup> (II) रयणाश्रीकामसुतेन<sup>18</sup>

## No. 12.— BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF CHARUDEVĪ.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was first edited 25 years ago by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. p. 100 ff. On account of its archaic alphabet and of its language, which is not only Sanskrit verse (plate iii. lines 12-15), but chiefly Prākṛit prose, it has attracted much attention. Bühler succeeded in deciphering some additional portions of it,<sup>19</sup> and a few corrections were suggested by M. Senart and myself.<sup>20</sup> At my request, Dr. Fleet was good enough to send me a set of ink-impressions of the plates, with the help of which it has been possible to make out with some probability those portions of lines 3 to 7 which Bühler considered 'utterly unintelligible.' The only item which appears to be irretrievably lost is the figure of the regnal year at the end of the first line.

The original copper-plates, which were secured by Sir Walter Elliot, are now in the British Museum. For their finding-place and for a detailed description of them see the prefatory

<sup>1</sup> Read पालनीयो.<sup>2</sup> Read °दलासुविन्दु°.<sup>3</sup> Read °खं यिय°.<sup>4</sup> The two *akṣaras* चिन्त्य are engraved over an erasure.<sup>5</sup> Cancel the *anuvāda*.<sup>6</sup> Read बुद्धा.<sup>7</sup> Read °भट्टारक°.<sup>8</sup> Read °चिकलिङ्गा°.<sup>9</sup> Read संवत्सरे षष्ठे.<sup>10</sup> Read °पचे.<sup>11</sup> Read संवत्.<sup>12</sup> Read द्रुतकश्च.<sup>13</sup> Read °मह°.<sup>14</sup> Read °प्रतिवक्षेन.<sup>15</sup> The *visarga* is meant for a sign of punctuation; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 111, note 1, and above, Vol. VII. p. 193, note 3.<sup>16</sup> Read उत्कीर्त्त.<sup>17</sup> Read °मेष.<sup>18</sup> See note 15 above.<sup>19</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2, note 2.<sup>20</sup> Above, Vol. VI. p. 88, note 10; Vol. VII. pp. 67 and 69.

remarks of Dr. Fleet's article, which was accompanied by photo-lithographs of the inscription (on the back of the Plate) and of the seal (on the front of the Plate). The present facsimile of the inscription, has been prepared, under Dr. Fleet's superintendence, from fresh ink-impressions made for him, in 1903, in the British Museum. The seal has been reproduced from a plaster cast taken by Mr. Griggs from a sealing-wax impression which was made at the same time in the British Museum. The sealing-wax impression shows, in the centre of the seal, a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull,<sup>1</sup> the crest of the Pallavas, and over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates of Śiva-Skandavarman,<sup>2</sup> but are less ornamental and more irregular. This seems to be due to the fact that the engraver mechanically copied a draft which had been written in a pronounced running hand. Instances are the *vā* in line 14 and the *vām* of *gavām* (l. 15), the subscribed *v* of *savva*<sup>3</sup> (l. 11) and the subscribed *ch* of *bahubhīśch[ā]*<sup>4</sup> (l. 12), the vowel *i* of *gāmeyikā* (l. 10) and of *pibatī* (l. 15).<sup>5</sup> The group *tta*, while in most cases resembling *nna*,<sup>6</sup> has two other shapes: in *uttare* (l. 6) the upper *t* has a fully developed loop, as in Tamil, and in *chhettaṁ* (l. 7) and *dattā* (l. 12) the lower *t* is fashioned in the same manner. The initial *d* of *āyu* (l. 8) differs from that of *Ātukassa* (l. 6), *āyuttā* (l. 10) and *ānatti* (l. 16). In the *nā* of *nivattana* (l. 9) the *n* is placed in a slanting position, and the *ā* fills up the right upper corner. Another peculiar letter is the *tha* of *pariharatha* and *pariharāpe[tha]* (l. 11). A rude final form of *m* occurs at the end of ll. 13, 14, 15. Marks of punctuation are used after *siddha* on the left margin of plate i. and at the end of the inscription. In ll. 12-15 every odd *pāda* of the two *ślōkas* is divided from the next by a blank space. Plates ii. *a* and ii. *b* are marked like the pages of a book by the numerical symbols '2' and '3' on the left margin, and the numerical symbol '4' occurs in l. 9.

While in the Andhra inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of Chārudēvi's grant is in accordance with that of the literary Prākṛit.<sup>7</sup> In the word *samvachochhara* (l. 1), *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. As to the language of the inscription, noteworthy words are *Bhāraddāya*<sup>8</sup> (l. 2) for *Bhāradvāja*, *talāka*, *heṭ[ṭh]a*, *pāṇiya* (l. 5) and *chhetta* (l. 7).<sup>9</sup> Instances of the nom. plur. neutr. are the three words *nivattana* *chattāri* *sampadattā* (l. 9 f.). The abl. sing. [*kū*] *pāt* (l. 5 f.) is due to a relapse into Sanskrit. Pronominal forms are *amhaṁ* (l. 8) and *amhehiṁ* (l. 9), the genitive and instrumental of *asmaḍ*, and *taṁ* (l. 10), the acc. sing. neutr. of *tad*. Verbal forms are the gerunds *kātūṇa* (l. 9) and *nātūṇa* (l. 10) and the imperatives *pariharatha* *pariharāpe[tha]* (l. 11).

The inscription is dated in some year of the reign of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman*, the figure or figures of the date being illegible. It contains an order by the queen of the heir-apparent (*Yuvamahārāja*) *Vijaya-Buddhavarman*, who was one of the Pallavas and, as such, a *Bhāradvāja* or member of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. I read the queen's name as *Chārudēvi*, and that of the prince whose mother she claims to have been as [*Bu*] *ddh[ya]ṁkura* or, in Sanskrit, *Buddhyāṅkura*. In favour of my restoration of this damaged word it may be stated that *aṅkura*, 'a sprout,' is synonymous with *pallava*, and that other Pallavas bore the similar surnames

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 319, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> These two words were already noted by Bühler, *ibid.* p. 2, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Compare e.g. *nivattana* (l. 9) with *bhagavannd*<sup>5</sup> (l. 8).

<sup>5</sup> In this respect the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 4, and Vol. VI. p. 86) occupy an intermediate position.

<sup>6</sup> The same form occurs in the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman.

<sup>7</sup> On the four last words see Prof. Pischel's edition of Hēmachandra's Prākṛit grammar, I. 202; II. 141; I. 101; II. 17.

Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman.



i.



ii.



J. F. FLEET.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS MADE BY MR. HENRY OLDLAND.

ii b.

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali or Sanskrit, on a dark, rectangular surface. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A circular hole is visible near the center of the surface.

iii.

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100

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali or Sanskrit, on a dark, rectangular surface. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A circular hole is visible near the center of the surface.

Nayāṅkura, Taruṇāṅkura and Lalitāṅkura.<sup>1</sup> Thus the first plate of the inscription supplies the following short Pallava genealogy :—

Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

|  
Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, married Chārudēvi.

|  
Buddhyaṅkura.

The syllables which follow the word *Chārudēvi* at the end of the first plate can be read and restored with the help of the corresponding portions of four cognate inscriptions.

Nāsik, No. 3, l. 11 (p. 65 above), and No. 4, l. 2 (p. 71 above)—*ānapayati Govadhane amacha*[<sup>m\*</sup>].

Mayidavōlu plates, l. 3 f. (above, Vol. VI. p. 86)—*Dharmākade vāpataṁ ānapayati*.

Koṇḍamudi plates, l. 6 f. (*ibid.* p. 316 f.)—*ānapayati Kūdūre vāpataṁ*.

On the strength of these analogous cases I propose to read at the end of line 4—*Ka[ḍake] viya . .*, to correct the second word to *viya . .*, and to restore *viyāpataṁ*, which is another possible Prākṛit form of *vāpataṁ* in the Mayidavōlu and Koṇḍamudi plates. It is true that the verb *ānapayati* is missing in our inscription; but the same is the case in the first sentence of the Hiraḥaḍagalli plates.<sup>2</sup> As in that document, we seem to have here a sort of official preamble, corresponding to the address of a modern letter—‘Chārudēvi to the official at Ka[ḍaka].’ As regards this Prākṛit word, its Sanskrit equivalent is *Kaṭaka*, but the name cannot refer to the town of Cuttack in Orissa, which is far to the north of the Pallava territory. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the second and third syllables of *Ka[ḍake]* are injured, and that the true reading of the word may after all be a different one.

The remainder of the inscription refers to a gift of land made by Chārudēvi. This land must have been situated in *Ka[ḍaka]*, to the officer in charge of which place the order was addressed. The grant consisted of a field near the ‘King’s Tank.’ The recipient was a temple of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) at Dālūre (l. 7), a place which I am unable to trace. The *Ājñapti* (or *Dātaka*) was Rōhinīgupta (l. 16).

#### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

##### First Plate.

Siddha ||<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa samvachchhar[ā] . . [<sup>1\*</sup>]
- 2 yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pal[ḷ]avā-
- 3 ṇaṁ si[r]i-Vijaya-Buddhavammaṣṣa devī [Bu]ddhi .<sup>5</sup>
- 4 kura-janavi<sup>6</sup> Chārudēvi Ka[ḍake] viya . .<sup>7</sup> [<sup>1\*</sup>]

##### Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 Rājatalāka-heṭ[ṭh]e pāṇiya .<sup>8</sup>
- 6 pād=uttare pāse Ātukassa kasita .<sup>9</sup>
- 7 chhettam Dālūre Kūḷi-Mahātara-<sup>10</sup>devakula[ssā]

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 8 and 5; Vol. II. p. 341; above, Vol. VI. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, text lines 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> From ink-impressions received from Dr. Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> On the left margin of the plate.

<sup>5</sup> The subscribed *l* of the second syllable of *Pallavā* in line 2 has obliged the engraver to place the syllable *ddhi* too low, the top of the *i* being on a level with the top of the broken syllable *du*.—Restore *Buddhyaṅkura*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-janani*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *viyāpataṁ*.

<sup>8</sup> Restore *pāṇiya-kāpāda*.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *kasitavāṇa*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *-Mahāḍāraka*; *Mahānaraka*, which is another possible reading, would be a very unusual name for a temple.



## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 8 bhagavan-Nārāyaṇassa amhañ āyu-bala-vaddhañ-  
 9 yañ kātūpa bhūmi-nivattaṇā chaṭṭāri 4 amhehiñ<sup>1</sup>  
 10 sampadattā [!]<sup>2</sup> tañ nātūpa gāmevi(ya)kā āyattā  
 11 savva-parihārehi pariharatha pariharāpe[tha] [!]<sup>3</sup>

## Third Plate.

- 12 Bahubhir=vva[s]udhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=[ā]nupāṭitā [!]<sup>4</sup>  
 13 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi<sup>5</sup> tasya tasya tadā phalam [!]<sup>6</sup>  
 14 Sva-dattam<sup>7</sup> para-dattam<sup>8</sup> vā yē<sup>9</sup> haratta vasu[n]dharām [!]<sup>10</sup>  
 15 gavām sata-sahasrasya hantū pibati dushkṛitam [!]<sup>11</sup>  
 16 Āpatti Rohaṇ[!]<sup>12</sup>gu[tt]a-ṭṭi<sup>13</sup> ||

## TRANSLATION.

Success! (Line 1.) The years . . (of the reign) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

(L. 2.) Chārudēvi, the queen of the Yuvamahārāja, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas, (and) mother of [Buddhayaṇ]kura, (addresses the following order) [to the official at] Kaṭṭaka:—

(L. 5.) "The field to be ploughed by Ātuka on the northern side of the drinking-well below the King's Tank (Rājataḍḍaka), (containing) four—4—*niṣṭānas* of land, has been given by Us, making (it) a means for increasing Our length of life and power,<sup>1</sup> to the god Nārāyaṇa of the Kōḷi-Mahāt[ā]raka temple at Dālūra.

(L. 10.) "Knowing this, ye, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (this field) with all immunities, (and) cause (it) to be exempted!"<sup>2</sup>

[Lines 12-15 contain two of the customary verses.]

(L. 16.) "The *Āpatti*<sup>3</sup> (is) *Rōhaṇigupta*."<sup>4</sup>

## No. 13.—NILAMBUR PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. (MADRAS), AND G. VENKOA RAO (OOTACAMUND).

This set of copper-plates was discovered by a Kurumban, while he was washing for gold, on the banks of the Chāliyār stream adjacent to Nilambūr.<sup>10</sup> The exact spot where they were

<sup>1</sup> The *anuvāda* is distinctly visible after the *at* at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhūmi-tasya*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-dattāḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *yō harāta*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *gutto-ṭṭi*.—The *t* of *Rōhaṇi*<sup>6</sup> has an unusual shape; perhaps the *ra* of *sahasrasya* in the preceding line interfered with its proper execution. The *ttā* of *\*guttā* looks almost like *eda*.

<sup>6</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent of the words *amhañ āyu-bala-vaddhantyaṃ* occurs in the Uruvupalli grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 52, text line 27 f. Instead of *vaddhantyaṃ*, the corresponding portions of the Hiraṇyagalli, Mayidavālu and Koṇḍamudi plates have *vaddhanika*.

<sup>7</sup> The corresponding Sanskrit phrase *sarava-parihāraiḥ pariharata parihārayata cha* occurs in the Māṅgalūr grant; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 156, text line 80.

<sup>8</sup> On *āpatti* see above, Vol. VII. p. 185 and notes 4 and 5.

<sup>9</sup> In *Rōhaṇigutta*, *Rōhaṇi* is a vulgar form of *Rōhiṇi*, which occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 295, text line 5; the usual form in Tamil inscriptions is *Urōṣaṇi*.

<sup>10</sup> [This picturesque place belongs to the Ernad (Īrṇādū) tāluka of the Malabar district and is situated at the foot of the Kārkkūr Ghāt on the road from Ootacamund to Calicut. Near it are the teak plantations started by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, in 1840; see Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. II. p. 368 ff.—E. H.]

found is popularly known as "Grāmam Kaṣavu." The plates were made over by the discoverer to the Raja of Nilambūr, Mr. Tachoharakkāvil Mānavikraman Tirumalpāḍ, who very kindly presented them to us for publication.

The plates are three in number; the first and last of them are engraved on one side only. The average length and breadth of the plates are  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " respectively; and each plate is about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick. The edges of the plates are neither thickened nor raised into rims. The weight of these three plates is nearly  $10\frac{1}{2}$  oz., including the ring, which alone weighs  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. The oval ring is about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick, with  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " for diameters. When the plates were discovered by the Kurumban, the ring bore a seal with distinct writing on it. He broke it open in the hope of finding gold encased in it, but threw it away in disgust when finding none. Thus the seal has been lost.

Though the letters are cut deeply and very distinctly, they do not show through on the back of the plates. The water of the stream, in which the plates had lain apparently for a long time, has corroded them on the margin and caused the loss of several inscribed portions, which are now broken away. The characters are similar to those of the Kūḍgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātivarman (above, Vol. VI. p. 12), of the plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37), and also to those of the Halat plates belonging to the reigns of Ravivarman and Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 25-32). On the first side of the second plate, between lines 7 and 8, there is an addition in somewhat more modern characters, which reads: *paśchimataś=cha Na[nda]ra[sa]*. Probably this clause was added at a later period, when the existing specification was found insufficient for describing the spot; compare the *pa*, *ma*, *na* of this addition with the corresponding letters in the body of the inscription. As regards individual letters in the record itself, attention may be drawn to the Dravidian *r* and *l*. The former occurs once, in the word *Kirupāsāni* (l. 6), and the latter twice, in the words *Muṭtagi* (l. 7) and *Maḷkāvu* (l. 8). As noticed by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 13), the subscript *t* of the conjuncts *kta*, *tta* occurring in the words *uktañ=cha* (l. 14) and *Kārttika* (l. 6) has the common curvilinear form, whereas in *nta* and *styā* of the words *kuḷābhyan tara*<sup>1</sup> and *svasty=astu* (ll. 11 and 16 respectively) it is represented by a looped sign. The language of the record, excepting one benedictory verse in l. 14 f., is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription belongs to the fifth year of the reign of the *Dharmamahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. While at Vaijayanti (i.e. Banavāsi), the king made a grant, on the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Kārttika, of two hamlets (*paṭṭi*) named *Muṭtagi* and *Maḷkāvu* to a Brāhmaṇa named Gōvindasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who had mastered the Yajurveda. The two hamlets were situated on the east of the village named *Kirupāsāni* in the Mogalūr district (*viśaya*).

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, it may be noticed that *Muṭtagi* is represented in the Markara plates of Kōṅgani-mahādhirāja<sup>1</sup> as forming the eastern boundary of the village *Badaṇeguppe*, granted to the *Śri-vijaya-Jindlaya* of *Talavananagara*. *Talavananagara* is the modern *Talakāḍ* on the Kāvēri, and *Badaṇeguppe* is 5 or 6 miles south of *Talakāḍ* on the other side of the river. *Mogalūr* is perhaps identical with either *Mugūr* or *Muḷlūr*, also near *Talakāḍ*.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 स्व[स्ति श्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिनाहते]ममातुमस्तनुष्वा[त]-
- 2 भिक्षि[त]न्नाम्नामवसमोपादां हरितोपुष्पां प्रतिकृतस्व-

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> From the original copper-plates.

- 3 ध्यायच्चर्चापाराणामश्नमेधावभूयस्त्रानपविनीकता-  
4 [न]वानामाश्रितजनांबानां कदंबानां श्रीरविवर्ध्मधर्ममहा-

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 5 [रा]ज[ः]<sup>1</sup> आत्मनः प्रवर्धमानविजयसंवत्सरे पंचमे  
6 कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां मोगलूर्विषये कि०७७पासाणिनाम-  
7 धेयग्रामस्य पूर्वदिग्विभागे सु०७७गिनामधेयप-  
8 [ज्ञी]म०७७वुसहितां काश्यपसगोत्राय यक्षुर्वेद[पा]-

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 9 [रगा]य गोविन्दस्वामिने स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये सहि[रण्यं]  
10 [स]पानीयपातं सर्वपरिहृतपरिहारं संप्र[दत्त]-  
11 [वान्] [१\*] तदवधार्य यः कदंबकुलाभ्यन्तरगतोऽन्यो वा [राग]-  
12 [देव]लोभादिभिरभिभूतो हरे[त स पञ्चमहापातक]-

*Third Plate.*

- 13 [सं]यु[क्तो] भवति [१\*] योभिरक्षेप्त तत्पुण्यफलभाग्भवति [१\*]  
14 उक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्विमुखा भुक्ता राजभिस्त्रगरादिभिः [१\*]  
15 [य]स्य यस्य यदा भूमिः<sup>2</sup> तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [१\*]  
16 [स्व]स्थस्तु गीर्वाणप्रेभ्यः प्रजा[भ्यो मङ्गलं] [१\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! The glorious Ravivarman, the virtuous (and) mighty king of the Kadambas,— who were anointed after meditating on the lord Mahāsēna and the group of the Mothers,<sup>3</sup> who belonged to the lineage of the Mānavyas, who were the sons of Hārītī, who were well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one,<sup>4</sup> who were sinless (on account of) being purified by the bath after (the ceremony of) the horse-sacrifice, and who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them),— at the prosperous (and) victorious (city of) Vaijayanti, on the full-moon tithi of (the month of) Kārttika in the increasingly victorious fifth year of his (reign), gave to Gōvindasvāmin, belonging to the lineage of Kāśyapa (and) well versed in the Yajurveda, the hamlet named Mūltagi along with Mālkāvu, (situated) on the eastern side of the village named Kīrupāsāpi in the Mogalūr district, with all exemptions, with the pouring of water, (and) with (a present of) gold, towards the increase of his own merit.

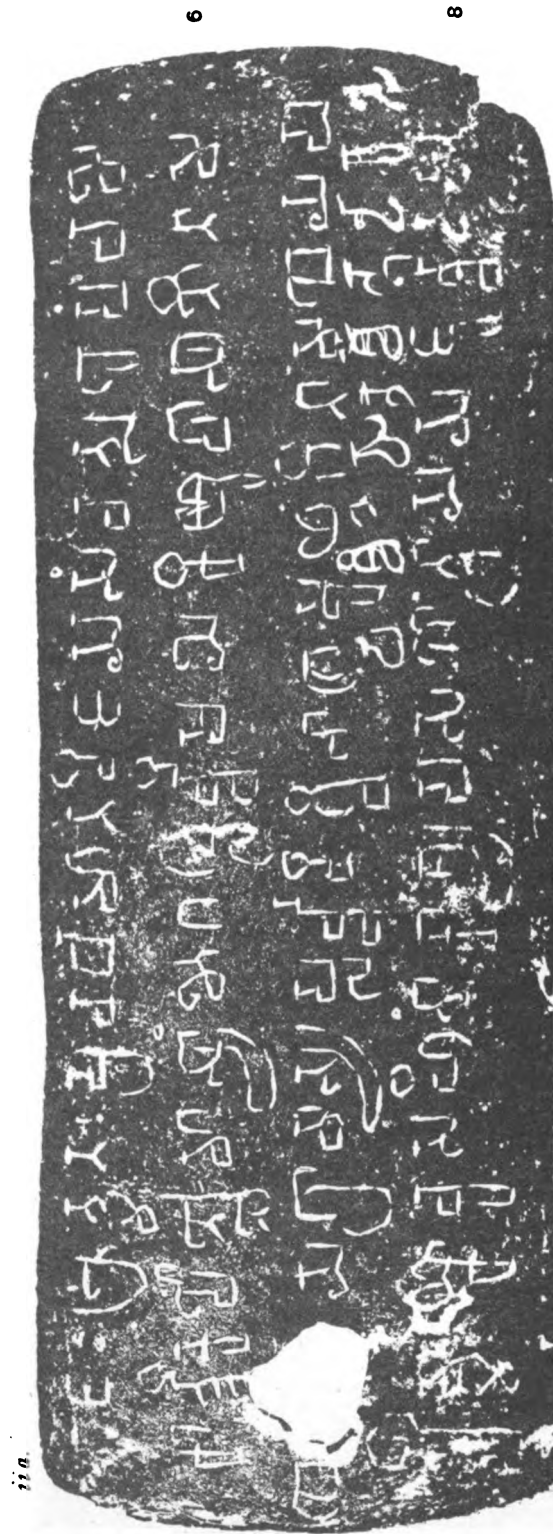
<sup>1</sup> Cancel the visarga.

<sup>2</sup> Read भूमिस्तस्य.

<sup>3</sup> This epithet, met with in almost all the Kadamba grants, has been adopted by all the kings of this dynasty from Mayūrasarman (i.e. Mayūravarman), the founder of the dynasty. Compare above, p. 82, v. 22 :—*Shaddanah yam-abhisikta-va-anudhyaya sandpatim matribhis-saha.*

<sup>4</sup> This passage has been translated in various ways. Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 15) translates it by 'studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text.' As the passage might as well apply to any student of the sacred writings, it is taken in its general sense thus :—*prati pratyēkam kṛitā anushīhita yā roddhyasya charcā uktyanantaram ukthā tām pṛayanti iti.*

Nilambur plates of Ravivarman.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FULL-SIZE.

E. HULTZSCH.

iii.

10 12

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular stone tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. There is a small, irregular white mark or hole on the left side of the tablet.

10

12

iii.

14 16

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular stone tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. There is a small, irregular white mark or hole on the left side of the tablet.

14

16

(L. 11.) He who,— whether he be a member of the Kadamba family or an alien,— knowing this, influenced by passion, hatred, greed, *etc.*, takes away (*this grant*), is saddled with (*the guilt of having committed*) the five great sins. He who protects (*it*), shares the reward of its merit.

(L. 14.) And it has been said :— “The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; to whomsoever, at any time, the earth belongs, to him for the time being belongs the reward (*of the grant*).” May blessings rest upon cows and Brāhmanas! (*And let*) prosperity (*rest*) upon the subjects!

#### NO. 14.— FIVE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

##### OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

At Professor Hultzsch's request I shall give an account here of five more<sup>1</sup> copper-plate inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindaachandrādēva of Kanauj, the originals of which are now<sup>2</sup> in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, and of which ink-impressions were supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Before doing so, I take the opportunity of submitting a few general remarks.

While only three stone-inscriptions, of very small importance, have been hitherto discovered of the Gāhaḍavāla kings of Kanauj, the number of their known copper-plates amounts to no less than fifty-five.<sup>3</sup> The details are as follows :—

One plate of the *Mahārājādhirāja Madanapāla*, recording a grant that was made by his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja Chandradēva*.

One plate of *Madanapāla* and his queen *Prithvīśrīkā*(P).

Three plates of Gōvindaachandra, of the reign of his father *Madanapāla*.

Twenty-six plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja Gōvindaachandra*.

Two plates of Gōvindaachandra and his mother *Rālhana* (*Rālha*)-dēvi.

One plate of Gōvindaachandra and his queen *Nayanakēśidēvi*.

One plate of Gōvindaachandra and his queen *Gōśaladēvi*.

One plate of Gōvindaachandra and his son, the *Yuvarāja Āsphōṭachandra* (below, C.).

Two plates of Gōvindaachandra and his son *Rājyapāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 21, and below, D.).

One plate of the reign of Gōvindaachandra, recording a grant made by the Singara prince *Vatsarāja*.

Two plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja Vijayachandra* and his son, the *Yuvarāja Jayachandra*.

Fourteen plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja Jayachandra*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. IV. p. 97 ff.; Vol. V. p. 112 ff.; and Vol. VII. p. 98 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The plates were “found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadaini temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface in the course of excavations for the water-works conducted on the spot in April 1899.” See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for the year ending with May 1905, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that of a royal family of which we possess 55 copper-plates, there must have existed also a considerable number of stone-inscriptions. The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground. The same may be said regarding the records of *e.g.* the Maitrakas of Valabhi, of whom we have 40 plates and only a single, most insignificant stone-inscription; and of the E. Chalukyas of Vēṅgī, of whom 29 copper-plate inscriptions have been published, and not a single stone-inscription.

All these plates were issued during the ninety years from A.D. 1097 to A.D. 1187. Excepting the genealogy of the family and dates for each king from Chandradēva to Jayachandra, there is in them no historical information of any particular value.<sup>1</sup> But the plates are of great interest on account of the very large number of districts and villages mentioned in them. Nearly all these localities remain to be identified; and it is with the view of perhaps inducing others, especially residents of the United Provinces, to help in the work of identification, that I give here an alphabetical list of all names of districts that occur in the plates. So far as I can judge, most of these districts would have been called after larger villages or towns, some of which undoubtedly are still in existence.

List of districts mentioned in the plates.

Amvu(mbu)āli-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 138, line 20. (The inscription grants the village of Dēupālī on the banks of the D[ai]vahā. Daivahā apparently is the modern 'Deoha' which according to Thornton's *Gazetteer*, p. 333, is another name of the river Gogra.)

Antarāla-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXI. p. 123.

Asurēsa-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 11, line 20.

Bhailavata-pattalā(?); *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p. 787.

Bhīmamayūtāsa . . . -pattalā; above, Vol. V. p. 117, line 13.

Dayāḍaml-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140, line 18.

Dēva[ha]li-pattalā; *ibid.* Vol. XV. p. 7, line 14.

Dhanēśarama-pattalā; *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 11, line 8.

Gōyara-pattalā (in Ōpavala-pathaka); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 15. (Gōyara perhaps is the 'Gowra' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 102, long. 83° 20', lat. 26° 47'.)

Haladōya-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 101, line 14; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

[Ha?]thānḍa-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 21.

Jāru[tha]-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 141, line 18; and p. 142, line 16.

Jiāvai-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 14; or, which is the same,—

Jiāvatī-pattalā (in Pañchāla-dēsa); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 10; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 8.

Kachohhōha-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 116, line 12; and p. 129, line 19.

Kāngali-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 127, line 17.

Kāṭi-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 102, line 13.

[Kēśurē?] -pattalā; *ibid.* p. 103, line 12.

Kōsariva(mba)-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137, line 18.

Kō[thō]takōṭiāvarahōtta[ra]; above, Vol. IV. p. 108, line 11.

Mahāsō-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 123, line 18; or, which is the same,—

Mahasōya-pattalā; above, Vol. V. p. 115, line 12.

Mā[ṇa]ra-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 131, line 20.

Nandipī-pattalā; below, p. 155, line 13.

Nandivāra-pattalā; below, p. 154, line 12.

Navagāma-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 109, line 14; and above, Vol. IV. p. 113, line 13.

Nēulasatāvisikā; <sup>2</sup> above, Vol. IV. p. 110, line 9.

<sup>1</sup> The plates generally state that Yaśovigraha, the reputed founder of the Gāhaḍavāla family, came when 'the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven.' The kings thus referred to are the Pratihāras of Kanauj who, as we now know, derived their descent from the Sun. The Gāhaḍavāla king who first took possession of Kanauj was Yaśovigraha's grandson Chandradēva, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1097.

<sup>2</sup> The *satāvisikā* of this name is derived from the Prakṛit *sattāvisakā* or Sanskrit *saptaviṃśati*, 'twenty-seven.'—Compare, in other plates, names of districts like *Nakṣhisapura-chaturastikā*, etc.

Pāndala-pattalā (in Gōvisāka that belonged to Dadhāli in Saruvāra); above, Vol. VII p. 99, line 15.

Paśchimachchhapana-pattalā<sup>1</sup> (in Antavēdi); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 135, line 20.

Purōha-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 120, line 11.

[Rāna?]-pattalā; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 362, line 13.

Rādamaṇavayālisi-pattalā;<sup>2</sup> above, Vol. IV. p. 112, line 12.

Sigurōḍha-pattalā; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 12.

Sirasi-pattalā (in Ōpavala-pathaka in Saruvāra); above, Vol. V. p. 114, note 4; and Vol. VII. p. 99. (Sirasi probably is the 'Sirsi' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 87, S. E., long. 88° 9', lat. 26° 32'.)

Tēmishapachōttara-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 115, line 14.

Ughanatērahōttara-pattalā;<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 106, line 12.

Uṇva(mba)rāla-pattalā; below, p. 159, line 11.

Unāvisa-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 124, line 20.

Vajainhāchchhāsāṭhi-pattalā;<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p. 125, line 17.

Valaura-pattalā; below, p. 157, line 13.

Vṛi(bri)hadgrihōkamisāra-pattalā; above, Vol. IV. p. 121, line 19.

Vṛi(bri)hagrihē[yē?]varaṭha-pattalā; *ibid.* p. 104, line 13.

[Ya?]vaala-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 115, line 13.

I may add that, besides the villages granted and the districts in which they were situated, the plates also mention a fair number of places where the donations recorded in the plates were made. In no less than 33 instances this was done after bathing in the Ganges at Benares. Other places on the Ganges, mentioned in a similar way, are:—

Īsapatishthāna (?); *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

Khayarā; above, Vol. IV. p. 108, line 16.

Madapatihāra (?); *ibid.* p. 101, line 18.

Mudgagiri (i.e. Monghyr on the southern bank of the Ganges); above, Vol. VII. p. 99, line 21.

Rājyapālapura; below, p. 158, line 18.

Rapḍavai; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 140, line 22; p. 141, line 22; and p. 143, line 20.

Vishnupura; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 860, line 6.

Two donations were made after bathing in the Yamunā at—

Āsatikā (or Asatikā); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 9; and *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 17 (where the king is stated to have bathed at the Muraitha(?)-ghaṭṭa); and one was made after bathing in the Vēṇī (i.e. at the confluence of the rivers) at—

Prayāga (i.e. Allahābād); above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.

Other places where donations were made, not connected with any rivers, are:—

Dēvasthāna (?); above, Vol. IV. p. 105, line 15; and Vajaviha; *ibid.* p. 121, line 23.

And of rivers, in addition to those already given, in which the king had bathed when making a donation, the plates mention the Satī (with the Svapnāvara-ghaṭṭa); above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 23.

Of Benares the following specific localities are referred to in the plates:—

The Ādikēsava-ghaṭṭa; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p. 787; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I. p. 109, line 19; and (the) Ādikēsava, (temple); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 252; above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 18, and p. 124, line 24.

<sup>1</sup> *Chhapana* in this name probably is the Prakṛit *chhapana* or Sanskrit *chhapanaśatā*, 'fifty-six.'

<sup>2</sup> *Vayālisi* would be the Prakṛit *vayālisa* or Sanskrit *śatāśatāśatā*, 'forty-two.'

<sup>3</sup> *Tēraha* in this name probably is the Prakṛit *teraha* or Sanskrit *trayāśatā*, 'thirteen.'

<sup>4</sup> *Chhāsāṭhi* apparently is the Sanskrit *chhāsāṭhi*, 'sixty-six.'—Prof. Hultzsch suggests that the *varaṭha* of Kō[tō]takōjiavarahōtta[ra] may be the Prakṛit *ḍaraṭha* or Sanskrit *daśatā*, 'twelve'; and *paścha* of Tēmishapachōttara the Sanskrit *pañcāśa*, 'five.'



The Kapālamôchana-ghaṭṭa ; above, Vol. IV. p. 110, line 13.

The Trilôchana-ghaṭṭa ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 11, line 12.

The Vêdêśvara-ghaṭṭa ; above, Vol. IV. p. 114, L.

The Avimukta-kshêtra ; *ibid.* p. 114, L., and p. 113, line 18.

The Kôṭi-tīrtha ; below, p. 159, line 15.

(The temples of) Aghôrêśvara, Indramādhava, Lauḍêśvara and Pañchômākāra (below, p. 153, lines 18 and 19), Kṛittivāsa (above, Vol. IV. p. 126, line 22), and Lôlārka (above, Vol. V. p. 118, line 18).

Of Prayāga (the temple of) Gaṅgāditya is mentioned, above, Vol. IV. p. 122, line 22.

Of the new inscriptions the most interesting is C., because it records a grant by Gôvindachandra's son, the Yuvarāja Āsphôṭachandra, who was unknown to us before. And the inscription A. is peculiar in recording the gift of a house at Benares, not the grant of a village. The three grants recorded in C., D. and E. were made in favour of one and the same Brāhmaṇ, a sun-worshipper and student of the *Jyôtiṣśāstra*.—The taxes specified are the *bhāgabhōgakara* (mentioned in 50 plates of this family), the *pravāṇikara* (mentioned in 44 plates), the *turushkadāṇḍa* (mentioned in 23 plates, but not in any of the plates of Jayachandra), the *kumaragadiāṇaka* (mentioned in 10 plates), the *hiranya* (mentioned in 9 plates), and the *jalakara* and *gôkara* (mentioned together in 4 plates only).

#### A.—PLATE OF GÔVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1171.

This is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' ¾" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅝" in diameter ; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2⅝" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Gôvindachā[n]drādêva[āḥ]*, in Nāgarī letters about ⅞" high ; above the legend, the figure of a Garuḍa, squatting down and facing to the proper right ; and below the legend, a conch-shell. The plate contains 21 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅝ and ¾". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v* ; the dental sibilant is often employed for the palatal, and the palatal occasionally (as in *ratika*, l. 3) for the dental ; and the words *vamśa* and *tāmra* are written *vansa* and *tāmvraka*, ll. 2 and 21. I may also point out that the sign of *avagraha* is used in *enātva sēmbhir*, l. 18.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramêśvara Gôvinda-chandradêva*, who records that, on Monday, the full-moon tithi of Māgha of the year 1171 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted a dwelling-place (*āvāsa*<sup>1</sup>) to the *Mahattaka Dāyīmśarman*,<sup>2</sup> son of the *Thakkura Mahākara* and son's son of the *Thakkura Kākū*, [a Brāhmaṇ] of the Bhāradvāja *gôtra*, whose three *pravaras* were Bhāradvāja, Ângirasa and Bārhaspatya. The dwelling-place so granted was at Benares itself, and lay to the east of (the) Aghôrêśvara and Pañchômākāra, and to the west of (the) Indramādhava and Lauḍêśvara (temples).—The grant (*tāmra*) was written by the *Karaṇika Jalhapa*.<sup>3</sup> It contains no imprecatory verses.

<sup>1</sup> The original has *avāsa* and treats this word as a neuter noun. Compare *avāsaniḥ* for *āvāsaniḥ*, frequently used in the Sīyādōṇi inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the name *Dāyī* (*Dāyika*), above, Vol. IV. p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> The same Jalhapa wrote the grant of [Vikrama-]samvat 1172, published above, Vol. IV. p. 104, where he is described as *śrī-Vatavakul-ôbbhāta-kāyastha-thakkura*. The term *karaṇik-ôdgata* of the present grant describes him literally as 'descended from a Karaṇika,' Chitrāgupta, with whom he is compared, is 'one of Yama's attendants (recorder of every man's good and evil deeds).'

The date appears to be slightly irregular. In Vikrama-saṁvat 1171 current the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended on Thursday, the 22nd January A.D. 1114; and in Vikrama-saṁvat 1171 expired the same *tithi* commenced 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January A.D. 1115. This Monday most probably is the day intended by the grant, but I should have expected it to be connected with the 14th *tithi* of the bright half, not with the full-moon *tithi*.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 14 . . . . . <sup>1</sup>śrīmad-Gōvindaachandradēvō vijayī ||<sup>2</sup> śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām  
nivāsi-  
15 nō nikhila-[janapa]dān-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-  
pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgarīk-ākshapaṭalika-bhīsha-  
16 g-naimitti[k-ā]ntaḥpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñā-  
payati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā |  
17 viditam=astu bhavatām=ēkasaptatyadhik-aikādaśa-<sup>3</sup>samvatsarē Māghē māsi  
śukla-pakṣhē paurṇamāsyām-amkē-pi saṁvat 1171 Māgha-su-  
18 di 15 Sōmē || śrī-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām snātvā śmābhīr=gōkarṇṇa-kuśalātā-  
pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvām śrī-Vārāṇasyām=ēv-Āghōrēśva-  
19 ra-Paṁchōmākarayōḥ pūrvvē | tath=Ēmdramādhava-Lauḍēśvarayōḥ paśchimē  
avāsam=idam<sup>4</sup> Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Bhāradvāj-Āṁgirasa-Vā(bā)-  
20 rhaspatya-triḥpravarāya<sup>5</sup> ṭha<sup>6</sup> | śrī-Kākū-patrāya | ṭa(ṭha)<sup>6</sup> | śrī-Mahākara-putrāya  
mahattaka-śrī-Dāyīmā(śa)rmaṇē pradattam<sup>7</sup> matvā sa[r]vvair=a-  
21 pi paripālayitavyam=iti | ṭha || <sup>8</sup>Karanik-ōdgatō vidvān=Chitrāgupt-ōpamō  
gupaīḥ | yasasē Jalhapa[ḥ<sup>9</sup>] śrīmān=ali[kha<sup>9</sup>]t-tāmvrakam<sup>9</sup> mud[ā] ||

## B.— PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1187.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' 1" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 24 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅓ and ⅔". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindaachandradēva*, who records that, on Sunday, the Āgrahāyanī or full-moon tithi of Mārgaśīra of the year 1187 (given in figures only), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of Palasaunḍī in the Nandivāra pattalā to the *Prāpāchārya Bhāṭṭa Paṇḍita Khōṇaserman*, son of the *P. Bh. P. Ravidhara*, son's son of the *P. Bh. P. Gōhāḍa* and son of the son's son of the *P. Bh. P. Maṅgala*, a Brāhmaṇ of the *Pārāvasa*<sup>10</sup> gōtra whose

<sup>1</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindaachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f. The main differences are that the present plate adds the words *sa cha* before the word *paramabhāṭṭāraka* of line 11, and omits the passage *asvapati* . . . . . *Vāchaspati* in lines 13 and 14 of the Kamauli plate.

<sup>2</sup> This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 15-20 are superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-aikādaśata-*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *paśchima dvāsam=idam* (or, correctly, *paśchima dvāśō-yaṁ*). The construction of *pūrvē* and *paśchimē* with the genitive case is contrary to the rules of grammar.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-triḥpravarāya*.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. *ṭhakkura-*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pradattam=iti* (or, correctly, *pradatta iti*).

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); the first Pāda is faulty.

<sup>9</sup> Read *tāmvrakam*.

<sup>10</sup> So the name is given in the plate, but I am not sure that it is correct.

three *pravaras* were Kāṅkāyana, Kauṣika and Dhaumya, and student of the Śāṅkhāyana-<sup>1</sup> Bahvṛicha<sup>2</sup> śākhā.—The taxes specified (in line 20) are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, *hiraṇya*, *pravaṇikara* and *turushkadandā*. The writer's name is not given.

The title *prāñachārya* which, with *bhaṭṭa* and *paṇḍita*, is prefixed to the names of the donee and his ancestors, I have not met elsewhere, and I cannot give its exact meaning.

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1187 expired, corresponds to Sunday, the 16th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgasīra commenced 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

The localities I am unable to identify.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 . . . . . 4-śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijayā<sup>4</sup> ||<sup>5</sup> Nandivāra-pattalāyām<sup>6</sup>  
Palasaumḍi-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān=a[pi] [cha\*] rāja-rājñi-yu-  
13 [rā]ja-mantri-purōhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmḍāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhishaka(g)-na i m i-  
ttik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanaṅkarasthāna[g]ōkulādhikāri-puru-  
14 [shā]n samājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādisa(sa)ti va(cha) yathā viditam=astu  
bhavatām yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavan ākaraḥ sa-matsy-  
ākaraḥ sa-gart-ōsharaḥ sa-ma-  
15 [dhū]ka-chūta-vana-vātikā-vitapa-triṇa-pū(rū)ti-gōchāra-paryantaś=va(cha)turāghāta-visu-  
(śu)ddhaḥ s[v\*]a-simā-paryantaḥ s-ōrddh[v\*]-ādhaḥ samvat 1187  
Mārggasi(śi)ra-mā[sē]<sup>6</sup> Āgrahaṇi-pūrṇamā-  
16 [sy]ām Ravi-dinē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāpi(yām) snātvā vidhivan=  
mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāms=tarpayitvā timira-pātala-pātana-  
pa[t]u-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthā-  
17 y=Aushadhipati-sa(sa)kala-sē(śē)kharaṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=  
Vāsudēvasya pūjām=vidhāya<sup>7</sup> prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā  
mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-  
18 [bhi]vṛiddhayē Pārāvasa-<sup>8</sup>gōtrāya<sup>9</sup> Kāṅkāyana-<sup>10</sup>Kausi(śi)ka-Dhaumya-tripravarāya |  
Sikhyāyanavashthacha-sākhinō<sup>11</sup> prāñachārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Maṅgala-  
prapautrāya | prāñachā-  
19 rya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Gōhaḍa-pautrāya | prāñachārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Ravidhara-  
putrāya | prāñachārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Khōnasa(sa)rmmaṇō vrā(brā)hmaṇāy=  
āsmābhiḥ<sup>12</sup> gōkarppa-kuśala-  
20 tā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvam=ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvat<sup>13</sup> sāsanikṛitya pradattaḥ<sup>14</sup> |  
iti matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-hiraṇya-pravaṇikara-turushkadandā-  
prabhṛiti-samast-ā-

<sup>1</sup> The plate has *Sikhyāyana*-, apparently for *Sāṅkhāyana*- which occurs (for *Śāṅkhāyana*-) also in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 17, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. of the Rīgvēda.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the date of Baiwān plate of Gōvindachandra (in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 372, No. 193), which apparently corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgasīra ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>4</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV, p. 100 f. In verse 6, *vijayātē* has been erroneously engraved between *vijayātē* and *nija*-, in verse 8 we have *-vaddh-* instead of *-vandh-*; and in the prose passage that follows the verses, *sa cha* was engraved before the first *paramabhaṭṭāraka*-, but seems to have been struck out again.

<sup>5</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-māsa Āgrahāṇi-pūrṇamāsyām*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pūjām vidhāya*.

<sup>8</sup> The reading is certain, but I am not sure that it is correct.

<sup>9</sup> The signs of punctuation in lines 18-20 are superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> This name is quite clear in the impression.

<sup>11</sup> Read *Śāṅkhāyana-bahvṛicha-sākhinō*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *ōbhira*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *yāvat-ach-chāḍa*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *datta iti*.

21 dāyān-ājūāvidhāyibhūya dāsyath-ēti || ❀ || Bhavanti ch-ātra slō(ślō)kāḥ ||  
 . . . . .

**C.— PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA AND THE YUVARĀJA MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA  
 ĀSPHŌTACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1190.**

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅝" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2⅜" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahārājaputra-śrīma-  
 d-Āsph[ō]tacha[m]drad[ē]vaḥ ||

in Nāgarī letters between ⅞" and ⅝" high; above the legend, a conch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right. The plate contains 28 lines of well preserved writing. The size of the letters is about ⅝". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *bābhramur*; and occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Āsphōtachandradēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives and anointed as *Yuvarāja* (or heir-apparent), records that, on Friday, the third tithi, the *Akshaya-tṛtīyā* and *Yugādi*, of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* of the year 1190 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of *Kaṇṇautā* in the *Nandinī pattalā* to the *Paṇḍita Dāmbdaraśarma*—son of the *Paṇḍita Madanapāla*, son's son of *Lōkapāla* and son of the son's son of *Gupapāla*—a *Brāhmaṇ* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, whose three *pravaras* were *Kāśyapa*, *Āvatsāra* and *Naidhruva*, who was a student of the *Vājasaneyā śākhā* (of the *Yajur-vēda*) and a sun-worshipper (*saura*), and who knew the five *siddhāntas* of the *Jyōtiḥśāstra*.—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhūgabhōgakara*, *pravanikara*, *turushkadanḍa* and *kumara-gadiṇaka*. The grant was written by the *Thakkura Gāgēka*.<sup>1</sup>

The date, for the *Kārttikādi* *Vikrama-samvat* 1190 expired, corresponds to Friday, the 30th March A.D. 1134, which was the proper day of the *Akshaya-tṛtīyā* and the (*Trētā*-) *yugādi*, because the third *tithi* of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* ended on it 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>2</sup>

The localities I am unable to identify.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

- 12 . . . . . 4-śrīmad-Gōvinda-  
 13 chaṇdradēvō vijayī || Tad-ētat-sammatyā samastarājaparakriyōpēta-yauvarājyā-  
 bhishikta-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōtachandradēvō vijayī ||<sup>5</sup> Namdīnī-pattalā-  
 14 yām Kaṇṇautā-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājñī-  
 ma[n\*]tri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-

<sup>1</sup> Here follow the six verses commencing *Bhūmih yaḥ pratigrihṇāti, Śaṅkham bhadr-āsanam, Sarvān-ētān-  
 bhūvinaḥ, Bahubhir-vasudhā, Svayam-ēkam, and Tadāgāndhā sahasrēva*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gāgēka* most probably is identical with the *Gāgūka* who wrote the grants F., G. and H., treated of above, Vol. IV. p. 107 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The proper time for the *Akshaya-tṛtīyā* and the *Trētāyugādi* is the forenoon; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the *Kamauli* plate of *Gōvindachandra*, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f.

<sup>5</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

- 15 bhishah-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-puruṣaḥ ān  
samājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīśati cha [I\*] Veditam=astu bhavatā[m]  
yath=ō-
- 16 parilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-parṇ-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-  
ōsharaḥ sa-madhūka-chūta-vana-viṭapa-vāṭikā-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ā-
- 17 dhaś=[cha]turāghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ |<sup>1</sup> nāvatyadhik-aiśāśaśata-  
samvatsarēṣhu Vaiśākhē māsi śukla-pakṣhē<sup>2</sup> akshaya-tṛtīyāyām yugādau  
śukra-dinē
- 18 <sup>3</sup> ankatō-pi samvat 1190 Vaiśākha-śudi 3 Śukrē ||<sup>1</sup> śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām  
Gaṅgāyām snātvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭṇ-mahasam=Uṣṇarōchisham=upasthāy=  
[Au]shadhi-
- 19 pati-śakala-śēkharam samabhyarohchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya pūjām  
vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā mātāpitṛr-ātmanas=  
cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-
- 20 dhi(bhi)vriddhayē gōka[rṇa]-kuśalatā-pūta-karakamal-ōdaka-pūrvam=asmābhiḥ  
Kāśyapa-sagotrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Nē(nai)dhruva-tripravarāya Vājasanēya-śā(śā)khi-
- 21 nē Guṇapāla-prapaurāya Lōkapāla-paurāya paṇḍita-trī(śrī)-Madanapāla-putrāya  
paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmmaṣē saura-vrā(brā)hmaṇāya jyōtiḥ[śā]stra-siddhānta-  
pāṇchaka-vidē(da)
- 22 ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāśa(sa)nikṛitya pradattō<sup>4</sup> matvā yathādiyamāna-  
bhāgabhōgakara-prapaṇikara-turushkadāṇḍa-kumaragadiāṇaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān=  
ājñāvidhē-
- 23 yibhūya dāsyatha || Bhavanti ch=ātra paurāṇikāḥ ślōkāḥ ||<sup>5</sup> . . . . .
- 28 . . . . . | [i]ti || Trī(śrī)ḥ [||\*] Likhitaṁ ṭhakkura-trī(śrī)-  
Gāgēkēn=ēti<sup>6</sup> śubham ||

D.— PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA AND THE MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA  
RĀJYAPĀLA OF [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1203.]

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 2½" broad by 11½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ⅞" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahārājap[u]tra-śrī-  
mad-Rājyapālādēva[h]

in Nāgarī letters about ⅞" high; above the legend, a conch-shell; and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right, with below it some device that looks like another conch-shell. The plate contains 30 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is occasionally employed for the palatal. Besides it may be noted that the words *prakṣhālita*, *śēkhara*, *puṇya* and *tāmra* are spelt *prakṣhālita*, l. 6, *śēkhara*, l. 19, *puṇya*, ll. 20 and 23, and *tāmra*, l. 30, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous; read -paryaptō nava°.

<sup>2</sup> Read -pakṣh-akshaya-.

<sup>3</sup> Read -din-ākatō.

<sup>4</sup> Read -pradatta iti matvā.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow the seven verses commencing *Bhāmīn yaḥ pratigrihṇāti*, *Śaṅkham bhadr-dānam*, *Sarvān-  
ētān-bhadrīnāḥ*, *Bahubhir=varudhā*, *Gaṇ-śikṣā*, *Śa-dattān para-dattān vā*, and *Vat-dbhira-vibhramam*.

<sup>6</sup> Between *nā* and *ti* there is a letter which has apparently been erased by the engraver.

This inscription also is of the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindaachandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Rājyapāladēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives, records that, on Wednesday, the 5th of the dark half of *Māgha* of the year 1203 (given in words and figures), after bathing in the Ganges at *Rājyapālapura*, he granted the village of *Chamaravāmi*— with *Harichandapāli* and two or three other *pāṭakas* the names of which are doubtful— in the *Valaura pattalā*, to the *Paṇḍita Dāmōdaraśarma* who has been already mentioned as donee of the grant C.— The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, *pravanikara*, *jalakara*,<sup>1</sup> *gōkara* and *turushkadanḍa*. The grant (*tāmra-paṭṭaka*) was written by the *Karaṇika*, the *Thakkura Vivika*.<sup>2</sup>

The date, for Vikrama-saṃvat 1203 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* *Māgha*, corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1146, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise. On the same day the *Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti* took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, and the donation undoubtedly was made on account of that *Saṃkrānti*, even though this is not actually stated in the grant.

The localities I am unable to identify.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 . . . . .<sup>3</sup> śrīmad-Gōvindaachandradēva-<sup>4</sup> pādapadma-saṃmatyā  
samastarājapra-kri-  
13 yōpēta-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Rājyapāladēvō vijayī<sup>5</sup> Valaura-pattalāyām |  
Khā[ī?]la[pāṇḍī?]naya[napāli?]<sup>6</sup> | Cha[dhuha?]<sup>7</sup>pāli | Harichandapāli |  
ēshu pāṭakēshu saha<sup>7</sup> Chamaravāmi-grā-  
14 ma-nivāsinō śkhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājūi-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-  
pratibhāra-sē[nāpati-bhāṇḍ]āgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpu-  
15 rika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthānagō kulād dhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati  
vō(bō)dhayaty-ādiśati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath-ōparili[khi?]ta-  
grāmaḥ sa-[ja]-  
16 la-sthala[h?] sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara[h?] sa-matsy-ākara[h?]<sup>8</sup> bha(ea)-gatt-ōshara[h?]  
sa-madhūka-chūta-vana-viṭapa-vāṭikā-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-pa[r?]yantaḥ s-ōrddhv-  
ādhas=chaturāghṇa-vi[ś]uddhaḥ sva-[sīmā]-  
17 paryantaḥ<sup>9</sup> varshatrayādhika-dvādaśasata-saṃvatsarē Māghē māsi kṛishṇa-  
pakshē pamohamyām tithō(thau) Vu(bu)dha-dinē yat-āṅkē-pi saṃvata(t) ||  
1203 Māgha-vadi 5 Vu(bu)dh[ē]<sup>10</sup> a[dy-ēha śrī]-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 120, l. 22, I have wrongly altered *jalakara* to *jālakara*. *Jalakara* is the proper reading also in the Gagahā plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 20, and most probably *ibid.* Vol. XV. p. 8, l. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The *Karaṇika Thakkura Vivika* also wrote the grant of [Vikrama-]saṃvat 1199, recorded in the Gagahā plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 20. He is possibly identical also with the *Akshapaṭalika Thakkura Vivika* who wrote the grants of [Vikrama-]saṃvat 1231 and 1232, treated of above, Vol. IV. pp. 124 and 126 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindaachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100f., the main differences being that in the present plate the words *sa cha* have been inserted before the word *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of line 11 of the Kamauli plate, and that the phrase *śijabhujōpdrjita* of the same line has by mistake been omitted here.

<sup>4</sup> The *ś*-stroke of *dēva* is corrected from *ea* which originally had been engraved after *chandra*.—As regards the construction, one would have expected something like *-Gōvindaachandradēvō vijayī | Tad-ātāt-pādapadma-saṃmatyā*, as in the plate C., above, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> This and the other signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is very doubtful; possibly two names (*Khāilapālī* and *Nayanapālī?*) may be intended.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ēbhiḥ pāṭakāiḥ saha*.

<sup>8</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* has been engraved over the *akshara* *teyā*, over the *ritō* of the following *-gattīshara[h?]*, and over the *kā* of the following *-vāṭikā*.

<sup>9</sup> This and the other signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous; read *-paryantī*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Buddh-ēha*.

- 18 mad-Bājyapālapurē Gaṃgāyām snātvā vidhivan=mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-  
pitri-gaṇāms=tarppayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasa[m=U]shparōchisha[m=]  
u]pasthā-
- 19 y-Aushadhipati-śakala-śēsha(kha)raṃ samabhyarcheya tribhuvana-trātur-Vvāsudēvasya  
pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātāpi[tr]jor=  
ātmanaś=cha
- 20 punya(ṇya)-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē<sup>1</sup> Kāśyapa-sagotrāya | Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva-  
tripavarāya | Vājasanēya-śākhinē | paṃḍita-śrī-Guṇapāla-p[r]apautrāya |  
pa[m\*]ḍita-śrī-Lōkapāla-[pantrāya | paṃḍita-śrī]-
- 21 Madanapāla-putrāya | paṃḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśa[r\*]mmaṇē<sup>2</sup> vrā(brā)hmaṇy=āsmābhir=  
ggōkarṇa-kusalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdva(da)ka-pūrnna(rvva)m = ā - o h a m d r - ā r k k a m  
yāvach=chhāsanikṛitya prada[tt]ō<sup>3</sup> [matvā]
- 22 yathādiyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-pravaṇika[ra\*]-jalakara-gōkara-turushkadamḍa-prabhṛiti-  
sa[m]ast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyarth=ēti<sup>4</sup>.|| Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm-  
ānu[śam(śā)]sinah
- 23 ślōkāḥ ||<sup>5</sup>
- 30 . . . . . || ✽ || Likhitaṃ ch=ēdam<sup>6</sup> tāmra-paṭṭakaṃ karaṇika-ṭhakkura-  
śrī-Vivikān=ēti || ||

#### E.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SĀMVAṬ 1207.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 5½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter; and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 26 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅓". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *babhrāmur*; occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental (as in *sahasra*, twice); and the word *hamaśō* is written *hansō*, in line 25.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaddraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēsvara Gōvindachandradēva*, who records that, on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Pausa of the year 1207 (given in words and figures), on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti*, after bathing at the Kōṭi-tīrtha at Benares, he granted the village of Lōlirupādā,<sup>7</sup> together with Tivāyī-kshētra,<sup>8</sup> in the *Umbarāla pattalā*, to the *Paṇḍita Dāmōdaraśarma*, known to us already as the donee of the grants C. and D.—The taxes specified (in lines 17) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *pravaṇikara* and *turushkadamḍa*. The grant (*tāmra*) was written by Vidyādhara, the son of (the *Karaṇika*) *Dhandhūka*.<sup>9</sup>

The date, for *Vikrama-samvat* 1207 expired, corresponds to Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1150, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* took place 3 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.

<sup>1</sup> This and the other signs of punctuation in lines 20 and 21 are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The *akṣara vrā* is engraved over *śrī* which had been originally engraved.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pradatta iti matvā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dāsyarth=ēti*.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow the eleven verses commencing *Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇti, Śaṅkham dhadr-āśanam, Bahubhir-vasudhā, Sarvaś=śān=bhāṣināḥ, Śhaṣṭim varsha-sahasraṇi, Gām=śkām, Taddgandhā sahasraṇa, Sva-dattām para-dattām va, Vāri-kṛnēś=aranyāśu, Yān=śha dattāni and Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tāmra*.

<sup>7</sup> Or, perhaps, Lōlikapādā; see the note on the text.

<sup>8</sup> This was perhaps a *pāṭaka* of Lōlirupādā.

<sup>9</sup> *Dhandhūka* wrote the grant of *Vikrama-samvat* 1201, treated of above, Vol. V. p. 115, and is most probably identical with the *Ṭhakkura Dhādhūka* who wrote the grant of *Vikrama-samvat* 1197, noticed above, Vol. VI. p. 114.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 11 . . . . .<sup>1</sup>śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijay] ||<sup>2</sup> Umvarāla-pattalāyām |<sup>3</sup>  
Tivāyi-kshētrēṇa saha<sup>4</sup> Lōli[ru]pādā-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=  
api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarā-
- 12 ja-mantri-purōhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥ -  
purika-dūta-karituragapattanākara[sth]ānagōkulādhikāri-purnyā(shā)n = ā j ũ ā p a y a t i  
vō(bō)-
- 13 dhayaty-ādīśati cha yathā |<sup>4</sup> viditam=astu bhavatām |<sup>4</sup> yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-  
sthalah sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-  
vāṭikā-vitapa-tri-
- 14 pa-[yū]ti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś=chaturāghāta-viśuddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ  
sāmvasarāṇām saptādhika-dvādaśasatēshu Paushe māsi śukla-pakṣhe  
pamchamyām ti[th]au Sōma-dinē śukē-pi sāmvasat(t) 1207
- 15 Pausha-śudi 5 Sōmē(ma) uttarāyana-samkrāntāv=ady-ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām  
Kōṭi-ti[rthē sn]ātvā mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha pu[ṇya]-yasō-bhivṛddhayē=smābhiri-  
ggā(ggō)karṇa-kusalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdāla-pū-<sup>5</sup>
- 16 rvam Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya |<sup>6</sup> Kāśya(śya)p-Āvatsāra-Naidhpi(dhru)va-triḥpravarāya<sup>7</sup> |  
Vājasanēya-śā[kh]inē paṇḍita-śrī-Lōkapāla-pautrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Madanapāla-  
putrāya | paṇḍita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmma-
- 17 nē vrā(brā)[hma]nāy=[ā\*]-chandr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattō<sup>8</sup> matvā  
yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-pravapikara-turushkadanḍa-prabhṛiti-sarv - ā d ā y ā n =  
ā[jū]āvīdhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || chha || Bhavanti ch=ātra
- 18 ślōkāḥ ||<sup>9</sup> . . . . .
- 24 . . . . . || chha ||<sup>10</sup> Bhū-bharttur=asya karapē
- 25 saras=iva hantō<sup>11</sup> Dhandhūka ity=aritamisra-divākaro=bhūt | tasy=ātmajēna guṇin=ēdam =  
alēkhi tā[m]ram Vidyādhareṇa dharapītala-bhūshaṇēna || Yāvad=giran Dhanapatēr-  
vvasati Smarārīr=yāvan=niśāpati-
- 26 r=amushya lalāta-paṭṭē | krōḍē kuraṅga-śisur=asya cha yāvad=ētat=tāvat=sthiribhavatu  
śāsanam=asta-vighnam || ✽ ||

## No. 15.—PIKIRA GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of ink-impressions of this copper-plate grant were sent to me by Mr. Venkayya, who had received the original on loan from the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras, to whom it had been despatched by the Collector of Nellore. It was "originally sent by

<sup>1</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV. p. 100 f.

<sup>2</sup> These two signs of punctuation are superfluous; read *vijay=Umbardla*.

<sup>3</sup> This name may possibly have to be read *Lōlikapādā*.

<sup>4</sup> These two signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-ōdāla-pā*.

<sup>6</sup> The signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-triḥpravarāya*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *pradatta iti matvā*.

<sup>9</sup> Here follow the twelve verses commencing *Bhūmih yā pratigrihṇti, Śaktiḥ bhadr-dānam, Sarvān-ātman-bhūvinah, Bahubhir=vasudhā, Gām=śukān, Taddagdandā sahasrēṇa, Sva-dattān para-dattān vā, Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni, Vāri-hindāc=aranyēshu, Na visham, Yān=īha dattāni and Vāt-dbhra-vibhramam*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre here and below: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> Read *hantō*.



the village Munsiff of Nelatur, Ongole taluka, now part of the Guntur district, to the Deputy Tahsildar of Addanki and formed part of the unclaimed property of a dead Bairāgi."

Mr. Venkayya furnished me with the following description:—"There are five copper-plates on a ring, weighing together 70 tolas. The outer sides of the first and the last plates, which bear no letters, as well as the edges of the plates, are smooth. The plates measure almost 7" in length and  $1\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. Plates ii. to iv. are a little thicker than i. and v. Part of the writing on plate i. shows through on the blank side of it. The ring was cut by me and rivetted subsequently. The diameter of the ring is  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and its thickness  $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the average. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal is very much worn, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, an animal with mouth open and facing the proper left. It is represented sitting on a horizontal line which is in relief, and it resembles very closely the animal represented on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50). The tail of the animal is not seen, neither are its forelegs."

The engraving of the inscription is on the whole carefully done and well preserved. The language is Sanskrit prose, and three Sanskrit verses of the *Rishi* (Vyāsa) are quoted at the end of the inscription. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli and Māṅgaḷūr grants.<sup>1</sup> But there is one point in which the three grants differ. In the Uruvupalli grant *ta* has a loop on the left, as in Tamil, and *na* has none. In the Māṅgaḷūr grant both the form with the loop and the one without it are used in the case of *ta*, while *na* has no loop except in *kratūnām* (l. 16). In the new inscription the forms with and without loop are used for both *ta* and *na*, though in the majority of cases *ta* has a loop and *na* has none. A final form of *m* occurs five times (ll. 13, 18, 23, and twice in l. 24). Plates i., ii. b and iv. b are marked on the left margin with the numerical symbols 1, 2 and 4, while plates iii. b and v. are not numbered.

The inscription opens with the same invocation of Bhagavat (Vishṇu) as the Uruvupalli and Māṅgaḷūr grants. It records the grant of the village of Pīkira in the district named Muṇḍa-rāshṭra (l. 14) in the fifth year of the reign (l. 18) of the Pallava Mahārāja Siṃhavarman (l. 14), who was the son of the Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa (l. 9 f.), the grandson of the Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.) (l. 7), and the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Viravarman (l. 3). To the name of each of these four princes are prefixed a number of laudatory epithets which resemble those used in the Uruvupalli grant, where, however, they are differently arranged and applied to the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman, his father Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.), his grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman, and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (I.). In the Māṅgaḷūr grant the epithets differ, but the kings are, as in the Pīkira grant, the Pallava Mahārāja Siṃhavarman, his father Yuvarāja Vishṇugōpa, his grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.), and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman.

The date of the Pīkira grant is the fifth year, and that of the Māṅgaḷūr grant the eighth year, of Siṃhavarman's reign. The Uruvupalli grant was made by the Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman, but is dated in the eleventh year of the Mahārāja Siṃhavarman, whose relation to the donor is not stated. Dr. Fleet concluded from this that the Siṃhavarman of the Uruvupalli plates was an otherwise unknown elder brother of Vishṇugōpa. I would propose another solution of the difficulty. The term Yuvarāja or Yuvamahārāja, which is prefixed to Vishṇugōpa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Siṃhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II. to his son Siṃhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Vishṇugōpa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown, he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Siṃha-

<sup>1</sup> Edited with photo-lithographs by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 50 ff. and p. 154 ff.

i.

2 2

This is a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. It contains three lines of text in an ancient script, likely Grantha. The leaf is dark with white ink impressions. There is a circular hole on the left side, approximately one-third of the way down. The text is written in a cursive style.

ii a.

4 4

6 6

This is a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. It contains three lines of text in an ancient script. The leaf is dark with white ink impressions. There is a circular hole on the left side, approximately one-third of the way down. The text is written in a cursive style.

ii b.

8 8

This is a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. It contains three lines of text in an ancient script. The leaf is dark with white ink impressions. There is a circular hole on the left side, approximately one-third of the way down. The text is written in a cursive style.

iii a.

10 10

12 12

This is a fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript. It contains three lines of text in an ancient script. The leaf is dark with white ink impressions. There is a circular hole on the left side, approximately one-third of the way down. The text is written in a cursive style.

E. HULTZSCH.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR. V. VENKAYYA.

iii b.

14  
 14  
 14

14  
 14  
 14

iv a.

16  
 16  
 18

16  
 16  
 18

iv b.

20  
 20  
 20

20  
 20  
 20

v.

22  
 22  
 24

22  
 22  
 24

varman, to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher would say—the Uruvupalli grant.

The Pīkīra grant was issued from the camp at Mēnmātura (l. 1), the Māṅgaḷūr grant from Daśanapura,<sup>1</sup> and the Uruvupalli grant from the residence (*sthāna*) Palakkaḍa. I am unable to identify Mēnmātura. As regards the two other names, I have shown that Dr. Burnell's identification of Palakkaḍa with the modern Palicat is untenable.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Burnell was further inclined to consider Palakkaḍa the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit name Daśanapura.<sup>3</sup> As stated by Dr. Fleet,<sup>4</sup> this derivation is equally unsound. For the Telugu word for 'a tooth' is not *pala*, but *pallu* (genitive *paṇṭi*), and *kaḍa* does not mean 'a town,' but 'a place, a side.' Nor is it safe to connect Daśanapura with its synonym Dantapura which, according to the *Jātaka*<sup>5</sup> and the *Dāphāvaṃsa*,<sup>6</sup> was the capital of Kalinga and may be meant for Kalinganagara, the modern Mukhalingam in the Gaṅjām district,<sup>7</sup>—far to the north of the Pallava territory. Thus the three ancient local names Mēnmātura, Daśanapura and Palakkaḍa are still awaiting identification. In his *Annual Report* for 1904-05, p. 47, Mr. Venkayya has shown that they may have to be looked for in the present Nellore district.

### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

#### First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>9</sup> [!]<sup>\*</sup> Jitam=bhagavatā [!]<sup>\*</sup> Svasti [!]<sup>\*</sup> Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārān-  
Mēnmātura-āśakāt=parama-brahmaṇya-
- 2 sya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjjit-ōrjita-kshātra-tapō-nidh[ā\*]<sup>r</sup>=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-  
maryyādasya
- 3 sthiti-sthitasy=ām[i]tātmanō mahārājasya prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-  
Viravarmmaṇaḥ prapantṛō=

#### Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 bhynchchīta-<sup>10</sup>śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-<sup>11</sup>rāja-maṇḍalasya  
bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhā-
- 5 va-sambhāṇita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ānēka-gō-hiranya-bhūmy-ādi-pradāna i ḥ  
pravṛi-
- 6 dḍha-dharma-saṅchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām pañchamasya

#### Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 lōkapālasya mahātmanō mahārāja-ār[i]-Skandavarmmaṇaḥ pantṛō dēva-dvija-
- 8 guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyino<sup>12</sup> vivṛiddha-vinayasy-ānēka-saṅgrāma-sāhas-āva-
- 9 mardd-ōpalabdha-<sup>13</sup>vijaya-yasāḥ-prakāśasya satyātmanō yuvamahārāja-

<sup>1</sup> In the Darśi fragment, Daśanapura is called a residence (*adhishṭhāna*); *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Pal.* sec. ed. p. 36, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 318, note 12.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VII. p. 66, s. v. Dantapura.

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Prof. Rhys Davids (*Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1884), II. 57, 98, 100; III. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 ff.

<sup>8</sup> From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by the same symbol as in the Māṅgaḷūr grant.

<sup>10</sup> The photo-lithograph of the Uruvupalli grant (l. 4) reads *prapantṛasy-dakchīta*, which may be meant for *-dehchīta*.

<sup>11</sup> Corrected by the engraver from *-deanata*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *-ōpachāyino*, as in l. 6 of the Uruvupalli grant.

<sup>13</sup> A superfluous hook is attached to the right of the *ma* and of the *rdḍḍ*.

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 10 śr[i]-V[i]ṣṇugôpasya putraḥ kaliyuga-dôḥ-âvasanna-dharm-ôddharaṇa-  
n[i]tya-sannaddhasya  
11 sprihaṇi-ya-parākramô rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandôḥa-vijigishur-ddharmma-  
vijigishuḥ<sup>1</sup>  
12 bhagavat-pād-ânuddhyatô bappa-bhâṭṭāraka-<sup>2</sup>pāda-bhaktaḥ parama-bhāgavatô  
Bhāradvājaḥ

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 13 sva-vikram-âkrânt-ânya-nri-pa-śrī-nilayānām yathāvad-âḥṛit-ânêk-âśvamêdhānām  
14 Pallavān-ân-dharmmamahārāja-śrī-Sinhavarmma Mupḍa-rāshṭrê Pikirê  
grāmê grā-  
15 mēyakān-atr-âdhikṛitān=sarvvâdhyaksha-vallava-<sup>3</sup>śāsanasañchārīpās=ch-âjñā-  
payaty-Āyam grāmaḥ

*Fourth Plate; First Side.*

- 16 Kāśyapāya Taittirīyāya Vilāśasarmmapê sarvva-parihār-ôpêtô dēva-  
17 bhôga-hala-varijam=asmad-âyur-bala-vijay-âbhivṛiddhayê samêdhamāna-  
18 vijaya-r[â\*]jya-pañchama-sa[m\*]vatsar-Āśvayuja-śukla-paksha-tṛi t i y ā -  
yām<sup>4</sup>

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

- 19 brahmadēyī-k[ṛi]ty=[â]smâbhis=samprattas=Tatas=sarvva-parihārair=a [y a] m  
grāmaḥ parihartta-  
20 vya[h\*] par[i]hārayitavyas=cha [i\*] Yaś=ch=ôdam=<sup>5</sup>asmach-chhāsanam=  
atīkrāmêt=sa pāpās=śā-  
21 rīran=daṇḍam=arhaty=<sup>6</sup>Api ch=[â\*]tr-ârshāḥ ślôkā bhavanti || Bhūmi-  
dāna-saman=dānam=[i]ha lōkê na

*Fifth Plate.*

- 22 vidyatê [i\*] yah prayachchhati bhūmim hi sarvva-kāmān=dadāti  
saḥ [i] Bahubhir=vvasudh[â] dattâ  
23 bahu[bh]is=ch=[â]nupālītâ [i\*] yasya yasya yadâ bhūmis=tasya tasya  
[tadâ] phalam [i] \*  
24 Sva-dattām para-dattâ[m\*] vâ y[ô] harê[ta] vasundharām [i\*]  
g[avâ][m\*] [śata]-sahasrasya hantuh pibati kilbisham [i] \*

**ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.**

(Line 1.) *Om.* Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat<sup>7</sup> (Vishnu). Hail! From the prosperous camp of victory pitched at Mēnmâtura,

(L. 3.) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Viravarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 7.) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.),

(L. 9.) the son of the glorious Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugôpa,

<sup>1</sup> Read *gishur*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-bhâṭṭāraka*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-vallabha*, as in l. 18 of the Māṅgaḍr grant.

<sup>4</sup> Here follows a symbol which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is a flourish which serves to fill up the vacant space at the end of the line.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-ôdam*.

<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from *-arhati*.

<sup>7</sup> On the expression *jīṭam bhagavatā* see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 25, note 4.

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father,<sup>1</sup> the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Simhavarman, the rightful *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the Pallavas,<sup>2</sup> who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,— addresses (the following) order to the villagers in the village (named) *Pikira* in *Munḍa-rāshṭra* and to the general overseers (*sarvādhyakṣha*), the favourites (*vallabha*) and the official messengers (*sāsana-samohārin*)<sup>3</sup> who are appointed to this (district),<sup>4</sup>

(L. 15.) “This village has been given by Us, having made (it) a *Brahmadēya*, to *Vilāsavarman* of the *Kāśyapa* (*gōtra*) (and) of the *Taittiriya* (*śākhā*),—accompanied by all immunities, with the exception of the cultivated land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga-kala*),<sup>5</sup> for the increase of Our length of life, power and victory, on the third (tithi) of the bright fortnight of *Āśvayuja* in the fifth year of (Our) reign of growing victory.

(L. 19.) “Therefore this village must be exempted and caused to be exempted with all immunities. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict, is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this there are also (the following) verses of the *Rishi* (viz. *Vyāsa*).”

[Ll. 21—24 contain three of the customary verses.]

#### No. 16.—UNDIKAVATIKA GRANT OF ABHIMANYU.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These copper-plates formed part of the collection of Dr. Bhau Daji; but there is no information as to where they came from. The inscription on them was already published by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journ. Bombay Branch, R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 88 ff., and was critically examined by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509 ff. At his desire I here re-edit the text, to accompany the Plate now published, from excellent ink-impressions supplied by him. Dr. Fleet contributes the following remarks:—

“The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1886, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, through Major F. H. Jackson, Baroda. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

“The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring about 5½” by 2½”. They are quite smooth, without any rims either fashioned or raised. They are fairly thick; and consequently the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good; except in a few letters, where the strokes were not firm and deep enough to finish them off properly. The interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. At several places on plates ii. b and iii. the surface has split and broken away, so that the writing is damaged there; the remainder of the record is in good order.

<sup>1</sup> On *bappa-bhātīdraka-pāda-bhaktā* see above, Vol. IV. p. 143 and note 7.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. VI. p. 88 and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The synonymous term *ājñāsamohārin* occurs in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, text line 21; p. 246, text line 24; and above, Vol. III. p. 261, text line 13.

<sup>4</sup> I supply this word from the *Uruvupalli* grant which reads (l. 28 f.)—*tasmin-vishayā sarvadyuktakāḥ sarvaśaṅkhyābhāḥ (!) rājavalābhāḥ sañcharantakāśi-cha*. In both cases the district of *Munḍa-rāshṭra* is meant.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 157, note 1, and above, Vol. VII. p. 66.

"The ring is oval, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 1" to  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal is not of the customary kind. It was formed by flattening out part of the ring to a thickness of only about  $\frac{1}{8}$ "; thus producing a six-sided surface, about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " by  $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", curved like the opposite part of the ring. The emblem on it,— which I take to be a *śimha*, couchant to the left (proper right), with jaws open and tongue protruding between them,— was done in outline, rather roughly, in that surface. The weight of the three plates is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  oz.; and of the ring and seal,  $\frac{7}{8}$  oz.: total,  $11\frac{3}{8}$  oz."

Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription, on palæographical grounds, to approximately the seventh century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The *upadhāniya* occurs thrice (ll. 5, 7 and 13). A horizontal dash is used as a mark of punctuation in four cases.<sup>2</sup> The language is Sanskrit. The genealogical portion contains  $2\frac{1}{2}$  verses, and two other verses are quoted at the end. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The Sandhi rules are neglected before *u* in ll. 15 and 16. The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *drishṭā* (l. 6) and *trivarggā* (l. 8). Other irregularities are *vanśa* for *vaṁśa* (l. 5), *punya* for *puṇya* (l. 7), and *Jayasīṅha* for *Jayasīmha* (l. 18).

The inscription is of historical importance because it contains the earliest mention of Rāshtrakūṭa kings. These princes seem to have belonged to a branch distinct from that of the Mālkahī family, whose crest was the Garuḍa, while the seal of this grant bears a lion. The genealogical portion opens with the statement that "there was a king named Mānāṅka, who was the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose glory is adorned with a multitude of many virtues." His son was Dévarāja (l. 3 f.). He had three sons (v. 2),—among them Bhaviṣya, whose son was Abhimanyu (l. 11). While the latter resided at Mānapuram (l. 12 f.), he granted a small village (*grāmaka*) named Uṇḍikavāṭikā (l. 15).

If we look for the name of the donee, we are confronted by two genitives: *Dakṣiṇa-Śivasya* (l. 14 f.) and *Jaṭābhāra-pravrajitasya* (l. 15 f.). Dr. Fleet connected the first with the following word *Uṇḍikavāṭikā* and translated the second by "(the god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as Dakṣiṇa-Śiva) and has gone abroad to (and settled at) Jaṭābhāra," which he identified with a temple called 'Jutta Shunkur,' i.e. Jaṭā-Śaṅkara.<sup>3</sup> To this may be objected that the time-hallowed technical meaning of *pravrajita* is 'one who has left home to become a religious mendicant,' and that this word would hardly be used with reference to an idol instead of the ordinary *pratishṭhāpita*. The two genitives can be explained by taking the first as the name of the donee and the second, as was done by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,<sup>4</sup> as the name of a Pāsupata ascetic in charge of the temple, to whom the grant was made over on behalf of the temple by pouring water into his hand. Hence I would translate l. 12 ff. as follows:—

"He who was adorning Mānapuram by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of (his) mother and father, the small village named Uṇḍikavāṭikā to (the temple of) Dakṣiṇa-Śiva belonging to [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka,<sup>5</sup> by pouring water (into the hands) of the ascetic Jaṭābhāra. Towards this (grant) nobody should practise deceit."

According to l. 18 the grant was made "in the presence of Jayasīmha, the commander<sup>6</sup> (of the fort) of Harivatsakōṭṭa." The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, the 'Dakṣiṇa-Śiva (temple) belonging to [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka' had been identified in the *Bombay Gazetteer* with the Mahādēva temple

<sup>1</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> After *patākā*, l. 6, *prapiddhāḥ*, l. 7, *bhāmīndīdhāḥ*, l. 9, and at the end of l. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. pp. 510, 511, 513.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Bombay Branch, R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. pp. 88 and 92.

<sup>5</sup> If the reading *pēṭha* is correct, the word may be the Hindi *pēṭh*, *pēṭh*, Kannada *pēṭe*, and Tamil *pēṭtai*, 'a market-town.' Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 513) would prefer to take it as a territorial term; but in this case it ought to stand after the word *Paṅgaraka*.

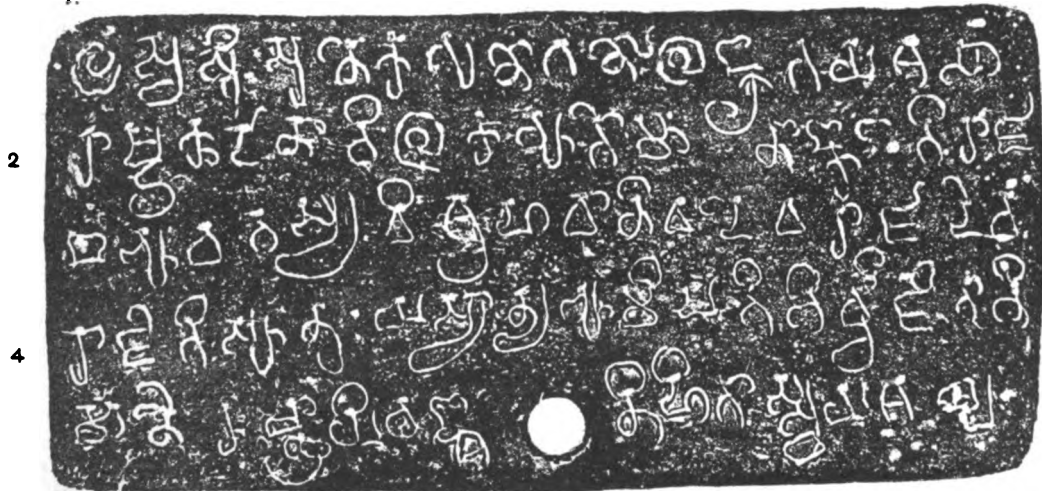
<sup>6</sup> As stated by Dr. Fleet (*ibid.* p. 510), *kōṭṭa-nigraha* has to be taken here in the sense of *kōṭṭa-gṛāma*.



Untikavatika grant of Abhimanyu.



i.



ii a.



J. F. FLEET.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



ii b.

12

14

16

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible in the center of the plate.

iii.

18

20

22

Handwritten text in Tamil script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible in the center of the plate.

near *Pagāra*, which is about four miles north of *Pachmarhi*.<sup>1</sup> In endorsing this identification, Dr. Fleet suggested that *Undikavāṭikā*, the village granted, may be one of two villages named 'Oontiya' in the same neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> He was inclined to identify *Mānapuram* with *Mānpur* near 'Bandhogarh' in *Rēwa*, provided that the *Mānapuram* of the inscription was to be understood as the capital of *Abhimanyu*, not as a temporary camp of his. That the former alternative is correct, may perhaps be concluded from the name *Mānapuram* itself, which seems to be derived from *Mānāṅka*, the name of *Abhimanyu*'s great-grandfather, and to mean 'the town or capital of *Māna* or *Mānāṅka*.'

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Om<sup>4</sup> svasti [||\*] Anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛita-yaśasām  
 2 Rāshṭrakūṭānā[m] [t]ilaka-bhūtō Mānāṅka iti rājā  
 3 babhūva [\*] tasya vigrahavān=iva Dēvarājā(jō) Dēva-  
 4 rāj-ēti sūnuḥ [i\*] Yasy=<sup>5</sup>ānya-bhūmipatibhir=vvijit-ā[bh]i-  
 5 mānair=uchchhrāyi-vanśa-nihitās=sva-<sup>6</sup>yaśaḥ-pa-

## Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 tākā | dri(dṛi)shṭā chiram pratidinam nanu dṛīsyatē cha  
 7 Gaṅg=ēva punya(nya)-salilā purataḥ=pravṛi[d]dhāḥ<sup>7</sup> |(II) [i\*]  
 Tasy-ātma-  
 8 jā jita-ripōr=vvijita-ṭri(tri)varggā jātās=trayas=sakala-  
 9 rājaka-bhūmināthāḥ | yais=sāṅgarēshu samupātta-ma-  
 10 dā[n=\*]sapatnā[ñ=\*]jivā hṛitā saha bhuvā vipulā  
 nṛipa-śrī[h || 2\*]  
 11 Tēshām Bhaviṣhyasya sūtō=Bhimanyuḥ

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 12 śauryy-ō[r\*]ja-rūpais=sadṛīśō-Bhimanyōḥ<sup>8</sup> [i\*] Tēna Māna-  
 13 puram=adhyāsanēn-ālaṅkurvvatā mātāpitṛōḥ-pu-  
 14 nya-nimitt-ābhivṛiddhayē<sup>9</sup> [Pētha]-<sup>10</sup>Paṅgarakṛiya-Dakṣhiṇa-  
 15 Śiva[s]ya [U]ndikavāṭikā<sup>11</sup> nāma grāmakō Jātābhāra-  
 16 prava[ji]tasya udaka-pūrvyakō dattaḥ [i\*] ā(a)tra na  
 k[ē]na-  
 17 ohiki<sup>12</sup> vyājāḥ karttavyaḥ [i\*]

## Third Plate.

- 18 Harivatsakōṭṭa-nigraha-Jayasīṅgha-<sup>13</sup>samakṣam [i\*]  
 19 anyach=cha [i\*] Ba[h]ubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ  
 [Sa]gar-ā[d]ibhiḥ |

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 511 and note 16.<sup>2</sup> From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.<sup>3</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Vasantīlakā*.<sup>4</sup> Cancel the *visarga*.<sup>5</sup> As pointed out by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 1), the correct expression would be *pusy-ābhivṛiddhi-nimittāḥ*.<sup>6</sup> This word is much damaged.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 509, note 2) reads *Uṇḍikavāṭikā*; but the subscript *d* of the second syllable of *Uṇḍi*<sup>8</sup> differs in shape from the *ḍ* of *driśḥḍ* (l. 6), *kōṭṭa* (l. 18) and *śhaśḥi* (l. 20 f.).<sup>9</sup> Read *chit* or, more correctly, *chid*.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 514.<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>10</sup> Read *-vanśa-nihitā sva*.<sup>11</sup> The second half of this *Indravajrā* verse is missing.<sup>12</sup> Read *-Jayasīṅgha*.

- 20 yasya yasya yadâ bhû[m]is-tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||\*]  
 Sha-  
 21 sñti-vareha-sahasrâni svarggê mûdati bhûmi-daḥ [||\*]  
 22 âchchhettâ ch=ânûmantâ cha tâny=êva narakê yasê[t] [||\*]

### No. 17.— EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT SARNATH.

By J. PH. VOGEL, Lit.D.; LAHORE.

In the course of excavations carried on by Mr. F. O. Oertel in the winter of 1904-05 at Sârânâth near Benares, a considerable number of epigraphs, besides a wealth of other archaeological materials, have come to light. Mr. Oertel intends giving a full account of his explorations in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* for that year. But as it will be some time before this is published, it seems desirable to render the most important of his epigraphical discoveries at once available to European scholars. It is hoped that this early publication of the inscriptions will not only be welcome, but that it may attract a discussion of the new finds among experts and thus lead to a solution of the various problems which will be indicated in the course of the following pages.

#### I.—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ASOKA PILLAR.

##### a, b, c, d.—Inscription of Aśoka.

Earliest in date is an inscription in Brâhmi of the Maurya period, cut on the shaft of a monolith of highly polished and fine-grained limestone. Its appearance agrees well with that of the pillar "bright as jade" which, according to Hiuen Tsiang,<sup>1</sup> marked the spot where Śâkyamuni began to "turn the wheel of the Law." Unfortunately only the lower portion of the shaft was found *in situ*. Evidently the pillar had been wilfully thrown down and mutilated, probably in that same "great final catastrophe," of which Major Kittos<sup>2</sup> received so vivid an impression in the course of his Sârânâth excavations. Besides large portions of the upper part of the shaft, a Persepolitan capital of excellent workmanship was unearthed. It bears four sitting lions, carrying a wheel,—another indication of the pillar being identical with that described by Hiuen Tsiang.

That its height cannot have reached the 70 feet of Hiuen Tsiang's pillar does not seem a serious objection, as the figure is only approximate, and it must be remembered that there is always a tendency to overestimate the height of monuments. What is more inexplicable is that Hiuen Tsiang neither connects its origin with Aśoka nor mentions the fact of its being inscribed. As to the latter point, I agree with Mr. Oertel's explanation that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit most of the inscribed part of the shaft must have been under ground. This was certainly the case at the moment of its destruction. For, in order to lay bare the inscription, Mr. Oertel had to cut through several concrete floors, superimposed one above the other, as the ground gradually rose above the original level. It is due, indeed, to this circumstance that most of the inscription has been preserved.

Mr. Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments, from which it may be inferred that the destroyed portion consisted only of the first three lines of the epigraph. It will be seen that of the uppermost line of the main portion still *in situ* (i.e. on the Plate), several of the letters are injured and the concluding part is broken off. This missing part of twelve *akṣaras* is supplied by one of those three fragments (i.d.), which also contains the end of the preceding

<sup>1</sup> *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), Vol. II. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. R.* Vol. I. p. 126.

line, consisting of two fragmentary and nine entire *aksharas*. Of the former we find the missing upper portions on another small fragment (i.c), which contains one entire *akshara* besides, and thus adds three to the nine *aksharas* mentioned. It will, moreover, be noticed that between the two lines of fragment i.d there runs a dark line, which indicates where the uppermost floor met the shaft and left its mark upon it. There can be no doubt as to the original position of these two fragments, which fit exactly to the lower part of the shaft preserved *in situ*.

This is not the case with the third fragment (i.b), which has the first two syllables of three lines. But below its third line we find the same traces of the floor as are found on fragment i.d. This shows that in this third line we have the two initial syllables of the same line, the end of which is preserved on fragments i.c and i.d. Above the first line of i.a enough open space remains to make it unlikely that there was another line above it. We see, moreover, that the two syllables preserved read *devā*, which, if continued *-nam-piye Piyadasī lājā*,<sup>1</sup> would form the well-known opening formula of several of the Aśoka edicts. We may, therefore, assume that fragment i.b contains the beginning of the first three lines of the original epigraph. It follows from this that the uppermost line *in situ* is the fourth line of the whole inscription which, consequently, consisted of eleven lines. Their average length is 60 cm., but the last line measures only 21.5 cm. The size of the letters varies from 1.3 to 2.8 cm. They are cut very clearly, and are legible throughout, except in portions of the third and fourth lines.

It is a question of primary importance whether we are justified in attributing the inscription to Aśoka. That the Dharmardja would erect a memorial pillar on the spot where the Master preached his first sermon—as, indeed, we know he did on the place of his birth and on that of his *parinirvāṇa*—seems *a priori* most plausible. The fine monolith with its splendid capital and well-engraved inscription in the Maurya character would seem to point to no lesser founder than the great Buddhist emperor. But the epigraph itself affords a more positive proof. I need not quote as evidence my explanation of the first two *aksharas* of i.b, which, though plausible, is hypothetical itself. The same remark applies to a conjectural restoration of *pāṭu* in the third line of the same fragment to *Pāṭalipute*—the only word of the Aśoka inscriptions beginning with those syllables.<sup>2</sup>

The following two points seem to me to be decisive. In the sixth line we read: *Hevaṃ-devānam-piye-dhā*—“Thus speaks His sacred Majesty.” And in the eighth line mention is made of the *Mahāmātas*, evidently no others than the *Dhammamahāmātas* or ‘superintendents of the sacred Law’ whom, according to the fifth rock edict,<sup>3</sup> Aśoka had appointed thirteen years after his anointment. In the seventh pillar edict<sup>4</sup> it is, moreover, stated that these officials would be occupied with the affairs of the Saṅgha also, and it is clear that to these the Sarnāth inscription refers. We read in the fifth line: *hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikkhu-saṃghasi-cha bhikkhuni-saṃghasi-cha viṃṇapayitaviye*—“Let thus this order be brought to notice in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns.” And the monks themselves are evidently addressed in the following passage (l. 6 f.): “Not only has such an edict been laid down for you. But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members.”

It would follow from the above that the Sarnāth pillar was erected after the institution of the *Mahāmātas*, i.e. not before the fourteenth year of Aśoka's *abhiśhāka* (about B.C. 255). It seems not unlikely that its erection took place on the occasion of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in 249 B.C.<sup>5</sup> It may at first seem surprising that the epigraph—at least

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, also possible that the Instrumental case was used, as in the Rumindē (or Paḍariyā) and Nigilva pillar inscriptions: *Devānaṃ-piyena Piyadasina lājina*; see above, Vol. V. p. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rock edict V. 7. The word is only found in the Gīrnār inscription, while the other versions substitute *ia*, *idam*, *idd*, ‘here’; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 453.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 453 and 467.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 269 ff.

<sup>5</sup> V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford 1904), p. 139.

its preserved portion— does not contain any reference to the event which, in all probability, it was meant to commemorate. But at the time of its erection such a reference must have appeared superfluous. It is noteworthy that, though the Rummindêl inscription twice refers to the Buddha's birth, the reference is, in reality, incidental. The pillar was erected, not to commemorate this fact, but to record Aśoka's visit and his liberality on that occasion.

The language of the Sârṇāth inscription presents the same characteristics, peculiar to the Māgadhi dialect, as are found in the rock edicts of Kāśi, Dhauli and Jaugada, the pillar edicts of Radia, Mathia and Rāmpūrva, the Rūpnāth, Bairāt and Sahasrām edicts, and in the Barābar cave inscriptions. These characteristics are the Nominative Singular Masculine ending in *e*, the substitution of *l* for *r* and of *n* for *ṇ*, the exclusive use of the dental sibilant, and of forms like *hevaṃ* for *ēvaṃ* and *hedise* for *īdṛiṣa*.

It will be seen that our epigraph contains several words not met with in any of the other Aśoka inscriptions — a point which, though adding to its interest, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. On the other hand, the fact that in the beginning we find a passage corresponding to the fragmentary Kōsambi-Sāūchi edict, and at the end one which recurs in the Rūpnāth edict, is important for the interpretation not only of the Sârṇāth inscription, but also of the parallel passages quoted.

In publishing my version of the inscription I wish to acknowledge thankfully the great benefit derived from a number of explanatory notes which I owe to the kindness of Prof. Kern, who has authorised me to give them publicity here. Dr. T. Bloch has also favoured me with some valuable remarks to be noticed in the sequel. In my transcript I have followed Dr. Bühler's system of joining by a hyphen such words as are written continuously in the original.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Devā[naṃ-piye Piyadasi lājā\*] . . . . .
- 2 e [la'] . . . . .
- 3 Pāṭa[lipute\*] . . . . . ye-kena-pi saṃghe-bhetave-e-chuṃ-kho
- 4 [bhikhū-vā-bhikhuni-vā] saṃghaṃ-bh[i]khati se-odātāni-duṣ[ā]ni saṃnaṃdhā-  
payiā-ānāvāsasi
- 5 āvāsasiye [i\*] Hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikhu-saṃghasi-cha bhikhuni-saṃghasi-cha  
viṇṇapayitaviye [i\*]
- 6 Hevaṃ-devānaṃ-piye-āhā [i\*] Hedisā-cha-ikā-lipi tūphākamtikam-huvā-ti saṃsala-  
nasi-nikhitā [i\*]
- 7 Ikam-cha-lipim-hedisam=eva upāsakānaṃtikam-nikhipātha [i\*] Te-pi-cha-upāsakā  
anuposatham-yāvu
- 8 etam=eva-sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave [i\*] Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye ikike-<sup>2</sup>mahāmāte-  
posathāye
- 9 yāti etam=eva-sāsanaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave-cha [i\*] Āvatake-cha-  
tūphākam-ābhāle
- 10 savata-vivāsayātha-tuphe etena-viyaṃjanena [i\*] Hem-eva-savesu-koṭa-visavesu  
etena
- 11 viyaṃjanena vivāśāpayāthā [ii\*]

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this letter is doubtful. It resembles most the sign for *l*, but the stroke to the proper right is slanting downward, and not horizontal as in *saṃsalanasi* (l. 6).

<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed that initial *i* is expressed here in another way than in *iyam* (l. 5), *ikā* (l. 6) and *ikam* (l. 7). In the latter two dots are beneath and the third above; in *ikike* (for *ikaika*) we have just the reverse. It is possible that in the second case *i* has to be read. We find post-consonantic *i* in *lipi* (l. 6).

i b.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

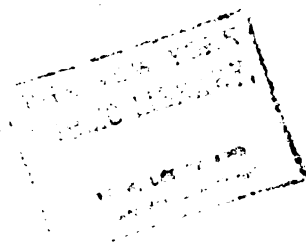
8

9

10

11





## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.)—[His sacred Majesty king Piyadasi] . . . . (l. 3) at Pāṭaliputta . . . .

Whatsoever (l. 4) monk or nun begs his food(?), let him be provided with clean (or white) cloths and reside in another residence (or monastery). (L. 5.) Thus should this order be made known in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns. (L. 6.) Thus speaks His sacred Majesty. Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you so that you should remember "So be it!" (L. 7.) But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members. Let the lay-members also go on each sabbath (l. 8) in order to familiarize themselves with this order. Also on each sabbath regularly will each superintendent go to the sabbath (service) (l. 9) in order to familiarize himself with this order and to understand it. And as far as your district (reaches), (l. 10) walk ye everywhere according to this proclamation. In like manner cause (others) in all towns and provinces (l. 11) to walk according to this proclamation.

## REMARKS.

Line 3, *bhetave*.—Dr. Bloch remarks: "I felt inclined at first to explain this word as *bhēttavyaḥ* or *bhēttum* from *bhinatti*, and I supposed that the order (*śāsanam*) in the beginning contained injunctions against quarrelsome monks or nuns, who tried to cause schisms in the Saṅgha (Pāli: *saṅgham bhinditum*). I tried to get out of *bh[i]khati* some similar word of the same meaning, and to translate the sentence: "A monk or nun who cause schisms in the Saṅgha, let them put on white cloths (instead of the ordinary yellow robe) and take their living in some other place" (*ānāvāsasi=anyāvāsā*). This would enable us to translate the end of the edict, from *Āvatake-cha-tuphākaṁ-āhāle* (l. 9) thus: "As far as your district (? *āhāle*) goes, everywhere turn ye out (*vināsayātha*) [a monk or nun creating disturbances] with this mark (*etena viyamjanena*, viz. white cloths)." But I confess that I cannot see how *bhikhati*, or whatever the reading may be, can be made to convey a similar meaning."—*Chum-kho*, as Dr. Bloch notes, "stands for *chu-kkho* (Skr. *tu khalu*), the group *kkh* having taken the place of *kkh* (Prkt. *kkho*), as we have *mna* for *nna* in *viṇṇapayitaviye* (l. 5)."

L. 4, *bhikhati*.—The vowel-stroke of the first syllable is broken, but from the little that remains I feel inclined to read rather *i* than *o*. On the Allāhābād pillar the *akshara* is missing, but was restored by Bühler as *bho* on the strength of the Sāñchi inscription. But in the latter also, judging from the facsimile, the vowel-stroke is far from certain and can as well be read *bhi*. Another difficulty is presented by the word *saṅgham*, which Bühler took to be a Nominative used as an apposition with *bhikhā-vā-bhikhuni-vā*, "the community, both monk and nun." In the light of the Sarnāth inscription this interpretation can hardly be maintained. It should be noticed that the word *saṅgham* is connected with the following *bhikhati*, and not with the preceding *bhikhā-vā-bhikhuni-vā*.—*Dusāni* is the Plural of *dusam*, Pāli *dussam*, Skr. *dūshya*.

*Saṁnamdhāpayiḍ* (for which Kōsambi and Sāñchi have *saṁnamdhāpayitu*) belongs, according to Prof. Kern, to the causative of *saṁnandhati*=Skr. *saṁnahyati*. Compare Pāli *pilandhati*=Skr. *pinahyati*, originally *pinadhyati*, from the root *nadh* (past participle *naddha*, and Latin *nodus* from *noddhus*\*); causative *pilandhāpeti*. "The difference in meaning," Prof. Kern remarks, "between *pilandhāpeti* and *saṁnamdhāpeti* cannot be great. We may, therefore, render it by 'to provide with' (cloths in the Accusative case)."

L. 5, *viṇṇapayitaviye* (Skr. *viññāpayitavyam*), from *viṇṇapeti*, Pāli *viññāpeti* (Skr. *viññāpayati*), the causative of Sanskrit-Pāli *viññāti*. It should be noticed that Aśoka, in making his wishes known to the Saṅgha, uses the respectful term *viṇṇapeti*, and not *ānapeti* (compare *ānapitāni* in pillar edict VII.). For the transition of *viñña* to *viṇṇa* compare *chhamdāmnāni* in pillar edict IV. for Skr. *chhandājñāni*.



L. 6, *tuphākāntikām*, and *upāsakānāntikām* (l. 7) contain the Genitive Plural of *tuphe* (Nom. Plur.) and *upāsaka* combined with the postposition *antikām* (see Childers, s. v.), 'penes eos' and 'penes laicos.' Prof. Kern adds that we might assume an etymological spelling *tuphākānāntikām* in which the *anuvāra* became elided. "For such an elision of *anuvāra* between two vowels is found in the Vēdic metrical system, in the metrical portions of the Pāli texts, and in the Sanskritized Buddhist *gāthās*, just as e.g. in Latin *templum Apollinis* becomes *templāpollinis*. Roth has rightly remarked (s. v. *samana*) that *samanēva* (*Rīg*. VI. 75, 4 and elsewhere) represents *samanam iva*. In the same way we have *dēvamānēva chitrām* (*Rīg*. X. 107, 10) for *dēvamānam iva chitrām*, and not for *dēvamānā iva chitrām* as explained in the *Padapāṭha*." Another interesting instance is pointed out by Prof. Kern in *Rīg*. VIII. 59, 2. "The traditional reading *īndram tam tumbha puruhanmann āvase* is metrically impossible, as the last four syllables must be — — — —. Now what has happened? The words of the poet were *°manāvase*, which stands for *°manam avase*. The diaskeuasts took *puruhanman*° for a Vocative, and as they did not understand the *ā* in *°avase*, they shortened it. In applying the Sandhi rule of Sanskrit grammar, they changed *°man* into *°mann* and omitted the accent of *puruhanmanam* which they took for a Vocative, but which in reality is an epithet of *īndram*, meaning 'who has slain many.' In this manner they gave birth to the *Rishi* *Puruhanman*!"

*Huvā* Prof. Kern derives from the Skr. Conj. Aor. *bhuvat*, the *a* being lengthened on account of the following *ti*.—*Saṃsalanasi* is the Locative of *saṃsalanam*, which both Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch explain as the equivalent of Skr. *saṃsamarana*, 'remembrance.' The expression *saṃsalanasi nikhitā* (Skr. *saṃsamaranā nikhīptā*) would, therefore, mean — 'put to memory.'— In l. 7 *yāvu* is the 3rd Pers. Plur. Opt. of *yāti*.

L. 8, *visvaṃsayitave*.—From the manner in which the words are connected it is evident that *visvaṃsayitave* (again in l. 9) is to be regarded as one word, and not as the adjective *visvaṃ* (Skr. *visvaṃ*) + a verb *savitave*. Prof. Kern and Dr. Bloch agree in interpreting *visvaṃsayitave* as corresponding with Skr. *visvasayitum*, to be taken in a reflexive sense, 'to make oneself familiar with.' As instances of a similar use of a causative verb Prof. Kern quotes *darśayitum*, which sometimes has the meaning 'to show oneself.' For *°aś*° instead of *°ās*° he compares the Jaina Prākṛit *niyaṃsai* and *niyaṃsāvei*=Skr. *niśāsayaṭi*, whereas we have the reverse in *visā*=Skr. *viśā*°, *tiśā*=Skr. *triśat*, *chattālīka*=Skr. *chatodrīmat*.

*Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye* occurs also in pillar edict V.: *dhuvāye-cha-anuposatham*, 'constantly on each fast-day,' where Bühler (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 264) explains *dhuvāye*=Skr. *dhruvāya*. Compare also Kālsi rock edict I.: *no-dhuvā*, 'not regularly' (in the Shāhbāzgarhi version *no dhruvām*).

L. 9, *dhāle*.—Prof. Kern is of opinion that *dhāle* cannot correspond here with Skr. *dhāra*. "Childers," he says, "has *dhāro*= 'food, nourishment; cause' (more correctly: 'ground, basis'). But there are in reality two different words which have coincided in form, namely, *dhāro*, 'food' (=Skr. *dhāra*), and *dhāro*, 'ground' (=Skr. *adhāra*). It seems to mean 'territory' in the compound *sāhāra* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 30, 4), 'with all the territory.' In any case *dhāle* here equals *adhāra*, and its meaning must be 'territory, field of business.'—In his rendering of the Rūpnāth edict M. Senart has adopted the meaning 'food' for *dhāle*; but the concluding sentence of the Sārnāth inscription leaves little doubt about the correctness of Prof. Kern's interpretation. It will be seen from the above that Dr. Bloch has arrived independently at the same conclusion. I may add that in later inscriptions also the word has the meaning of 'a territorial division.' Compare Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (London 1883), p. 113, footnote 4.

L. 10, *savata*.—Compare rock edict II. (Kālat): *savatā vijitā*, 'everywhere in the empire.'—*Viyamjana* (Skr. *vyamjana*) must here (and in l. 11) have a different meaning from that

assigned to it by Bühler in the expression *hetuvatā-chā viyamjanate-cha* (rock edict III.), 'both according to the letter and according to the spirit.' The sense attached to it by M. Senart in the Rāpnāth edict is evidently the one to be applied here also. The Sarnāth inscription, moreover, places it beyond doubt that M. Senart's reading of the corresponding passage in that edict is correct.<sup>1</sup> The original meaning of *vyāñjana* is 'manifestation,' from which that of 'a royal proclamation' can be easily derived. In connection with the Rāpnāth legend this interpretation seems to me preferable to that suggested above by Dr. Bloch.

*Vivāsayātha* is the 2nd Plur. Imper. of *vivāseti*. Compare *vivasatavaya* in the Rāpnāth edict, which M. Senart<sup>2</sup> translates :—'*il vous faut partir en mission.*' But as in the Sarnāth inscription apparently no reference is made to missionary duties, I feel inclined to assign to it a more general meaning, either 'to go about for inspecting purposes' as suggested by Prof. Kern, or 'to conduct oneself,' a meaning which could be derived from that of 'to spend one's time' attached to Skr. *vivasati*. That, in any case, *vivāsayātha*, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, appears from the following *vivāsapayāthā* (l. 11), the 2nd Pers. Plur. Imper. of a verb *vivāsapeti* which can be nothing but a causative of *vivāseti*. This prevents me from accepting the interpretation suggested by Dr. Bloch.

L. 11, *koṣa-visavesu*.—Prof. Kern agrees with me in explaining *visavesu* as the equivalent of Skr. *vishayēshu* and quotes the following parallel cases : *ussāva*=*avaśyāya* ; *pavachchhatī*, v. l. *pavechchhatī*=*prayachchhatī* ; *tāvatimsa*=*trayastrimsa* ; *kulāvaka*=*kulāyaka* ; *kāsāva*=*kāshāya*. In the Aśoka inscriptions we have *dvuti* (pillar edict IV.)=Skr. *dyukti*, and the terminations of the 3rd Pers. Sing. and Plur. Opt. °*va* (Skr. °*gdt*) and °*vu* (Skr. °*yur*), e.g. *pāpova* (pillar edict IV.)=Skr. *pāpnuydt*.

It is more difficult to explain *koṣa*. Prof. Kern proposes to render the compound either by 'territory belonging to the resort of a capital' or by 'rural district,' as in Tamil *kōṭṭam*, has the meaning of 'an agricultural town or village.' I have translated it as a *dvandva* compound. That *kōṣa*, 'a fort,' can be used to designate a fortified city, is evident from place-names like Nagar-kōṭ (i.e. Kāngrā city) and Pathān-kōṭ (for Pratiśthāna-kōṭa).

#### e, f.— Additional inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edict, the Sarnāth pillar contains two records of a later date, each consisting of only one line. The older of the two (i.e.) is incised partly beneath the Aśoka inscription, continuing, as it were, its last short line. Though the engraving of the letters, which measure from 1 to 7 cm., is inferior to that of the principal record, there can be little doubt about the reading, with the exception of the first word which is partly destroyed. The length of the line, as far as preserved, is exactly 1 m. I read it as follows :<sup>3</sup>

rpārigeyhe rajña Aśvaghosasya chatarīse savachhare hematapakhe  
prathame divase dasame.

"[In the fortunate reign] of Rājan Aśvaghōsha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day."

It will be seen that the sign for *anusvāra* is omitted throughout (read : *chatarīste*, *savachhare*, *hematapakhe*), and that the long *ā* of *rajña* and *chatarī*[*n*]*ste* is not indicated, unless the very slight extension to the proper left of the top of *r* and *l* is meant to serve that purpose. It is probable that at the beginning there was some expression equivalent to the *vardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē* of later inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (Paris, 1886), Vol. II. pp. 169 ff. and 198 f.

*Ibid.* p. 182 ff.

<sup>2</sup> [The beginning of this inscription is shown on the Plate containing the Aśoka edict, and the continuation of it on the second Plate of Sarnāth inscriptions. The first letter of *Aśvaghosasya* appears on both Plates.—E.H.]

<sup>4</sup> For *geya* see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 673.

The title *rājan* added to the name *Āsvaghôsha* forbids us from identifying him with the eighth Buddhist patriarch and author of the *Buddhacharita*. It is true that in later India worldly titles are not uncommonly applied to spiritual worthies. Thus the term *saṅgharājā* is the modern title of the principal ecclesiastical functionary in Burma.<sup>1</sup> But it is doubtful whether that custom can be referred to the period to which our inscription belongs. Nor does it seem ever to have been the custom to date documents after the pontifical reign of the head of the church. It is more likely that the date refers to the era of *Kanishka*, and that the name of the local ruler of the time was added to the Genitive according to the established custom.<sup>2</sup>

The characters well agree with this supposition. The angular *ga* and *śa* approach the forms of the Maurya *Brāhmī*. But on the whole the script resembles most closely that of the Kushana period. Compare e.g. the *akshara sya* with that of the *Kanishka* inscription beneath. Some of the letters, like *re*, *pa* and *sa*, show a somewhat later type. Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of *Huvishka*. The language, a mixture of *Prākṛit* and *Sanskṛit*, points to the same conclusion.

Another inscription (i.f.) of a still later date is engraved to the proper left of the *Asôka* inscription and above that of *Āsvaghôsha*'s reign. It consists of one line, 52 cm. long. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 5 cm. It is evidently not the work of a professional stone-cutter. Some of the characters are moreover injured, which makes their reading somewhat doubtful. My reading is as follows:—

Â[châ]rryanâm Sa[mmi]tiyânâm parigraha Vâtsiputrikânâm.

"Homage of the masters of the *Sammitiya* (?) sect (and) of the *Vâtsiputrika* school."

On account of its characters, which resemble those of the early *Gupta* records, this epigraph may be attributed to the fourth century A.D. The language, it will be noticed, is more *Sanskṛitic* than that of the previous inscription. But the long *â* is not everywhere indicated (read: *âchâryyânâm Sammitiyânâm*). In *parigraha* the last syllable ought to be *ho*.

Unfortunately the second syllable of the second word is uncertain. If the proposed reading be correct, it would afford an interesting proof of the correctness of a Tibetan tradition, according to which the *Vâtsiputriyas* were a subdivision of the *Sammitiya* sect. As stated by *Huen Tsiang*, the large convent which once stood at *Sârnâth* accommodated fifteen hundred monks of this sect. *Vatsiputra* was one of the fathers of the Buddhist church, who, according to a Tibetan source, collected the words of the Lord two hundred years after his *parinirvâna*.<sup>3</sup>

## II.—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF ASVAGHOSHA'S REIGN.

It is curious that the name of *Râjan Āsvaghôsha* occurs again on the fragment of a stone slab (height 16·5 cm.), which Mr. Oertel discovered, almost at the surface, some 70 feet to the north-east by east of the *vihâra* which formed the centre of his explorations. It contains the first portions of two lines of a well engraved inscription, which I read:

1 Rājño Āsvaghosha[sya] . . . . .

2 Upala he[ma][ntapakhe\*?] . . . . .

"[In the reign] of *Râjan Āsvaghôsha*, [*Upala* (?), [in the . . . fortnight of winter ?]

The characters are the same as those of *Āsvaghôsha*'s inscription on the *Asôka* pillar.

<sup>1</sup> See Childers, *Dictionary of the Pâli Language*, s. v. *saṅgho*.

<sup>2</sup> See Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV. (1890), p. 127 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Prof. Kern's *Geschiedenis*, Vol. II. pp. 354 and 443 ff.

### III.—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF KANISHKA.

These inscriptions are incised on a colossal standing Bôdhisattva statue, and on an octagonal stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the image. That the two objects belong together is evident from their epigraphs, both of which record the donation of a Bôdhisattva and of an umbrella with a shaft (*chhatra-yashtri*) on the same date and by the same donors. The inscriptions are dated in the third year of Mahârâja Kanishka (spelled *Mahârâja Kanishka*), the third month of winter, the twenty-second day, and thus are the earliest records in which the name of the great Kushâna ruler occurs.<sup>1</sup> They supply, however, no absolute proof that at that time Kanishka's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kâśī. On the contrary, it will be seen in the sequel that the latter came more probably from Mathurâ and erected the image on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism.

What adds considerably to the interest of these inscriptions is the fact that the chief donor, Friar Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, must be identical with the donor of the Śrāvastī image in the Calcutta Museum, to which Dr. Bloch devoted an excellent article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.<sup>2</sup> If the identity of the names alone (that of the monk Pushyavuddhi is partly missing in the Śrāvastī inscription) were not considered sufficient proof, the striking similarity of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script cannot leave any doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion. It is not a little curious that we meet the name of Friar Bala for the third time on an inscribed Bôdhisattva image from Mathurâ,<sup>3</sup> preserved in the Lucknow Museum, as the spiritual preceptor of the nun Buddhāmitrā whose name is also found among the donors of the Sârṇāth image. The Mathurâ image is dated in the reign of Mahârâja Huvishka in the year 33, which makes it exactly thirty years posterior to the Sârṇāth one.

Two names found in the Sârṇāth inscriptions, to which a considerable amount of interest attaches, are Kharapallāna and Vanaspāra (or Vanashpāra). On the umbrella shaft they are mentioned among the persons who took part in the donation, Vanaspāra being mentioned first and bearing the title of *Kshatrapa*. But on the image it is distinctly stated that Kharapallāna, here called *Mahākshatrapa*, erected the Bôdhisattva together with the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpāra. As, however, Friar Bala's name is connected with the image in a manner which would indicate him as the donor,<sup>4</sup> it is not altogether patent what part the two satraps took in the donation.

The question has been raised how mendicants, who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions,<sup>5</sup> could make donations which would necessarily involve a considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sârṇāth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but that the work was carried out under the supervision of Friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own. Such guidance on the part of one well versed in the holy scriptures would be needed, to make sure that the works were completely orthodox. We need not go far afield to find parallels, or quote the case of Fra Angelico, who adorned San Marco at Florence with his famous frescoes. On the very

<sup>1</sup> The earliest inscription of Kanishka's reign hitherto found is that of his fifth year; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 381, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. LXVII. Part I. (1898), p. 274. Compare Anderson's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Growse, Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate; and Lüders, *ibid.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9. The exact find-spot is stated to be the Chaubārā mound.

<sup>4</sup> The word *ddanam*, though not used in the Sârṇāth inscriptions, is found on the Śrāvastī image.

<sup>5</sup> Kern, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 40. That the former practice was not strictly adhered to, has been pointed out by M. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Vol. I. (Paris, 1905), p. 169; but the rule forbidding monks to touch money is still observed, at least in Barina.

borders of India the quaint paintings which cover the walls of the *dgon-pas* are executed up to the present day—so I was told in Lahul—by those of the lamas who possess the most accurate knowledge of their stupendous pantheon.

This much, at any rate, is certain, that the Sârnâth and the Śrāvastī image were made by the same master, if not by the same workmen. The style is that of the Mathurā school; the material is the red sandstone of the Agra quarries. All this points to the conclusion, already referred to above, that the donors of these images had their home at Mathurā where, as early as the reign of the satraps Rajula (or Rañjubula) and Śoḍāsa, a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bôdhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. And all evidence now available points to the fact that these were the very first images of the kind set up at those places.<sup>1</sup> For where else but at these sacred spots, hallowed by the presence of the Buddha himself, should we expect to find such images? And yet not a fragment of anything earlier than these has been found there. On the other hand, would Friar Bala and his companions have carried those gigantic statues from Mathurā to Śrāvastī and far-off Benares, if there had been local artists capable of converting a block of stone into a sacred image? Would he have thought it necessary to mention expressly that the image represented a Bôdhisattva, if such images had been familiar to the pious? Let us bear in mind the numberless images of Mediaeval India, all evidently made locally,—those of Sârnâth in Chunâr sandstone, those of Gayâ in basalt,—among which we hardly ever find one marked with the name of the deity which it represents.<sup>2</sup> Among the numerous inscribed Buddhist images of the early Gupta period Dr. Bloch can quote only three examples in which the subject is mentioned.

Then, if Friar Bala was a monk of Mathurā, who were his patrons, the great satrap Kharapallāna and the satrap Vanaspara? That they were Buddhists is evident; and it may be inferred from their titles that the former was the latter's father, and from their names that they were of foreign extraction. As to the latter point, it is impossible at present to arrive at a definite conclusion. For though these two names have a distinct Iranian sound,<sup>3</sup> I need only refer to the instance of the Mughal rulers of later days, to demonstrate the unsoundness of inferring anything therefrom as to their ethnographic origin. Perhaps from their connection with Friar Bala we may hazard the conjecture that their seat of government was at Mathurā, where a line of foreign rulers is known to have existed only about a century before. It is true that on the Kharapallāna coins found in and round that city the names of Kharapallāna and Vanaspara do not occur. But this fact can easily be accounted for on the assumption that Kharapallāna, though possibly a descendant of the independent satraps of the 1st century B.C., now owed allegiance to Mahārāja Kanishka, in whose reign the inscriptions are dated, and consequently used the Kushana coinage. May we go a step further and assume that his son Vanaspara, who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallāna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father?

The Sârnâth inscriptions partly confirm and partly modify Dr. Bloch's conclusions regarding the Śrāvastī epigraph. They show that he is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation of

<sup>1</sup> That statues already existed in India at an earlier period is proved by the Parkham image (*A. S. E.* Vol. XX. p. 40 and Plate vi.) with its inscription in Maurya Brāhmī. But apparently it has no connection with Buddhism.

<sup>2</sup> A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900), pp. 4 ff. and 7 ff. Regarding the Mathurā sculptures the author remarks: "Elles sont tout de suite reconnaissables à la belle couleur rouge tachetée de jaune du grès des Vindhya."

<sup>3</sup> The ending *ana* is also found in Hagana (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87) and in Nahapana (*A. S. E. Western India*, Vol. IV. p. 99). For the first member of the name Kharapallāna we may compare Kharamosta and Kharasta (Bühler, *J. E. A. S.* for 1894, p. 532, and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9).

*chhātrām dāṇḍas=cha* as meaning 'an umbrella and a stick.' It is curious that these objects were not recovered with the Śrāvastī image, which Cunningham found standing in a small temple, and not in the open. The name of Friar Bala's spiritual preceptor, which in the Śrāvastī inscription was only partly legible and had been restored by Dr. Bloch as *Pushyamitra*, appears from the epigraph on the umbrella post to be *Pushyavuddhi*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Pushya-eriddhi*. Finally, the Sarnāth inscriptions establish beyond doubt that the Śrāvastī image belongs to the early Kushana period.

Conversely the Śrāvastī inscription helps to elucidate some doubtful points in the Sarnāth legends. Thus we may safely assume that the *chhatra-yushāṣi* of the Sarnāth inscriptions, which corresponds with the *chhātrām dāṇḍas=cha* of the Śrāvastī epigraph, is to be taken as a *dvandva* and not as a *tatpurusha* compound, and to be rendered by 'an umbrella with a staff' and not by 'an umbrella staff.' Again we should be doubtful how to explain the connection between the Genitive *bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya* and the following Nominative, if the Śrāvastī record did not give us the clue that the word *dānam* is to be supplied.

Dr. Bloch's remarks regarding the characteristic features of language and script of the Śrāvastī inscription apply equally to those of the Sarnāth ones. But in view of the date of the latter falling in Kanishka's reign, it is impossible to maintain for the peculiar script which both exhibit the designation of "Northern Kshatrapa" in contradistinction with the so-called Kushana script of a later period. Its more correct name would be "early Kushana," and it shows indeed a transition between the script of Śodāsa's epigraphs and those of the later Kushanas. The former<sup>1</sup> is marked by more archaic forms and stands nearer to the Maurya type. In it we find post-consonantic *a*, *e* and *o* commonly expressed by horizontal, and not by slanting strokes as are found in the Kushana inscriptions. The *ya* is still semi-circular at the bottom, and its middle vertical stroke sometimes exceeds the side ones in length. On the other hand, the similarity between the script of the Mathurā satraps and that of the early years of Kanishka is so striking, that the two can be hardly separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the first century B.C., palaeographical evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kanishka's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A.D.

It is only natural that the later Kushana inscriptions, e.g. that on the Mathurā Bōdhisattva image of the year 33, above referred to, and still more that on the Kāman Buddha image dated in the year 74,<sup>2</sup> should exhibit a further development in respect alike of script and of language. Here we find the *ya* in *kya* and *sya* regularly expressed by a loop, and not by its full sign.<sup>3</sup> Thus it approaches visibly the form peculiar to the early Gupta period. The language of the later inscriptions, though not yet pure Sanskrit, is decidedly more Sanskritic than that of the early Kushana records. Compare, for instance, *mātāpitūnām* (Kāman) with *sahā mātāpitūhi* (Sarnāth-Mathurā), and *parigrahe* (Kāman) with *parigahe* (Śrāvastī). On the other hand, we find *pratishṭhāpita* already in the Sarnāth inscription, whereas at an earlier period *pratīṣṭhāpita* is used.

The inscription is cut on three sides of the octagonal umbrella post, and consists of ten lines of 33 cm. in length, except the last line, which measures only 9 cm. The size of the *aksharas* varies from 1 to 6 cm. The letters are regular and clearly cut, but the disintegration of the surface of the stone has caused their shape to become indistinct in places, more especially towards the junction of the faces of the shaft. On the whole, however, the inscription is very well preserved, and wherever the reading appears at all doubtful, a comparison with contemporaneous epigraphs has enabled me to arrive at results which may be considered final.

<sup>1</sup> See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. II.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, *ibid.* p. 212, Plate, No. xlii. The image must belong to the reign of Vāsudeva. Compare V. A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The looped *ya* is found already in the inscription of Kanishka's 5th year, referred to above.

## TEXT OF iii. a.

- 1 Mahârajasya Kanishkasya sam 3 he 3 di 22
- 2 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi-
- 3 hârisya bhikshusya Balasya trepîtakasya
- 4 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha pratishthâpito
- 5 Bârânasiye Bhagavato chaṁkame sahâ mât[â]-
- 6 pitihi sahâ upaddhyâyâcherehi saddhyevihâri-
- 7 hi antevâsikehi cha sahâ Buddhamitraye trepîtika-
- 8 ye sahâ kshatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallâ-
- 9 nena cha sahâ cha[tu]hi parishâhi sarvasatvanam
- 10 hitasukhârttham.

## REMARKS.

Line 1.— It is doubtful whether the depression at the top of the *ra* represents an *â*-stroke or not. The form *mahârajasya*, however, is quite distinct in the Bôdhisattva inscription. The spelling *Kanishkasya* with lingual *n* has already been noticed above.

L. 2 f.— There can be no doubt as to the reading *saddhyevihâri*, with *e* in the second syllable, here and also in line 6. At first I felt inclined to read *sarddhyavihâri*, which would yield an etymologically more intelligible form; but pre-consonantic *r* is expressed by a perpendicular and not by a slanting stroke. See e.g. *purvaye* (l. 2) and *sarvasatvanam* (l. 9). In the Śrāvastî image inscription also I should prefer to read *saddhyevihârisya*.

L. 3.— The third *akshara* of *trepîtakasya* resembles *pha*, which is evidently due to the stone being worn. Compare *trepîtikaye* (l. 7 f.).

L. 4.— The vowel-stroke of the last syllable of *pratishthâpito* is indistinct. In one of the Bôdhisattva inscriptions we have clearly *-to*.

L. 5.— The first letter of *Bârânasiye* is open at the top and would, therefore, represent *pa*. But there can be little doubt that this is due either to the disintegration of the surface or to a clerical error. The vowel-stroke also cannot be said to be absolutely certain. For the ending compare *Sâvastiye* in the Śrāvastî inscription.— It is doubtful whether the inscription has *chaṁkrame* or *chaṁkame*. I have chosen the Prākṛit form which is found in the Śrāvastî inscription.

L. 6.— For the reading *upaddhyâyâcherehi* I am indebted to Prof. Kern, who remarks that the form *âchera* for Skr. *âchârya* occurs also in the *Jâtaka* (ed. by Fausbøll), Vol. IV. p. 248, l. 9, in a verse, i.e. in a dialect different from Pâli.

L. 8.— Is perhaps *Vanaspharena* to be read? The Bôdhisattva inscription has clearly *Vanashparena*.

L. 9.— The letter (or letters?) following the second *cha* is indistinct. At first I felt inclined to read *sahâ cha sarvâhi parishâhi*, but finally chose the expression *sahâ chatuhi parishâhi*, which occurs also in the Mathurâ inscription of Dhanabhûti. Compare Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. III. p. 36, No. 21, Plate xvi., and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV. p. 119.

## TRANSLATION.

In the 3rd year of Mahârâja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above,<sup>1</sup> was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The Mathurâ inscriptions afford many variants of this expression such as *etasya pâreordyam*, *asyâ purvâya* and the like. See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 37 ff. and Vol. II. p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> On the term *trepîtika* (Skr. *traipitaka*), Fem. *trepîtikâ*, compare Bloch, *l. c.* p. 280.



iii, a.

2  
4  
6  
8  
10

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan, arranged in vertical columns. The text is partially obscured by a large, irregular, dark, textured shape that covers the right side of the page.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan, arranged in a single line. The text is partially obscured by a large, irregular, dark, textured shape that covers the right side of the page.

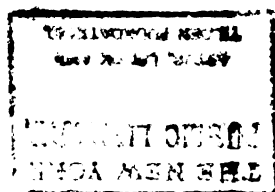
Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan, arranged in a single line. The text is partially obscured by a large, irregular, dark, textured shape that covers the right side of the page.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan, arranged in multiple lines. The text is partially obscured by a large, irregular, dark, textured shape that covers the right side of the page.

iii, c.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan, arranged in two lines. The text is partially obscured by a large, irregular, dark, textured shape that covers the right side of the page.





fellow<sup>1</sup> of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord<sup>2</sup> used to walk,— together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils,<sup>3</sup> and with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripiṭaka, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes,<sup>4</sup> for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.<sup>5</sup>

The image referred to in the inscription is 10' high and 3' wide across the shoulders. It was found in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The right arm is lost; presumably it was raised in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment, which reaches beneath the knees. The head, which measures 3' in circumference, is unfortunately much mutilated. The top is broken, so that it is impossible to decide whether it had the protuberance of the skull (*ushnisha*). Nor is there any trace of the mark between the brows (*ūrṇā*), another characteristic of the Buddha. We can, however, be certain that the hair was neither arranged in the wavy locks peculiar to the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, nor in the schematic curls of mediæval images. It is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain, close-fitting cap, which was probably meant to render the shaven head of the Buddhist monk. It is interesting to note that this treatment of the hair is very common in the Mathurā images which can be assigned to the Kushāṇa period. Another point of similarity is the treatment of the halo. In the case of the Sārnāth image only the lower part of it remains on the back of the torso. Along its border runs a repeat of semicircles. In Gandhāra the haloes are plain, except in a few instances where we find a border showing a conventional development of the radiate nimbus.<sup>6</sup> Of this the Mathurā halo seems to be a later development, which thus forms a transition from the plain Gandhāra one to the highly ornamental halo of the Gupta period, of which Mr. Oertel's excavations have revealed some very fine specimens.<sup>7</sup>

Between the feet of the Sārnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the side of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers and fruits in bas-relief. Whether these are merely decorative or have some symbolical meaning, I cannot decide.<sup>8</sup> In later Buddhist art the lion, if meant as *vāhana* and not merely as an indication of the *simhāsana*, is peculiar to the Bôdhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Simhanāda-Lôkēśvara.<sup>9</sup> But it is questionable, whether at the period to which the Sārnāth image belongs it can have borne that signification. More probably it indicates that the statue represents Śākyasimha, 'the lion among the Śākyas.'

<sup>1</sup> On the meaning of *saddhivihāri* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 84; Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 379; Bloch, *l. c.* p. 279; I-teing (Takakusu), p. 116; and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *saddhivihāri*.

<sup>2</sup> On the use and meaning of *Bhagavat* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> The word *antevāsī* occurs also in the 2nd Siddhāpura edict (Bühler, above, Vol. III. p. 138): *Hemava antevasind dchāriye apachā[ya]taviye* ("moreover the pupil should honour his teacher"), and in a Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. I. (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198). The feminine form *antevasī* occurs in the Mathurā Bôdhisattva inscription (p. 182 below), where the *bhikkhū* Buddhāmitrā is called the *antevasī* of Friar Bala. In another Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. XXI. (Bühler, *l. c.* p. 205), we find the form *antevasīkī*.

<sup>4</sup> The four *parishads* are *bhikkhus*, *bhikkhūṇis*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. Sometimes five or eight *parishads* are spoken of. Compare I-teing (Takakusu) and Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *parisā*.

<sup>5</sup> The same expression is also found in the Anyor Buddha inscription; Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XX. p. 49 and Plate V. No. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 143.

<sup>7</sup> That these are to be assigned to the Gupta period, may be inferred from the inscribed Buddha image in the Mathurā Municipal Museum. Compare Growse, *Mathurā, a District Memoir*, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Griessen, Superintendent of the Taj Garden at Agra, to whom I sent a photograph of the sculpture, is of opinion that the bas-relief possibly represents the flower, bud, leaves and seed-pods of "*Rhododendron arboreum*" (*Flora Br. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 465), a plant that is used in Nepal as an offering at Buddhist temples.

<sup>9</sup> Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique* (Paris, 1900), p. 116, and Vol. II. (Paris, 1905), p. 31.

I may add that in Mathurā we often find a cluster of lotus flowers between the feet of the image. Dr. Bloch noticed between the feet of the Śrāvastī image "a peculiar object of uncertain meaning."

It has already been noted that the image is curved on the back. Unlike mediæval images it is in the round and not in relief. This circumstance makes it probable that it never stood in a temple, but was placed in the open, sheltered only by its umbrella,<sup>1</sup> a probability that is strengthened by the discovery of all the fragments of the image and of the umbrella in the open space between the Aśoka pillar and the *vihāra* excavated by Mr. Oertel.

The Sārnāth image, though an important addition to our materials, only complicates one of the problems of Buddhist iconography. Had it not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call it a Buddha image. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bōdhisattva<sup>2</sup> are absent, and the figure wears only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions alike on the umbrella post and, as will be seen presently, on the image itself, are quite explicit in designating it a Bōdhisattva.

What then are the distinguishing features of the Bōdhisattva? Can it be, as Dr. Bloch holds, the bare right shoulder? Such a theory seems hardly tenable. For there are numerous bare-shouldered images which represent Śākyamuni at the moment of the *Bōdhi*, and we find among Gandhāra sculptures<sup>3</sup> the uncovered right shoulder regularly combined with that position of the hands which expresses 'the turning of the wheel of the Law' (*dharmachakra-mudrā*), and which can only indicate an omniscient Buddha.

To decide on this point, it would be necessary first of all to compare the two images of Anyor and Kāman, which belong to the same period and are designated by their inscriptions as Buddha images.<sup>4</sup> That of Kāman (Bharatpur State, Rājputāna), as noted above, must be 71 years posterior to the Sārnāth statue, assuming that the date is expressed in Kanishka's era, which in the light of its palæographical evidence seems most plausible. The Anyor Buddha image must be nearly contemporaneous with the Bōdhisattvas of Sārnāth and Śrāvastī. This is evident from the similarity both in the script and language and in the wording of their inscriptions. Unfortunately no photographs of either of these two statues are at present available. Of the Kāman image I only find the statement that it represents Buddha seated.

Anyhow, these four are among the earliest Buddhist images hitherto found in India proper; or more correctly I should say that no image has been found, which on epigraphical evidence can be assigned to an earlier period. The fact that it was thought necessary to indicate the subject in the inscription makes it indeed highly probable, that at the beginning of Kanishka's reign statues of Śākyamuni—either as Buddha or Bōdhisattva—were a novelty, at least in Gangetic India. We noticed, however, in describing the Sārnāth Bōdhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kanishka's reign. Thus we should be led to the conclusion that the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra flourished, not under the Kushana kings, but under the earlier Yavana and Śaka rulers. This conclusion,

<sup>1</sup> This practice was also known in Gandhāra. Compare Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. I. p. 191: "Il faut dire cependant, pour être tout-à-fait exact, que quelques-unes d'entre elles se contentaient, comme abri, d'un parasol."

<sup>2</sup> Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p. 182: "The Bōdhisattva representation of later art is that of a royally attired young man . . . . Thus we may claim these youthful figures in rich attire, so frequent among Gandhāra sculptures, as Bōdhisattvas."

<sup>3</sup> Compare *A. S. E.* for 1902-03, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> To the same period belongs the Sāñchi image of the year 70 in the reign of Vasushka, but from its inscription it is not evident what it represents.

in my opinion, would well agree with the evidence of the coins which, starting from purely Hellenistic types, manifest a constant deterioration ending in the barbarous issues of the Kushanas. And in like manner the sculptures which owed their origin to the same Hellenistic influence must have had a parallel history of gradual Indianisation.

The Sārnāth image has two inscriptions: one, as in Gupta sculptures, carved on the front of the plain pedestal, the other on the back of the image between the feet. The former (iii. b, c) is divided into two halves by a vertical, semi-circular groove. It consists of two lines, each half being nearly 24 cm. in length. The size of the letters varies between 1 and 5 cm. In the second half of the first line the sixth *akshara* is slightly damaged, and at the end one or two *aksharas* are lost. I read it:

- 1 Bhikhusya Balasya trepiṭakasya Bodhisatvo prat[i]śhāpito . . .
- 2 mahākshatrapena Kharapallānena sahā kshatrapena Vanashparena.

“(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bōdhisattva, has been erected by the great satrap Kharapallāna together with the satrap Vanashpara.”

The inscription on the back of the image (iii. d) consists of three lines. The proper left side of the inscribed surface, which measures 40 by 17 cm., is defaced, and at the bottom a piece is broken, causing the loss of the concluding word. On an impression taken immediately after the discovery of the image, the upper parts of the *aksharas* of this word were plainly visible. But it seems that in removing it a piece of the stone has chipped off. The missing portion of the inscription can thus be restored with certainty. The size of the letters is 1 to 4.5 cm. The following is my reading:—

- 1 Mahārājasya Kapi[shkasya] sam 3 he 3 di 2[3]
- 2 etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭa[kasya]
- 3 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashṭi cha [pratishhāpito].

“In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above has (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bōdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, been erected.”

## No. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON BUDDHIST IMAGES.

By T. BLOCH, PH.D.

The first of these two inscriptions comes from Śrāvastī and has already been edited by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVIII., 1898, Part I. pp. 274 to 290. I re-edit it here partly in order to publish a facsimile of it, and partly to correct the statement made by me (*loc. cit.* p. 278) in regard to its date. The second inscription comes from Mathurā and has recently been edited by Prof. Lüders (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 39, No. 9) from the imperfect facsimile published by Growse (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 217, No. 2 and Plate). If I edit it here again, it is because, having read the inscription from the original during a visit to Lucknow in October, 1904, and with the help of two paper impressions kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, I have been able to supply the three proper names mentioned in the inscription, which in Prof. Lüders' transcript remained doubtful.<sup>1</sup> The first of these is the most important one. It is clearly *Balasya trepiṭakasya*, not [*Maha*]sya as Prof. Lüders proposed to read. This person cannot be separated from the *trepiṭaka Bala* of the Śrāvastī inscription, and of the recently discovered Sārnāth inscriptions of the third year of Kanishka, of which Dr. Vogel has just

<sup>1</sup> Two of them have also been read by Dr. Vogel in his article on discoveries at Sārnāth, p. 178 above.

published an edition. It thus appears that the date assigned to the Śrāvastī inscription in my previous paper was wrong, and that the missing name of the king should be restored either as Kanishka or as Huvishka, most probably the former one.

#### A.—SET-MAHET IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA OR HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the pedestal of a colossal standing figure of a Buddha or Bôdhisattva, which was found by General Cunningham inside a small masonry building at Set-Mahet. It has since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The pedestal measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in height. Its right corner is broken, and about two-thirds of the first line of the inscription have become illegible.

The size of the letters varies between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The writing is archaic and resembles more the type used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions than the Kushana type. The letter *ya* as part of a compound (*saṃyuktākshara*) is expressed by its full form, and only once, in *Pushya*<sup>2</sup> (l. 1), by a cursive form. The upper cross-bar of *sha* fills only the right half of the letter and does not reach to the left vertical line. Further details of palæography will be found in my previous paper (p. 277) and need not be repeated here. The language is a mixed form of Sanskrit and Prākṛit of the same type as that employed in other Kushana inscriptions. Here again no details are required, as my previous paper contains a full statement of facts (p. 279).

The inscription records that the statue, on the pedestal of which it has been engraved, and which it describes as a Bôdhisattva, together with an umbrella and a stick (l. 2: *bôdhisatto chhâttram dāṇḍaś=cha*) was put up at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord used to walk (l. 2: *Bhagavato chaṃkame*), inside the Kosambakuṭī (l. 3), as the gift of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripitaka and was a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārisya*, l. 2) of the monk Pushya[vuddhi],<sup>1</sup> and that it was the property of some teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhists.

As I have shown in my previous article (p. 286), the Kosambakuṭī was a building inside the Jetavana park near Śrāvastī. The term *Bhagavato chaṃkame* may either have been used as another name of the Jetavana, or more probably it may have denoted a separate place within the park, where Buddha used to take exercise, and which was kept up as such by tradition, like the 'Buddha's walk' north of the great temple of Budh-Gaya.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, likely that the place where Cunningham found the statue does not mark its original site, and that the ancient city of Śrāvastī lay further to the north, near the borders of Nepal.<sup>4</sup>

The date of the inscription is illegible, with the exception of the numerical figures 10 and 9, meaning the 19th day. As the missing space is too long for a mere enumeration of the numbers of the year and season, the date must have been determined by the name of the ruling king. From the second inscription and the Sarnāth inscriptions published by Dr. Vogel, which mention also a *trepitaka Bala*, who must have been identical with the person of the same name and title referred to in this inscription, we may confidently restore the beginning of the first line as : [*Mahārdjasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya* (or *Huvishkasya*?) *saṃ . . . . dī*] 10 9, and it is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the Kushana kings, either of Kanishka or Huvishka, not of the Kshatrapas Rañjubala or Śoḍāsa, as I suggested in my previous article for palæographical reasons. As will be shown later on, the reign of Kanishka is more likely to be the true date of the inscription than the time of his successor Huvishka.

<sup>1</sup> That is *Pushyavuddhi*. Sarnāth No. III.a shows that the name should be restored thus, not as *Pushya-mitra* as I proposed originally. See Dr. Vogel's article, p. 175 above.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Vincent A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 520, and 1900, p. 1.



Inscribed Buddhist image from Set-Mahet.



Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

From photographs.

The statue to which the inscription belongs is shown on the accompanying Plate. It is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately the head is broken, and it is impossible to say whether it wore some sort of a diadem, as the so-called 'Bôdhisattva' figures in the contemporaneous art of Gandhâra. There are, however, no necklace or other ornaments of the body, and the feet are naked. The left hand rests on the hip, and the broken right hand probably was uplifted in the act of granting protection (*abhaya-mudrâ*). The right shoulder is bare, and between the feet stands some indistinct round object, which I am unable to explain. The girdle around the waist is the only mark of difference between this statue and the ordinary type of a Buddha image. The term Bôdhisattva is likewise applied to the Mathurâ image to which the second inscription belongs, and which was a seated figure. Unfortunately it is broken, and not much can be said in regard to its general appearance.

From Dr. Vogel's account it appears that the recently excavated Sârnâth image is very similar to that from Śrāvastī. He also suggests that all these three images were made at Mathurâ. The Śrāvastī image is 11 feet 8 inches high. Its material is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fathpur-Sikri.

## TEXT.

- 1 [Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) saṁ . . . .  
 . . di] 10 9 etaye purvaye bhikṣusya Pushya[vu]-  
 2 [ddhi]ya<sup>1</sup> saddhy[e]vihārisya<sup>2</sup> bhikṣusya Balasya trepiṭakasya dānam  
 B[o]dhisatvo chhāttram dāṇḍaś=cha Śāvastīye Bhagavato chaṁkame  
 3 Kosambakuṭīye acharyāpām Sarvastivādinām<sup>3</sup> parigahe.

## TRANSLATION.

[In the . . . th year of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka?), in the . . . th month of . . . , on the] 19th [day], on the date specified above, a Bôdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārin*) of the monk Pushya[vṛiddhi], (*have been set up*) at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord (i.e. Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakuṭī, as the property of the teachers of the school of Sarvastivādins.

## B.— MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33 OF HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image from the Chaubārâ mound near Mathurâ. It is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It measures 3 feet by 2½ inches. The size of the letters varies between ½ and 1¼ inches. The end of the second line is damaged and cannot be restored completely.

The writing is of a later type than the Set-Mahet image inscription. The *ya* in the compound letter *sya* is expressed by the cursive form in *devaputrasya*, *Huvishkasya* and *trepiṭakasya* (l. 1), and by the full form of the letter in *bhikṣusya Balasya* (l. 1), while an intermediate form, with a loop attached to the left-hand side of the central line, is found in *mahārājasya* (l. 1). The old form of *sha* with a small upper cross-bar occurs only once, in *bhikṣusya* (l. 1), if the impression can be trusted. The later *sa* with a loop in the left-hand lower corner is found in *mahārājasya*, *devaputrasya*, *saṁ* (l. 1), as has been pointed out already by Prof. Lüders (*loc. cit.* p. 40). The language is the ordinary mixed dialect of Śanskṛit and Prākṛit employed in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 180, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> So with Sârnâth No. III. a, lines 2 and 6. The surface of the stone above *ddhy* is damaged.

<sup>3</sup> The *et* is added in small letters at the top of the line.



Kuahaṇa period and calls for no particular remarks. But it may be noted that in *bhikkhuniye* (l. 2) we have the Prākṛit form instead of the usual *bhikkhuni*, and that the gen. sing. of feminine nouns ending in *i* retains the long *i* in *bhikkhuniye* (l. 1), *bhāgineyye*, *bhikkhuniye*, *Dhanavatiye* (l. 2); the corresponding vowel of *antevāsin[i]ye* (l. 1) is doubtful. The later Prākṛit form *pratithāvito* (l. 2) seems certain.

The inscription records that a Bōdhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā,<sup>1</sup> who knew the Tripitaka, a female disciple (*antevāsinī*) of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripitaka. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Set-Mahet and Sārṇāth inscriptions, and the three inscriptions thus cannot be far removed from each other in date. The Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of Huvishka, the year 33, the 8th day of the 1st month of summer. However, the Set-Mahet inscription, like that from Sārṇāth, probably belongs to the reign of Kanishka and is somewhat earlier than the Mathurā inscription, which records a gift by the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, whose name occurs already in the third year of Kanishka in connection with the name of Bala, the donor of the Sārṇāth statue.

The Mathurā statue, like those from Sārṇāth and Set-Mahet, is called a Bōdhisattva. Unfortunately nothing but its lower part, showing the crossed legs of a seated figure, is preserved (see the accompanying Plate). The place where the statue was set up seems to have been [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka, the first part of which may have been derived from Madhurā or Mathurā, the name of the town where the statue actually has been found.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Mahārajasya devaputrasya Huv[i]shkasya sam 30 8 grī 1 di 8  
bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya antev[ā]s[i]n[i]ye<sup>3</sup> bhikkhuniye tre[pitakā]ye  
Buddhamitrāye  
2 bhāgineyye bhikkhuniye Dhanavatiye Bodhisatvo pratithāvito [Mā]dh[u]ravanake  
sahā mātāpitihi . . . . .

#### TRANSLATION.

In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Huvishka, on the 8th day of the 1st summer (month), a Bōdhisattva was set up at [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, who knows the Tripitaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, together with her mother and father . . . . .

#### No. 19.—DHULIA PLATES OF KARKARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 701.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The plates which bear the subjoined grant were found deposited in the record room of the Collector's *kachēri* at Dhulia, Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency. They were sent for inspection to Mr. H. Cousens, who has kindly asked me to publish a paper on the inscription. A summary of it has already appeared in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904*, p. 60.

<sup>1</sup> She occurs again in Sārṇāth No. III. a, l. 7.

<sup>2</sup> From the original stone and from paper-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel.

<sup>3</sup> The quantity of the last *i* is uncertain.

Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathura.



From a photograph supplied by Mr. G. D. Ganguli.

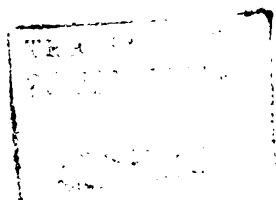


E. Hultsch.

Scale one-fourth.

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.



These are three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear writing on one side only, and the second on both sides. They measure each 1' 2" long by 7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the inscription. On the left side of each plate there is a ring-hole, but the ring and the seal which must have accompanied the plates are both lost. A portion of the right side of the second, and of the lower corners of the first and third, plates have been broken off. The letters bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ ".—The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting ll. 24-26, the inscription is in verse up to line 28; and the rest is in prose, excluding ll. 33-4 and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end (ll. 42-8). All the verses of the genealogical part of this grant excepting five (vv. 6, 7, 9, 17 and 18) occur in other Rāshtrakūṭa records.—The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *kh*, one in *khaḍgam* (l. 4) and the other in *ṣikharāṇi* (l. 9); to the two forms of *g*, one in *maṇḍalāgrō* (l. 2) or *gaṇaiḥ* (l. 13), and the other in *r=Ḡgōvindarāja* (l. 3) or *kar-āgrā* (l. 5); to *ṣ* in *Ṣubhatuṅga* (l. 20); to *j* in *ṭmajō ja* (l. 6) and *doiḍānām* (l. 8); to *t* in *kānt-ēndu* (l. 1); to *n* in *vaitāna* and *nichayaiḥ* (l. 8); to *bh* in *ḥhōgika* (l. 29); to *m* in *m=abhimukhiṃ* (l. 3); to the two forms of initial *a* or *ā*, one in *āṣi* (l. 2) or *āvamēdha* (l. 44), and the other in *amkēn=āpi* (l. 31); to the secondary *i* in *mā-līnyāḥ* (l. 14) and *nirddalita* (l. 25); to the subscript *ū* in *dhūma* (l. 8); to the two forms of the subscript *ri*, one in *kṛitam* (l. 1), and the other in *ṛit-ānukṛitiḥ* (l. 7); and to the *visarga* expressed by three dots in *viśhay-āntarggataḥ* (l. 38), and by one dot and one short stroke in *grāmaḥ* (l. 40).—As regards orthography, the sign for *v* throughout serves for both *v* and *b*. The consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is in some cases observable; thus *m* is doubled in *nirmmatha* (l. 22), but not in *śanur-mahīpatiḥ* (l. 18). *Gha* is used instead of *h* in *rājasigha* (l. 3); final *n* before a consonant is no less than five times wrongly changed to an *anusvāra*, e.g. in *yam-nābhi-kamalam* (l. 1) and *yaśmiṃ praśāsati* (l. 8); *t* is doubled before *r*, e.g. in *gōttra* (l. 7); and *anusvāra* is changed once to the dental nasal before *s* in *līkhit-ānsa-piṭhaḥ* (l. 11). The rules of Sandhi have been frequently disregarded, and in many a place *aksharas* have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshtrakūṭa chieftain Karkarāja or, as he is described in lines 28-29, "Suvarṇavarsha Pratāpāsīla<sup>1</sup> śrī-Karkarāja who has obtained the five great sounds." Karkarāja is spoken of as a son of śrī-Dhruvarāja, younger brother of Gōvinda (II.) or, as he is described in lines 25-6, "Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara śrī-Prabhūtavarsha." The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign (*pravarddhamāna-rājya*) of Gōvinda (II.) and is dated in the year 701 (in words and figures, l. 31 f.), expired, of the Śaka era, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of *Pushya*. The charter was issued by Karkarāja while staying at Sindinagara, on the occasion of a *saṃkrānti*,<sup>2</sup> to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is lost, son of Bhaṭṭa Chandrāditya, of the Kauśika *gōtra*, and student of the Kāṭha school. The grantee appears to have been a man of deep erudition; for he is represented to have mastered the *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Tarka*, *Nirukta* and *Yajñavidyā*. The village granted to him was Rakkhulla-grāma situated in the province (*viśhaya*) of Nāsikka. The boundaries specified are to the E. Chēbhaṭikā, to the S. the Gōḍāvarī, to the W. Vaṭamukha, and to the N. Vaṭapura. All the localities mentioned in this grant are to be found in the Nāsik district. That Nāsikka is Nāsik goes without saying. Sindinagara, where the royal grantor resided at the time of making the grant, is known to us from the records of the earlier Yādavas, and has been identified with Sinnar, the principal town of the *tāluka* of the same name. Rakkhulla-grāma, the village granted, is Lakhalgām to the north of the

<sup>1</sup> [The same surname occurs in l. 48.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> [Prof. Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date of this inscription, for Śaka-saṃvat 701 expired, regularly corresponds to the 22nd December A.D. 779. On this day the Makara- or Uttarāyāṇa-saṃkrānti took place 4 h. 30 m., and the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa commenced 6 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise."—E. H.]

Gôdâvari, Chêbhatikâ Chêhdi, and Vâtamukha probably Ôphêr. Chêhdi is in the Niphâd, and the rest in the Nâsik, *tâluka* of the Nâsik district.

As the inscription expressly refers itself to the reign of the Râshtrakûta sovereign Gôvinda II., no doubt can now be reasonably entertained as to his having sat on the throne. I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> adduced reasons why we should consider Gôvinda II. to have actually reigned. Dr. Fleet based his different opinion on the words *jyêshth-ôllâghana* of a verse occurring in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants.<sup>2</sup> But these words, as Professor Kielhorn has remarked, by no means necessitate the conclusion that Dhruva immediately succeeded Kṛishṇa I. to the exclusion of his eldest brother Gôvinda II. from the succession.<sup>3</sup> The new grant places it beyond all doubt that Gôvinda II. did succeed Kṛishṇa I. and did reign. Consequently Dr. Fleet's view has no grounds to stand upon, unless it can be conclusively shown that this grant is a forgery.

Although many Râshtrakûta records have so far been published, they have supplied us with but few dates prior to the time of Gôvinda III. We have Śaka 675 for Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, furnished by his Sâmângaḍ plates.<sup>4</sup> The Alâs copper-plate charter,<sup>5</sup> issued by Gôvinda II. when *Yuvarâja* or prince-regent, gives the date Śaka 692 for his father Kṛishṇa I. And our plates give a third date, viz. Śaka 701, for Gôvinda II. himself. A fourth date is supplied by the Jaina *Harivamśa*,<sup>6</sup> which was completed in Śaka 705 when *Śrîvallabha*, son of Kṛishṇa, was ruling over the South. There can be no doubt that this Kṛishṇa is Kṛishṇa I. of the Râshtrakûta family. But it is by no means easy to decide whether by *Śrîvallabha* is meant Gôvinda II. or his brother Dhruva,<sup>7</sup> as both had this epithet and were sons of Kṛishṇa I.

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

##### *First Plate.*

- 1 श्री<sup>9</sup> [॥\*] स वोव्यादेवसा धाम <sup>10</sup>यंनाभिकमलं कृतं । हरस्य<sup>11</sup> यस्य  
कातेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१\*]
- 2 <sup>12</sup>आसी[द्विषत्ति]मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिं <sup>13</sup>नयंभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु ॥(1)  
भूपः शुचिर्बि[धु]रिवा-
- 3 मदि[ग]न्त[कीर्त्ति]र्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिध<sup>14</sup> ॥ [२\*] दृष्टा चमू-  
मभिमुखीं सुभटाह्वा[सामुद्रामि]-
- 4 <sup>15</sup>मितं स[पदि येन] रणेन नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं  
कुलं च हृदयं [च नि]-

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 133-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 393; above, Vol. VI. pp. 171 and 172.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI. pp. 240-19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 108 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VI. p. 208 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 197; above, Vol. VI. p. 197.

<sup>8</sup> From the original copper-plates.—[A few emendations in the text and in the notes are due to Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., who read the first proof-sheets. Verse 17 remains unintelligible.—E.H.]

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> Read यन्नाभि°.

<sup>11</sup> Read हरस्य.

<sup>12</sup> Read आसीद्विष°.

<sup>13</sup> Read नयन्नभि°.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'सिंहः'.

<sup>15</sup> This नि is superfluous.

- 5 जं च स[त्वं]<sup>1</sup> ।[। ३\*] खड्गं कराग्रामुखतश्च शोभा मानो <sup>2</sup>मनस्तस-  
ममेव यस्य [।\*] महाहवे [नाम नि]-
- 6 ग्राम्य<sup>3</sup> सद्यः त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यक[।\*]ण्डे ॥ [४\*] तस्यात्मजो  
जगति विभ्रुतदीर्घकात्तिरात्तिर्हि-<sup>4</sup>
- 7 रिर[विवि]क्रमधामधारी । <sup>5</sup>भूपंस्तृविष्टपक्षतानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति  
गोचरम-
- 8 शिवभूव<sup>6</sup> ॥ [५\*] यस्मिं<sup>7</sup> प्रयासति महानरपे क्षिणानां वैतानधूमनि-  
चयैः परिकर्षुराणि<sup>8</sup> । संध्या[सु सौ]-
- 9 धशिशिराणि विलीक्य केका[।\*] कूजन्ति वेष्मशिशिनो जलदागमीत्ताः  
[॥ ६\*] यस्य द्विजनाक्रान्तग्राति-<sup>9</sup>
- 10 वाचनवारिणा [।\*] प्रत्यहं गुल्फदघ्नेन य[श\*]चरति मंदिरे ।[। ७\*] तस्य  
प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदंति[इ]-
- 11 मत्प्रहारवचिरोलिखिताम्सपीठः<sup>10</sup> [।\*] क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितश्चरभूतनूजः  
सद्राष्टकूटकनका-
- 12 द्वि<sup>11</sup> इवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ८\*] सेवासमायातवृद्धकरेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्याघयुगस्य<sup>12</sup> तस्य ।  
अम्बा-

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 13 नवक्त्रार्थिगणैः प्रवीणैः [सं]सेव्यते श्री[।\*] खजनैरजस<sup>13</sup> ॥ [९\*] तस्योपा-  
जितत . . . . .
- 14 तुरुदधिवलयमाश्लिष्याः [।\*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदंतिदुर्गराजो-  
भूत् [॥ १०\*] च . . . . .
- 15 गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमन्नातमप्रणिहितार्थमपेतयत्नं [।\*] यो वज्रभं सपदि द . . . . .
- 16 त्वा राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरतामवाप ।[। ११\*] काक्षीयकीरसनराधिपचोसपांश-  
श्रीहृ[र्ष] . . . . .
- 17 विभेदविधानदत्तं [।\*] कर्णार्णवकं <sup>14</sup>वल्लमचित्त्वमजेयमन्यैभृत्यै<sup>15</sup> कियन्निरपि यः  
सह .
- 18 जिगाय ।[। १२\*] तस्मिं<sup>16</sup> दिवं प्रयाति वज्रभराजे सति<sup>17</sup> [।\*] श्रीकर्कराजचतु-  
र्महीपतिः कृष्ण-

<sup>1</sup> Read सत्वं.

<sup>4</sup> Read °कीर्तिरात्तिर्हि°.

<sup>7</sup> Read यस्मिन्.

<sup>10</sup> Read °रीतिक्षितां°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °जसं.

<sup>14</sup> Read तज्जिन्दवं.

<sup>2</sup> Read मनस्तस्यम°.

<sup>6</sup> Read भूपक्षिविष्टप°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °कर्षुराणि.

<sup>11</sup> Read °द्विरिवे°.

<sup>14</sup> Read वल्लमचित्त्व°.

<sup>17</sup> A few letters have been inadvertently omitted after सति.

<sup>3</sup> Read °ग्राम्य सद्यस्य°.

<sup>6</sup> Read °शिवभूव°.

<sup>9</sup> Read °क्षान°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °वृद्ध° and °वन्द्याग्नि°.

<sup>15</sup> Read °मन्यैर्भृत्यैः°.

- 19 राजीभूत् ।[। १३\*] यस्य सभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषीत्सादितारिदिक्रमं । कृष्ण-  
स्यैवा<sup>१</sup> च[रि]तं  
20 श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ।[। १४\*] श्रुभतुङ्गतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्ध्वरविक्किरणं [।\*]  
श्रीष्मेपि [न]-  
21 भोमण्डलं<sup>२</sup> प्रावृट्कालायते स्यष्टं ।[। १५\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टमजस्रं<sup>३</sup>  
[।\*] तत्क्षणम-  
22 कालवर्षो वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्भयप्रः<sup>४</sup> ॥ १६\*] येन निजराज्यमूर्त्तितमशेष-  
भूपालपालित-  
23 मनस्तं [।\*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटविश्रुतचरितं 'कृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१७\*] तस्य  
सुत[ः\*] सकलमहीमण्डलप-  
24 रिपालनक्षम[ः\*] शूर[ः\*] [।\*] जितवीरवैरिवर्गो नास्ति गोविन्दराजोभूत्  
॥ [१८\*] यस्य प्रवलप्र-<sup>५</sup>

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 'वलप्रयोतिताशसुखनिर्हसितवीरवैरिवर्गस्य पृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर-  
26 मेश्वरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलकस्य प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [।\*] तस्मानुजः  
27 श्रीध्रुवराजनाम्ना<sup>६</sup> महानुभावो विहितप्रताप[ः\*] [।\*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-  
चक्र[ः\*] चूडाम-  
28 णि<sup>७</sup> बालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव<sup>८</sup> ।[। १९\*] तस्य सुतः समधियतपंचमहाशब्दसुवर्ण-  
वर्षप्रतापश्री-<sup>९</sup>  
29 लक्ष्मीकर्कराजस्तदाश्रया सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविष[य\*]पतिराष्ट्रग्राममह-  
30 त्तराधिकारिका<sup>१०</sup> समाश्रयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं मातापित्रोः पुण्ययशोभि-  
31 वृध्यर्थमार्जनस्य<sup>११</sup> शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तस्वेकोत्तरेषु चक्रेनापि  
32 संवत्सरशत ७०१ पुण्यमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां संक्रान्ती सिन्धीनगरावस्थितेन  
श्री-  
33 कर्कराजेन [।\*] तेनेदमध्रुवमसाश्रतमप्रतिष्ठ<sup>१२</sup> स्वप्रेन्द्रजालजलबीचिचलस्वभा-  
34 वं [।\*] मत्वा जगत्तरवि<sup>१३</sup> पञ्चवत्तोयतुष्टं संसारसागरसुखात्तरव<sup>१४</sup> विचिन्त्य  
॥ २०\*] श्रीय . .

<sup>१</sup> Read कृष्णस्वेवाकृष्णं.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'धनः.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'बल'.

<sup>१०</sup> Read बाला<sup>१०</sup> and 'भूव',

<sup>११</sup> Read 'वृद्धार्थमात्मनस्य.

<sup>१२</sup> Read 'सुचीत'.

<sup>२</sup> Read नभी निखिलं.

<sup>५</sup> Read श्रीकृष्ण<sup>५</sup>.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'नामा.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'शब्द'.

<sup>१३</sup> Read 'मशाश्रत'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'चेष्ट' सनीहितमजस्रं

<sup>६</sup> Read प्रवल<sup>६</sup>.

<sup>९</sup> For चूडामणि read कनेच,

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'कारिकाण्.

<sup>१४</sup> Read जगत्तरवि.

*i.*

२  
 ४  
 ६  
 ८  
 १०  
 १२

ii a.

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 १४ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥  
 १६ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥  
 १८ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥  
 २० दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥  
 २२ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥  
 २४ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

**iz b.**

26  
 28  
 30  
 32  
 34  
 36

iii.

38  
 40  
 42  
 44  
 46  
 48





- 35 मृवास्तव्यस्यानेकशास्त्रावगाधसंशुद्धवृद्धिप्रभावाभिभूताखिलवि<sup>1</sup> . . .  
 36 दं वेदवेदांगेतिहासपुराणव्याकरणमीमांसातर्कनिरुक्तय[न्न]विद्या . . .

## Third Plate.

- 37 पारगाय तत्रैविष्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोत्रकठसत्राचारिणे<sup>2</sup> भट्टज . . .  
 38 भट्टचन्द्रादित्यसुताय ॥ नासिक्कविषयान्तर्गतः रक्खुत्तनाम्ना<sup>3</sup> ग्राम[:\*] प्र[ति]-  
 पादि . . .  
 39 दकपुरस्सरं दत्तः । यस्य पूर्वतो चेभटिकानामग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणतो गोदाव[री] .  
 40 चिमतो वटमुखं नाम ग्राम[:\*] । उत्तरतो वटपुरं नाम ग्राम[:] ॥ एवं  
 चतुराघाटवि[श्व] . . .  
 41 द्रं[ग]: सपरिकरः अघाटभटप्रवेश<sup>4</sup> भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन दत्तः । तथा च  
 व . . .  
 42 नोक्तं ॥ स्व<sup>5</sup> दातुं सुमहत्त्वकं<sup>6</sup> दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [1\*] दानं वा पालनं  
 वेत्ति दानाच्छे . . .  
 43 नुपा[लनं] । [1 २१\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । षष्ठि<sup>7</sup>  
 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(?) . . .  
 44 जायते क्षमिः ॥ [२२\*] [तडागा]नां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधयतेन च । गवां कोटि-  
 प्रदानेन भूमि[मि] . . .  
 45 न श्रद्ध्यति ॥ [२३\*] षष्ठि<sup>8</sup> वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*]  
 आच्छेत्ता चानुर्मता च तान्येव नर . . . [२४\*]  
 46 [दत्तानि] यानीह पुरा नरेन्द्रे<sup>9</sup> दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्य-  
 वांत(:)प्रति[मा] . . .  
 47 [नि] को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२५\*] वहुभिः<sup>10</sup> वसुधा भुक्ता<sup>11</sup>  
 राजभि[:\*] सगरादि[भि]: [1\*] . . .  
 48 यस्य यदा भूमिः<sup>12</sup> तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [२६\*] लिखितं च मया <sup>13</sup>श्रीप-  
 तापशीलान्न[या] . . .  
 49 न दुग्गडिसुतेनोच्चलशासनमालिलख<sup>14</sup> ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read 'गाढ' and 'वृद्धि'.<sup>2</sup> Read 'प्रवेशी'.<sup>3</sup> Read 'षष्ठि'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'वहुभिर्व'.<sup>5</sup> Read 'श्रीप्रताप'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'त्रय'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'स्व'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'षष्ठि'.<sup>9</sup> Read 'सुक्ता'.<sup>10</sup> Read 'नीचलशासनम् and omit the letters following'.<sup>11</sup> Read 'नामा'.<sup>12</sup> Read 'हृत्त्व'.<sup>13</sup> Read 'न्द्रे'.<sup>14</sup> Read 'भूमिस्त'.

## No. 20.—TWO GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These two sets of copper-plates belong to the Rutlam Darbar and were lent to Messrs. Marshall and Cousens in December 1902 by the Dewan of the Rutlam State in Central India. Mr. Marshall has communicated to me a letter of the Dewan of Rutlam, from which it appears that the plates had been found in 1891 at Nôgâwâ,<sup>1</sup> a village 10 miles north of Rutlam, while a well near a Brâhman's house was being repaired. Each set consists of two copper-plates. To both sets is affixed a single seal, whose ring was found broken or cut, and of which it cannot be said to which set it belonged originally. The seal is elliptical, measures about 2½" by 2" in diameter, and bears, on a countersunk surface, in relief, a bull couchant which faces the proper right, and below the bull, the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭṭakkaḥ*.

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1902-03, p. 232 ff., I have already published the second of the two grants (B.), with facsimile. In now editing the first (A.), I reprint the text of the second as well, because the grant portions of both are closely connected and throw light on each other.

## A.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 320.

This inscription is edited from two sets of ink-impressions prepared by Mr. Cousens in 1905, and from rubbings supplied by Mr. Marshall in the same year. It is engraved on two copper-plates which bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9 inches in height and about 11½" in breadth.

The alphabet resembles that of other Maitraka inscriptions of the same period. The *jihvāmāliya* occurs once (l. 37), and the *upadharmānya* also once (l. 38). The numerical symbols for 300, 20 and 5 are used in the date portion (l. 52). The secondary form of *ā* is very often omitted. The *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṣ* before *ś* and *h*<sup>2</sup> (ll. 3, 5, 22, 45, 48), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 14, 28, 32), while the *anusvāra* is employed in three others (*samsakta*, ll. 1, 5, and *samśkāra*, l. 34).

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 49-51. The rules of Sandhi are often disregarded—even in compound words.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription records a grant of land to two Brâhmanas by the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna (II.), who issued this edict from (his capital) Valabhi (l. 1). His genealogy is described in the same words as in his grant of Samvat 310<sup>4</sup> and has been translated by me elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> The grant portion runs as follows:—

(L. 36.) 'The fervent worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious Dhruvasēna (II.) whose second name was Bâlāditya, being in good health, issues (the following) command to all according as they are concerned:—

(L. 37.) "Be it known to you that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, I have given in Mâlavaka, in the said district (*bhukti*), at the eastern boundary of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet kindly informs me that this village is entered as 'Naugama' on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (1895).

<sup>2</sup> In *samhata*<sup>2</sup>, l. 12, the *ha* is corrected from *āha*.

<sup>3</sup> See *nīdasi-uchyamāna*, l. 38 f. and l. 40, and *brâhmana-Agnivādmīnī*, l. 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 89 ff.

the village Navagrāmaka, one hundred *bhaktis* (of land) to the Brāhmaṇa Agnisvāmin, who has come from [U]dumbaragahvara, resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),<sup>1</sup> to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Kumārasvāmin, and to the Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaravi, who has come from Jambūsara, resides at Ayānakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),<sup>2</sup> to the *gōtra* of the Kauśikas and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Mahēśvara.

(L. 42.) "The boundaries of this (land are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Varāhōṭaka; to the south, a river; to the west, La[k]sbmaṇa's *paṭṭikā*; (and) to the north, the boundary of the village Pulindānaka.

(L. 43.) "(I have given), as a meritorious gift, with libations of water, these one hundred *bhaktis*, thus defined by (their) four boundaries, with the *udraṅga*, *uparikara* (and) *bhūta-vātapratyāya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with the *daśāparādha*, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding gifts previously made to temples and to Brāhmaṇas and the twentieth (share due) to Brāhmaṇas,<sup>3</sup> according to the maxim of *bhūmicchhidra*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains, (and) to be enjoyed by the sons, grandsons and (further) descendants (of the two donees)."

Ll. 46-51 contain the usual admonitions and imprecations.

(L. 51.) "The messenger (*dūtaka*) for this (grant is) the *Rājaputra śrī-Kharagraha*. This (edict) has been written by the chief secretary (*divirapati*) Skandabhāṭa, the son of the chief secretary Vatrabhāṭṭ[ī], who is charged with peace and war. The year 300 (and) 20; (the month) Bhādrapada; the dark (fortnight); the 5th (*tithi*). (This is) My own signature."

The two donees resided at Agastikāgrahāra and Ayānakāgrahāra<sup>4</sup> and had emigrated from Udumbaragahvara (l. 38) and Jambūsara (l. 40). Udumbaragahvara occurs also in B. (l. 41) and in a grant of Dharasēna IV.<sup>5</sup> Jambūsara is the modern Jambūsar between Kaira and Broach.<sup>6</sup>

The expression 'in Mālavaka, in the said district' (*Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktau*, l. 41 f., and *Mālavakē uchyamāna-vishayē* in B., l. 44) is a little puzzling. When publishing B. alone, I suggested that the word *uchyamāna* may refer to Daśapura, which occurs three lines earlier in the description of the donees. This idea has to be given up because A. does not mention Daśapura at all. In the description of the donees the word *uchyamāna* is used twice with reference to the immediately preceding village names Agastikāgrahāra (l. 38) and Ayānakāgrahāra (l. 40). Consequently the word *uchyamāna* before *bhuktau* and *vishayē* can only refer to the preceding locative *Mālavakē*, and *Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktau* or *-vishayē* comes to the same as *Mālavaka-bhuktau* or *-vishayē*. At any rate the two grants prove that Dhruvasēna II. was in possession of Mālwā, or at least of a portion of it.

To this province belonged the land granted in Navagrāmaka, which was bounded in the east by Varāhōṭaka, in the south by a river, and in the north by Pulindānaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam identified Navagrāmaka with the modern Nōgāwā where the two grants were discovered, Varāhōṭaka with Bhārōḍā in the east, and Pulindānaka with Paldūnā in the north. On a map of the Rutlam State which he annexed to his letter, a small river is also marked on the south-east of Nōgāwā, as required by the description in the grant.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. of Agastikāgrahāra.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Bühler's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. of Ayānakāgrahāra.

<sup>5</sup> See page 195 below.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 241.

The *Dātaka* of this grant, prince (*rājaputra*) Kharagraha<sup>1</sup> (l. 51) is perhaps the same person who later on ascended the throne as Kharagraha II. The writer of the inscription, the *Divirapati* Skandabhāṭa, occurs again in other grants of Dhruvasēna II.<sup>2</sup> and Dharasēna IV.;<sup>3</sup> his father Vatrabhāṭi in grants of Śīlāditya I. and Dhruvasēna II.;<sup>4</sup> and his son Anahila in grants of Dhruvasēna III., Kharagraha II. and Śīlāditya II.<sup>5</sup>

The year of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 320 (i.e. A.D. 639-40), is the same as that of the Bhaunagar plates published by Mr. Jackson.<sup>6</sup>

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>8</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] वलभितः प्रसभप्रणतामिच[॥\*]यां मैचकाण[॥\*]मतुसबल-  
सम्यन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रह[॥\*]र]-
- 2 शतलक्षप्रतापाप्रतापोपनतदानम[॥\*]नार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादगुरुत्तमौलधृतश्रेणीबला-  
वाप्तराज्य-
- 3 त्रियः परममाहेक्षरः(ः)श्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणति-  
प्रविधीताशेषकल्लपः[॥\*]
- 4 शैशवावसृति खल्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्त्रीटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिक्षपः<sup>10</sup>  
तत्प्रभावप्रणता-
- 5 रातिचूडार(॥)ब्रह्मसंसक्तपादनखरस्त्रिसङ्कृतिः<sup>11</sup> सकलसृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यच्चरि-  
पालनप्रजाहृदय-<sup>12</sup>
- 6 क्षनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो <sup>13</sup>रूपरान्तिस्त्रैर्यगाभिष्यबुद्धिसम्पन्निः<sup>14</sup> अरशशाङ्गाद्विराजोदधि-  
चिदशगुरुधनेशानति-<sup>15</sup>
- 7 शयान[॥\*] शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतय[॥\*] दृष्टवदपास्त[॥\*]शेषस्वक[॥\*]र्यफल-  
प्र[॥\*]त्यनाधिकार्य(॥)प्रदानानन्दित-
- 8 विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेक्षरः  
श्रीगुहसेन-
- 9 स्वस्य सुतस्वत्पादनस्वमयूखसन्त[॥\*]न[वि]सृतजाह्न[वी]जलौघप्रक्ष[॥\*]क्षिताशेष-  
कल्लपः प्रैणयिगतसहस्रोपजीव्य-

<sup>1</sup> The same prince is mentioned in B. below, l. 53 f., and in *Journ. Bombay Br. E. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 21.*

<sup>2</sup> B. below, l. 54, and *Journ. Bombay Br. E. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 22.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 75, and Vol. XV. p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 16, Vol. IX. p. 239, and Vol. XIV. p. 328.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 79, and Vol. XI. p. 309; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 85, and Vol. IV. p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ. Bombay Br. E. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 9.*

<sup>7</sup> From ink-impressions and rubbings.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Read °वंश°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °सत्त्व°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °संहति°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °सम्यक्परि°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °रूपकान्ति°.

<sup>14</sup> Read °गाम्भीर्य°.

<sup>15</sup> Read °दृष्ट°.

- 10 मानसम्पदूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसम[१\*]भिगामिकैर्गुणैस्त्वहजशक्तिशि[ष्ठा]विशेष-  
विष्मापिताखिलधनु-<sup>1</sup>
- 11 ईरः प्रथ[१]मनरपतिसमसिसृष्ट[१\*]नामनुप[१\*]लयिता <sup>2</sup>धम्मादायानामपाकत्ता  
प्रजोषघातकारि-
- 12 ण[१]सुपन्नव[१\*]नां दशयिता<sup>3</sup> श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिपासस्य<sup>4</sup> संहतारातिपक्ष-  
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपस-
- 13 प्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेस्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्य[१\*]तः  
सकलज[गदा]नन्दन[१\*]त्वद्भुत[१]-
- 14 गुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मण्डलः[१]<sup>5</sup> समरशतविजय[श्री]भासन[१\*]धमण्डलाग्र-  
द्युतिभासुरतरान्सपीठोद्द-<sup>6</sup>
- 15 'गुरुमनोरथमहाभ[१\*]रः सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व-  
तस्सुभ[१\*]षितलवेनापि सुखोपपा-
- 16 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाभीर्थद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरम-  
कल्प[१\*]णस्वभावः खिली-
- 17 भूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतीदप्रकी[त्ति]श्रीमानुपरोधोऽज्वल[त]रिक्तत[१\*]-  
र्त्यसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरु-<sup>7</sup>
- 18 ढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेस्वरः श्रीश्रीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्प[१\*]द[१\*]-  
नुध्य[१\*]तः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुण[१]-
- 19 त्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मि<sup>8</sup> स्कन्ध[१\*]स[क्त][१\*] परमभद्र इव  
धुर्यस्तदान्न[१\*]सम्प[१\*]दनैक[र]सतयैवोद्द-<sup>9</sup>
- 20 <sup>10</sup>खेदसुखररि[भ्य][१\*]मन[१\*]य[१\*]सितसत्वसम्पत्तिः<sup>11</sup> प्रभावसम्पद्ग्रीक[त]नृपति-  
शतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
- 21 परावन्नाभिम[१\*]नरंसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेका<sup>12</sup> परिस्थिञ्च प्रख्यात-  
पौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादित-
- 22 प्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवन[१\*]मोदविमलगुणसङ्घतिप्रसभविषटितसकलकलि-  
विल[सि]तगतिकीर्चजना-<sup>13</sup>
- 23 धिरोहिभिरशेषैर्होमैरन[१\*]मृष्टात्युक्तद्वयः प्रख्यातपौ[र]वास्तकौशलातिशयगणतिय-  
विपक्षचितिषतिलक्ष्मी-<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'वेस्त्वहज'.<sup>2</sup> Read 'धम्मा'.<sup>3</sup> Read 'दशयिता'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'विवासस' ; the *aa* of 'संहता' is corrected from *aha*.<sup>5</sup> Read 'दिग्मण्डलः'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'रास'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'गुरु'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'कीर्तिर्दम्भा' and 'तरीकता'.<sup>9</sup> Read 'लक्ष्मी'.<sup>10</sup> Read 'रतिभ्या'.<sup>11</sup> Read 'सत्व'.<sup>12</sup> Read 'मेका'.<sup>13</sup> Read 'सङ्घति'.<sup>14</sup> Read 'चितिपति'.

- 24 <sup>1</sup>स्वयमहप्रक[१\*]शितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम[:\*] परमम[१\*]ईश्वरः श्रीस्वर-  
ग्रहस्तस्य तनय-  
25 <sup>2</sup>तत्पादा[नुध्य][१\*]तः सकलवि[द्य][१\*]धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरि-  
तोषातिशयः सत्वताम्यद[१\*]<sup>3</sup> त्य[१\*]गौदा[र्ये]-  
26 ण च विग[त][१\*]नु[स]न्धान[१\*][श]म[१हि]तार[१\*]तिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्य-  
गुपलक्षित[१\*]नेकशास्त्रकलालोकाचरित-

## Second Plate.

- 27 गङ्गर[वि]भागोपि प्ररमभद्रप्रकृतिरक्तचिमप्रस्यवि[न]यशोभाविभूषणः<sup>4</sup> समरशतजय-  
पताकाह-  
28 रणप्रत्यलोदप्रबाहुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः<sup>5</sup> [स्व]धनु[:\*]प्रभावपरि-  
भुतास्त्रकौ[श]लाभिमा-<sup>6</sup>  
29 [न]सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिग[न्दि]तशासना<sup>7</sup> परमम[१]ईश्वरः <sup>8</sup>श्रीधरसेनस्तत्पा-  
नुजस्तत्पाद[१\*]नुध्य[१\*]तः सञ्चरितातिशयित-  
30 स[क]लपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विपयाणां<sup>9</sup> मूर्त्तिमा[नि]व  
पुष्प[ष]कारः <sup>10</sup>परिवृष्टगुणानुराग-  
31 [नि]र्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्भनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः  
क[१\*][न्ति]मा[चिह्न]तिहेतुरकलङ्कः  
32 [कु]मुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्यगितदिग[न्त]राजप्रध्वंसितध्वा[न्त]राशिस्मृततोदित-  
स्त्रविता<sup>11</sup> प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्र[त्य]यम-  
33 <sup>12</sup>[त्यवन्त]मतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धम[१\*]गमपरिपूर्ण<sup>13</sup> विदधानः <sup>14</sup>षन्धिविशह-  
समासनिश्चयनिपुणः [स्व]ाननु-<sup>15</sup>  
34 <sup>16</sup>रूपमादेयं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्व[१\*]धूना<sup>17</sup> राज्यसाक्षातुरीय[त]न्त्र-  
योऽभयोरप<sup>18</sup> नि[ष्णा]तः  
35 प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि <sup>19</sup>किरणाद्यदुष्टदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्हितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी  
स्त्रिरसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दो-  
36 जवतासुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितसुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबालादित्यदि-

<sup>1</sup> Read °स्वयंभृ°.<sup>4</sup> Read °प्रवृ°.<sup>7</sup> Read °शासनः°.<sup>10</sup> Read परिष्ठ°.<sup>13</sup> Read °पूर्ण°.<sup>16</sup> Read °रूप°.<sup>19</sup> Read किरणा°.<sup>2</sup> Read °तत्पा°.<sup>5</sup> Read °विध्वंसित°.<sup>8</sup> Read °सत्यानु°.<sup>11</sup> Read °प्रध्वंसित°.<sup>14</sup> Read सन्धि°.<sup>17</sup> Read °धूना°.<sup>3</sup> Read सत्सम्पदा.<sup>6</sup> Read °परिमृता°.<sup>9</sup> Read विषयाणां.<sup>12</sup> Read °त्यं°.<sup>15</sup> Read स्वानेनु°.<sup>18</sup> Read °शासातुरीय° and °रिपि.



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- 37 तीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनकुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्स-  
म[१\*]प्रापयेत्सु<sup>१</sup> व-
- 38 खंविदितं यथा मया मातापिचोऽपुष्पाप्य[१]यनायः<sup>२</sup> दुस्वरगङ्गर[वि]निर्ग-  
तागस्तिकाग्र[१]हार[१][नि]वासिउ[च्य]-
- 39 मानघातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरस[गो]चवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकु[मा]रस्व[१]मि-  
पुत्रब्राह्मण-
- 40 अम्बिस्वामिने तथा जम्बूसरविनिर्गतायानकाग्र[१]हारनिवासि[उ]च्यमान[चा]तु-  
र्विद्यसामान्यकौशिकस-
- 41 गोचवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणमहेश्वरपुत्रब्राह्मणसंगरवये<sup>३</sup> मालवके उच्यमा-  
नभु-
- 42 तौ नवग्रामकग्रामपूर्व[दी]प्ति<sup>४</sup> भ[क्ती]शतं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः वराहो-  
टकग्रामकङ्कटः द[क्षि]णतो
- 43 नदी अपरतः 'लक्षणपट्टिका उत्तरतः पुलिन्दानकग्रामकङ्कटः [ए]वमेतच्चतु-  
राघाटनविशुद्धं भक्तीशतं
- 44 सोद्रङ्ग<sup>५</sup> सोपरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय<sup>६</sup> सदश[१\*]पराधं  
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक<sup>७</sup> सर्वराज-
- 45 कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षपणीयं<sup>८</sup> पूर्वप्रप्तदे[व]ब्रह्मदेयब्र[१\*]ह्मणविह्वतिरहितं<sup>१०</sup> भूमिष्चिद्र-  
न्य[१\*]येन[१\*]चन्द्र[१\*]कर्णर्षि[वसि]-
- 46 तिसरित्पर्वतसमक[१\*]लीनं पुत्रपोचान्वयभोग्य<sup>११</sup> उ[द]कातिसर्गेण धर्मदायो  
निर्मुष्टः यतोनयो(च)रुचितया
- 47 ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या गुप्सतोः<sup>१२</sup> क्षपतोः कफयतोः<sup>१३</sup> प्रदिशतोर्वा न कैश्चिद्ब्र[१\*]सिधे  
वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृप-
- 48 तिभिरव्यस्रदङ्गजैरक्षेर्वा<sup>१४</sup> अनित्य[१\*]न्यैश्वर्याण्यस्त्रिरं म[१\*]नुष्य<sup>१५</sup> स[१\*]-  
भ[१\*]न्यश्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निर[य]-
- 49 मस्मद्[१\*]योनुमन्तव्यः परिप[१\*]लयितव्यश्चेत्युत्त<sup>१६</sup> ॥ बहुभिर्व्यसुध[१\*] भु-  
क्त[१\*] राजभिस्सगर[१\*]दिभिः [१\*] यस्य यस्य यद[१\*] भूमस्त[स्व]<sup>१७</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read °पयस्यसु.<sup>२</sup> Read °यनायोदुस्वर° and compare B., text line 41.<sup>३</sup> The name of the donee is spaced out. It may have been filled in subsequently, or substituted for an erased longer name.<sup>४</sup> Read °पूर्वसीत्ति.<sup>५</sup> Read लक्ष्मण°.<sup>६</sup> Read सीद्रङ्ग.<sup>७</sup> Read °देयं.<sup>८</sup> Read °विष्टिकं.<sup>८</sup> Read °प्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्व°.<sup>१०</sup> Read °विंशति°.<sup>११</sup> Read °पीचान्वयभोग्यं.<sup>१२</sup> Read मुप्सतोः.<sup>१३</sup> Read कर्षयतोः.<sup>१४</sup> Read °रक्षस्रदङ्गजैरक्षेर्वा.<sup>१५</sup> Read मानुष्यं.<sup>१६</sup> Read °न्युत्तश्च.<sup>१७</sup> Read भूमिस्तस्य.

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The text is written in white ink on a dark, textured background. A circular hole is visible near the bottom center of the page.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, arranged in horizontal lines. The text is dense and covers most of the page area. A circular hole is visible near the top center of the text block.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, arranged in horizontal lines. This block is narrower than the main text block and appears to be a continuation or a separate section of the text.

- 37 तीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधुवसेनकुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बन्धमानकान्त-  
म[१\*]प्रापयेत्स्व<sup>१</sup> व-
- 38 खंविदितं यथा मया मातापिचो<sup>२</sup> पुष्पाप्य[१]यनायः<sup>३</sup> दुम्बरगङ्गर[वि]निर्ग-  
तागस्तिकाग्र(१)हार(१)[नि]वासिउ[च्य]-
- 39 मानघातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरस[गो]त्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकु[मा]रस्व[१]मि-  
पुत्रब्राह्मण-
- 40 अन्निस्त्रामिने तथा जम्बूसरविनिर्गतायानकाग्र(१)हारनिवासि[उ]च्यमान[चा]तु-  
र्विद्यसामान्यकौशिकस-
- 41 गोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणमहेश्वरपुत्रब्राह्मणसंगरवये<sup>४</sup> मालवके उच्यमा-  
नभु-
- 42 क्ली नवग्रामकग्रामपूर्व[दी]क्षि<sup>५</sup> भ[क्ती]शतं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः वराहो-  
टकग्रामकङ्कटः द[क्षि]णतो
- 43 नदी अपरतः<sup>६</sup> लक्षणपट्टिका उत्तरतः पुलिन्दानकग्रामकङ्कटः [ए]वमेतच्चतु-  
राघाटनविशुद्धं भक्तीशतं
- 44 सोद्वङ्ग<sup>७</sup> सोपरिकरं सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय<sup>८</sup> सदग्र[१\*]पराधं  
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक<sup>९</sup> सर्व्वराज-
- 45 कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षपणीयं<sup>१०</sup> पूर्व्वप्रप्तदे[व]ब्रह्मदेयब्र[१\*]ह्मणविह्वतिरहितं<sup>१०</sup> भूमिच्छिद्र-  
न्य[१\*]येन[१\*]चन्द्र[१\*]कर्षण्य[वक्षि]-
- 46 तिसरित्पर्व्वतसमक[१\*]लीनं पुत्रपोचान्वयभोग्य<sup>११</sup> उ[द]कातिसर्गेण धर्मदायो  
निसृष्टः यतोनयो(च)वचितया
- 47 ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या गुञ्जतोः<sup>१२</sup> कषतोः कफयतोः<sup>१३</sup> प्रदिशतोर्व्वा न कैश्चिद्ग[१\*]सिधे  
वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृप-
- 48 तिभिरव्यस्रहङ्गजैरखेर्व्वा<sup>१४</sup> अनित्य[१\*]न्यैश्वर्यास्त्रिखरं म[१\*]गुण्य<sup>१५</sup> स[१\*]-  
भ[१\*]न्यश्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निर[य]-
- 49 मस्रह[१\*]योनुमन्तव्यः परिप[१\*]लयितव्यश्चेत्युतश्च<sup>१६</sup> ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुध[१\*] भु-  
क्त[१\*] राजभिस्त्रगर[१\*]दिभिः [१\*] यस्य यस्य यद[१\*] भूमस्त[स्य]<sup>१७</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read °पयत्स्व.<sup>२</sup> Read °यनायोदुम्बर° and compare B., text line 41.<sup>३</sup> The name of the donee is spaced out. It may have been filled in subsequently, or substituted for an erased longer name.<sup>४</sup> Read °पूर्व्वसीचि.<sup>५</sup> Read लक्षण°.<sup>६</sup> Read सीद्वङ्ग.<sup>७</sup> Read °देयं.<sup>८</sup> Read °विष्टिकं.<sup>९</sup> Read °प्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्व्व°.<sup>१०</sup> Read °विह्वति°.<sup>११</sup> Read °पीचान्वयभोग्यं.<sup>१२</sup> Read गुञ्जतोः.<sup>१३</sup> Read कर्षयतोः.<sup>१४</sup> Read °रव्यस्रहङ्गजैरखेर्व्वा.<sup>१५</sup> Read मानुष्यं.<sup>१६</sup> Read °त्युक्तश्च.<sup>१७</sup> Read भूमिस्तस्य.

- 50 तस्य तद[१\*] फल<sup>१</sup> [॥\*] [य]ानीह 'द[१\*]रिद्रभय[१\*]नरे[१\*]नानि<sup>२</sup>  
 चर्मा[१\*]यतनीकृत[१\*]नि [१\*] निर्भुक्तम[१\*]व्यप्रतिम[१\*]नि त[१\*]नि को  
 नाम याधुः<sup>३</sup> पु[न]-
- 51 रा[य]दीत<sup>४</sup> ॥ षष्टिव[र्ष]सहस्र[१\*][णि] स्वर्गे तिष्ठति<sup>५</sup> भुमिदः [१\*] पच्छे-  
 त[१\*]' च[१\*]नुम[त्त][१\*]<sup>६</sup> च त[१\*]न्य[व]<sup>७</sup> नरके व[सि]दिति ॥ दूतकोच  
 राजपुत्रश्रीखरग्रह[ः\*]
- 52 लिखितमिदं <sup>१०</sup>सन्धिविग्रह[१\*]धिगुह्यतदिविरपतिवचनमष्टपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन<sup>११</sup> ॥  
 स ३०० २० भ[१\*]द्रपद व ५ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

### B.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA]-SAMVAT 321.

The text of this inscription, which is here printed for the second time,<sup>12</sup> is based on two sets of ink-impressions and one set of estampages, prepared by Mr. Cousens. The estampages are very excellent and show many letters which, owing to the corroded condition of the original, appear only imperfectly in the ink-impressions.

The copper-plates are two in number and bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9" in height and 11½" in breadth.

The *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice (ll. 34 and 40), and the *upadhmanīya* once (l. 53). The date portion contains the numerical symbols for 300, 20, 1 and 3 (l. 54). As in A., the *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *ṣ* before *ś* and *h* (ll. 3, 5, 12, 23, 48, 50), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 15, 29, 34), while in three others (ll. 2, 8, 36 f.) the *anusvāra* is employed.

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose; but, as in A., three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 51-53. The language of ll. 41-43 is incorrect. The name of the first donee, *Dattasvāmi* (l. 42), although it has no case-ending, is joined by the particle *tathā* to the following *Kumārasvāmi* (l. 43), to which the dual case-ending *bhṛām* is affixed.

The text of the grant B. is practically identical with that of A., excepting the place of issue, the names and the description of the two donees, the description of the granted land, and the date. The grant was issued "from the victorious camp pitched at Va[n]ditapalli" (l. 1), which I am unable to identify. The two donees were "the Brāhmaṇa Dattasvāmin, who has come from Udumbaragahvara, resides at Ay[ā]nakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Trivēdins* of Daśapura, to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Mādhyandina-Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Budhasvāmin, and the Brāhmaṇa Kumārasvāmin, who resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),<sup>13</sup> to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmaṇa

<sup>१</sup> Read फलं.

<sup>२</sup> Read याधुः.

<sup>३</sup> Read चाप्येसा.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'विहृत'.

<sup>५</sup> See page 188 above.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'द्वारिद्र'.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'रादहीत'.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'मन्ता'.

<sup>९</sup> Read 'वचनमि' and see B., text line 54.

<sup>१०</sup> I.e. of Agastikāgrahāra.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'नानानि'.

<sup>१२</sup> Read लिखित मलिदः.

<sup>१३</sup> Read वान्नेद.

Budhasvāmin" (ll. 41-43). The grant consisted of "a field measuring one hundred *bhaktis* at the southern boundary of the village Chandraputraka in Mālavaka, in the said district (*vishaya*).<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of this (field are):—to the east, the boundary of the village Dhammapahāḍḍikā; to the south, the boundary of the village Dēvakulapāṭaka; to the west, the boundary of the field of the Mahattara Viratara-maṇḍalin; at the north-western corner, the small tank (called) Nīrgaṇḍī; (and) to the north, (the field of) Viratara-maṇḍalin" (ll. 44-46). The date of the grant was "the year 300 (and) 20 (and) 1; (the month) Chaitra; the dark (fortnight); the 3rd (*tīthi*)" (l. 54).

Each of the two donees is called a son of Budhasvāmin, a student of the Vājasanīya *śākhā*, and a member of the Pārāśara *gōtra*. This suggests that they were sons of the same father, and that the epithet 'who has come from Udumbaragahvara,'<sup>2</sup> which is applied to the first donee (l. 41), holds good for the second as well. The first donee is stated to have resided at Ayānakāgrahāra and to have belonged to the *Trivédins* of Daśapura. From this I conclude that Ayānakāgrahāra was a quarter or suburb of Daśapura. The second donee, who was probably the brother of the first, resided at, and belonged to the *Chaturvédins* of, Agastikāgrahāra, which may have been another hamlet of Daśapura. This town is the modern Dasōr or Mandasōr, the chief town of a district of the Scindia's dominions,<sup>3</sup> about 52 miles north of Rutlam.

As in the inscription A., the land granted belonged to the province of Mālavaka. It consisted of a field in the south of Chandraputraka and was bounded in the east by Dhammapahāḍḍikā and in the south by Dēvakulapāṭaka. In his letter to Mr. Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam thought of identifying these places, successively, with Chandodia, Dhamnod and Divil Khedi<sup>4</sup>—three villages in the south-west of Nōgāwā where the two grants were discovered. But the phonetical correspondence of each of the three pairs of names is only superficial; besides, Dhamnod is not in the east, but in the south-west, and Divil Khedi not in the south, but in the north-west, of Chandodia. Hence the Dewan's identification must be rejected. Dr. Fleet has very kindly searched the maps with the following result:—

"Eleven miles south-south-east from Mandasōr, there is a large village which is shewn as 'Dhamnar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 35, S.E. (1891), and as 'Dhamnār' in the Bhopal and Malwa Topographical Survey sheet No. 38 (1882). I suspect that this is the Dhammapahāḍḍikā of the record. But neither of the maps shews anything answering to any of the other names; unless Dēvakulapāṭaka may be found in the 'Dilauda' of the maps, four miles west-south-west from 'Dhamnār,' and in quite the right position to be on the south of Chandraputraka,—'Dhamnār' being taken to be the village on its east.<sup>5</sup> And, of course, a possible identification of only one place is not sufficient to conclusively locate the record."

The date of this inscription, [Gupta]-Sāṃvat 321 (i.e. A.D. 640-41), falls between that of the first Nōgāwā grant—Sāṃvat 320—and the earliest date of Dharasēna IV.—Sāṃvat 326<sup>6</sup>—and thus extends the known period of the reign of Dhruvasēna II. by one year.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on page 189 above.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 189 and note 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79 f., and above, Vol. V. p. 28 f.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Fleet informs me that these villages are given on the Indian Atlas sheet No. 36, N. E. (189b), as Chandoria, Dhamnod, Dibal and Kheri.

<sup>5</sup> "There is also another 'Dilauda,' which gives its name to a station on the Holkar and Neemuch State Railway, three and a half miles north-north-east from this one, and two and a half miles north-west-by-west from 'Dhamnār.'"

<sup>6</sup> See Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 481.



TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] विजयस्कन्धावाराह[न्दि]तपस्तीवासकायसभप्रणतामिवाणां  
मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोग-
- 2 <sup>3</sup>संस्तप्रहारशतलम्बप्रतापायतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत-  
श्रेणी-
- 3 बलावासरान्यत्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादध्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गाभ्यातापितृचरणा-  
रविन्दप्रणति-<sup>4</sup>
- 4 प्रविधौताशेषकल्याणः शैशवाग्रभूति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघट[र]-  
स्फोटनप्र[का]शि[त]-
- 5 <sup>5</sup>सत्त्वनिक्षः तत्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंस्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्कृतिः<sup>6</sup> सक[ल]-  
सृतिप्रणी-
- 6 तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरत्नान्बर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्त्रैर्यगाभीर्यबुद्धि-  
सम्पन्नि[:\*] स्मरश-
- 7 शाङ्गाद्विराजोदधिचिदशमुद्घनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तुल्यवद-  
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्य-
- 8 फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविहसुहृद्वर्णयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवन-  
मण्डला[भो]गप्रमोदः
- 9 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविद्यतजाह्नवीजलोच-  
प्रक्षालि[ता]शेष-<sup>7</sup>
- 10 कल्याणः प्रणयिमतसङ्कलोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसमाभिगामि-  
कौर्गुणै[:\*] [स]ङ्ग-
- 11 शक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता  
धर्मदा[याना]-
- 12 मपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणासुपद्भवाना<sup>8</sup> दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वतीरेकाधिवासस्व  
<sup>9</sup>सङ्कतारातिपक्षल[क्ष्मी]-
- 13 परिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसप्रसवि[म]लपार्थिवश्रीः<sup>10</sup> परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधर-  
सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-

<sup>1</sup> From two ink-impressions and an estampage.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> An indistinct symbol is engraved above the line between पा and र of <sup>9</sup>प्रतापात्म.<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>वंश.<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>सत्त्व.<sup>6</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>सङ्कतिः.<sup>7</sup> Read जलोच.<sup>8</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>इवाना.<sup>9</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>सङ्कता.<sup>10</sup> Read. <sup>9</sup>संप्राप्त.

- 14 ध्यातः <sup>1</sup>सकलजगदानन्दनात्थभुतगुणसमुदयस्त्रिगितसमग्रदिक्षुल्लः सम[र]शत-  
विजयशोभास-
- 15 नाथमण्डलाग्रयुतिभासुरतरान्मपीठोदू[ठ]गु[रु]मनोरथमहाभा[र]ः<sup>2</sup> सर्व[विद्या]-  
परावर[वि]भागाधिग-
- 16 मविमलमतिरपि सर्वतन्मुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपा[द]नीयपरि[तो]षः समग्र-  
लोकागाधगाभी-
- 17 र्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्व[भा]वः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपति-  
पथ[वि]शोध-
- 18 नाधिगतोदयकीर्तिर्हर्मानुपरोधीज्वल[त]रीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मा[दि]-  
त्यद्विती[य]नामा पर-
- 19 ममाहेम्बरः श्रीश्रीलादित्यस्तस्मानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः [स्व]यमुपेन्द्रगुणैव गुह-  
णात्मादरवत[र] समभिल-
- 20 षणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी<sup>3</sup> स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैक-  
रसत[यै]वोद्वहन्मेदसुखरतिभ्या-<sup>4</sup>
- 21 मनायासितसत्त्वसंपत्तिः<sup>5</sup> प्रभावसम्पद्दशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरीरज्ज्वायोपगूढपादपीठोपि  
परावन्नाभि-
- 22 मानरसाना[द्यङ्गित]मनोवृत्तिः<sup>6</sup> प्रणतिमेका<sup>7</sup> परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपीरुषाभिमानीरप्य-  
रातिभिरनासादितप्र[ति]क्रि[यो]-
- 23 पायः <sup>8</sup>कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसङ्कृतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगति-  
र्त्री[च]जनाधि-
- 24 रो[हि]भिरशेषैर्हर्षिरनामृष्टात्कृतद्वयः प्रख्यातपीरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथ-  
विदक्ष[न्ति]तिपाति-<sup>9</sup>
- 25 लक्ष्मीस्त्रयं प्रकाशितप्रविरपुरुषप्रथमसेम्याधिगमः<sup>10</sup> परममाहेम्बरः श्रीस्वरप्रह-  
स्तस्व तनयस्तत्पादा-
- 26 नुध्यातः स[क]लविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः <sup>11</sup>सत्त्व-  
सम्पदा त्यागोदार्थेण च
- 27 विगतानुसन्धान[र]माहितारातिपञ्चमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षिताणकशा[स्त्र]-<sup>12</sup>
- 28 <sup>13</sup>[क]लायोक्तरितगङ्गरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृति[र]क्तचिमप्रश्न[यविनय]-

<sup>1</sup> Read °लुत°.<sup>2</sup> Read °मिद°.<sup>3</sup> Read °मेका°.<sup>4</sup> Read °प्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः°.<sup>5</sup> Read °कलाक्षीक°.<sup>6</sup> Read °रास°.<sup>7</sup> Read °सत्त्वसंपत्तिः°.<sup>8</sup> Read °सङ्कृति°.<sup>9</sup> Read °सत्त्व°.<sup>10</sup> Read °लक्ष्मी°.<sup>11</sup> Read °नाल्लक्षित°.<sup>12</sup> Read °विपक्षचितिपति°.<sup>13</sup> Read °तानेक°.

## Second Plate.

- 29 शोभाविभूषणः समरग्रतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वंसित-<sup>1</sup>  
 30 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिम-  
 31 ण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहिश्चरः श्रीधरसेन[\*] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्य[\*]-  
 त[\*] सञ्चरितातिशयितस-  
 32 कलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुष-  
 कारः परिहृष्टगु-  
 33 णानुरागनिर्भरचिस्तद्वृत्तिभिर्ननुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः  
 कान्तिमा-  
 34 न्निर्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्कमुदनाथः प्राण्यप्रतापस्त्र[गि]तदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशिः<sup>2</sup>  
 सततो-  
 35 दितस्त्वविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागम-  
 परिपूर्णं  
 36 विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्वानेनुरूप[मादे]शं ददद्गुणवृद्धि-  
 विधानजनितसं-  
 37 स्कारस्माधूनां <sup>3</sup>राज्यसालातुरियतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि . निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि  
 करुणाष्टदुष्टद-  
 38 यः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तीपि प्रशमी स्त्रिरसौष्टव्योपि निरसिता दोष-  
 वतामुदर्यसमयसमुप-<sup>4</sup>  
 39 जनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थतप्रथितवा[ला]दित्यद्वितीयनामा<sup>5</sup> परम-  
 माहिश्चरः श्री-  
 40 ध्रुवसेनकुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वक्षंविदितं यथा  
 मया मातापित्रोः  
 41 पुष्पाप्यायनाय <sup>6</sup>उदुम्बरगङ्गरविनिर्माताय[\*]नकाग्र(1)हारनिवासिदशपुरचैविद्य-  
 सामान्यपाराग्रस-  
 42 गोचमाध्यन्दिनवाजसनेयसन्नञ्जचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्वामि तथागस्ति-  
 काग्रहारनिवासि-  
 43 [उ]च्यमानचातुर्व्विध्यसामान्यपाराग्रसगोचवाजसनेयसन्नञ्जचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्वामपुत्रब्रा-  
 ह्मणकुमारस्वामिभ्या<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °विध्वंसित°.<sup>2</sup> Read °प्रध्वंसित°.<sup>3</sup> Read °शास्त्रातुरीय°.<sup>4</sup> Read °मुदय°.<sup>5</sup> Read °समर्थित°.<sup>6</sup> °तायानका° is the reading of A., text line 40.<sup>7</sup> Read °बुधस्वामिपुत्र° . The syllable व्या is entered on the margin of the plate; read °व्या°.

- 44 मालवके उच्चमानविष[ये] चन्द्रपुत्रकथामे दक्षिणसीमि भक्तीयतप्रमाणचेचं  
यस्याच[१\*]टनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणह-
- 45 छिडकाग्रामकहटः दक्षिणतो देवकुलपाट[क]ग्रामकहटः अपरतः वीरतरमण्डली-  
महत्तरचेचमर्यादा उत्तरपक्षि-
- 46 मकीणे निर्मण्णीतडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरमण्डली एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुधं  
भक्तीयतप्रमाणचेचं ग्री-<sup>1</sup>
- 47 द्रुहं सोपरिकर<sup>2</sup> सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरस्त्रादेयं सपशपराध<sup>3</sup> सोत्पद्यमान  
विष्टिकं सर्व्वराजकीयानामह-
- 48 स्तप्रचेपणीय<sup>4</sup> पूर्व्वप्रस्तदेवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविकृतिरहितं<sup>5</sup> भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायिनाचन्द्रार्का-  
र्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्व-
- 49 तसमकालानं<sup>6</sup> पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मदायो निसृष्ट[ः\*] यतो-  
नयोवक्षितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जत<sup>7</sup>
- 50 क्षपतः<sup>8</sup> कर्षयतः<sup>9</sup> प्रदिशतोर्व्वी न कैश्चिद्ग्रासेवे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपति-  
भिरप्यसहङ्गजैरन्यैर्व्वी<sup>10</sup> अनित्त्वान्यै[श्च]र्व्वीक्ष-
- 51 स्त्रिरं मानुषं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयमसहायोनुमन्तव्यः परि-  
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्बुधैः भु-
- 52 क्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
फलं [॥\*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयाचरेन्द्रेष्टनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि [१\*]  
<sup>१</sup>निभुक्तमाव्यप्रति-
- 53 मानि तानि को नाम साधुपुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्र[१\*]चि स्वर्गे  
तिष्ठति भूमिद[ः १\*] आच्छेता<sup>10</sup> चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-  
दिति । द्रुतकीच राज-
- 54 पुत्रत्रीश्वरपक्ष[ः\*] लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवचभट्टिपुत्रदिविर-  
पतिस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं १०० २० १ चैव य १ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read सी०.<sup>२</sup> Read ०सीयं.<sup>३</sup> Read ०सी०.<sup>४</sup> Read चार्च सा.<sup>५</sup> Read ०चरं.<sup>६</sup> Read ०विश्वति०.<sup>७</sup> Read ०वर्ष०.<sup>८</sup> Read सदवापराणं.<sup>९</sup> Read ०वासीनं.<sup>१०</sup> Read निसृक्त०.

No. 21.—JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA  
ON MOUNT ABU.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; ROSTOCK.

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount *Ābū* were prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultzsch to Professor Kielhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of *Nēminātha* and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by *Tējahpāla*, the minister of the *Chaulukya* king *Viradhavala*. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of 'the temple of *Vastupāla* and *Tējahpāla*;' but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to *Tējahpāla* alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was *Lūpasimhavasahikā* or *Lūpavasahikā*.<sup>1</sup>

No. I. is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1883 by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate in his edition of *Sōmēśvaradēva's Kīrtikaumudī*, Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the *Collection of Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department, p. 174 ff.

The writing covers a space of about 3' 1½" broad by 2' 7½" high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ½". The characters are Jaina Nāgarī. As *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory syllable *ōm*, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll. 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by *Sōmēśvaradēva*, the well-known *purōhita* of the *Chaulukya* kings and author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*; but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms *balānaka* in l. 37 and *khattaka* in l. 40. The former apparently is identical with Marāṭhī *balāṇṭ*, which according to the *Dictionary* of Molesworth and Candy means 'a raised seat along the walls of the *gābhārā* or *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of a temple.' The word *khattaka* I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of 'pedestal' or 'throne.' Proper names frequently appear in their Prākṛit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form *Tējapāla*, instead of *Tējahpāla*, is used in verse 56.

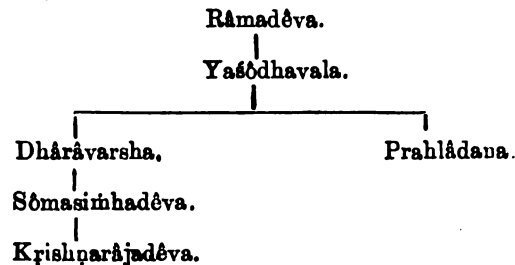
After an invocation of *Sarasvatī* (v. 1) and *Gaṇēśa* (v. 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of *Tējahpāla*. Their native town was *Apahilapura*, the residence of the *Chulukya* kings (v. 3). The ancestor of the family was *Chandapa* (v. 4). His son was *Chandaprasāda* (v. 5), who again had a son named *Sōma* (v. 6). *Sōma's* son was *Āsvarāja*, whose wife was *Kumārādēvī* (v. 7). They had eleven children (vv. 8-24)—four sons: *Lūpiga*,

<sup>1</sup> [On *vasahi*, 'a Jaina temple,' which is to be derived from \**casathi*, another form of the Sanskrit *casati*, see Prof. Fischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 207. The Kannaḍa equivalent *basadi* or *basti* is a *tadbhava* of *casati* itself.—E. H.]

who died when he was still a youth (v. 8), **Malladēva**, **Vastupāla** and **Tējāhpāla**, and seven daughters: **Jālhā**, **Māt**, **Sāt**, **Dhanadēvi**, **Sōhagā**, **Vayajukā** and **Padamaladēvi**. The family professed the Jaina faith (vv. 7; 10) and belonged to the lineage of the **Prāgvātas** (v. 4). The four brothers are all called ministers (*mantrin, sachiva*), and of **Vastupāla** it is expressly stated that he was in the service of the **Chulukyas** (v. 14). Special praise is bestowed on **Vastupāla** and **Tējāhpāla**, who seem to have been connected by the ties of sincere brotherly affection (vv. 19-24); but these verses contain no historical allusions.

The text then turns from the ministers to their lords, the **Chaulukyas** as they are called here (vv. 25; 28). Only the members of the so-called **Vāghēlā** line are mentioned here, viz. **Arpōrāja** (v. 25), his successor **Lavanaprasāda** (v. 26), and the son of the latter, **Viradhavala** (v. 27). Two verses (vv. 28; 29) are added in praise of the services rendered to **Viradhavala** by the brothers **Vastupāla** and **Tējāhpāla**, and of the implicit confidence by which the king rewarded their attachment to his person.

Abruptly a description of the **Arbuda** mountain, the modern **Mount Ābū**, is introduced (vv. 30; 31), after which follows, equally abruptly, a genealogy of the **Paramāras** of **Chandrāvati** (vv. 32-42). That these verses are inserted here because **Tējāhpāla** built a temple on **Mount Ābū** and this mountain was situated in the province governed by the **Paramāras**, can be gathered only from the contents of the last section of the inscription. The account of the **Paramāras** begins with the legend of their origin. Their ancestor, from whom they took their name, is said to have sprung from the altar of the sacrificial fire of **Vaśiṣṭha** and to have received the appellation of **Paramāra** from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (*para-mārana*) (v. 32). In that family there arose first **Dhūmarāja** (v. 33), who was followed by **Dhandhuka**, **Dhruvabhṛta** and others up to **Rāmadēva** (v. 34). With **Rāmadēva** begins a coherent pedigree which may be tabulated as follows:



Besides the genealogy the inscription furnishes several items of historical value. **Yaśōdhavala** is said to have quickly killed **Ballāla**, the lord of **Mālava**, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the **Chaulukya** king **Kumārāpāla** (v. 35). From the wording of the verse we may conclude that **Yaśōdhavala** was a feudatory of **Kumārāpāla** when he waged war against **Ballāla**, just as **Yaśōdhavala**'s son **Dhārāvarsha** appears as a feudatory of **Kumārāpāla**'s grand-nephew **Bhīmadēva II.** in a **Mount Ābū** inscription of **Vikrama-Saṃvat 1265**.<sup>1</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that elsewhere we find the destruction of **Ballāla** attributed to **Kumārāpāla** himself. In **Sōmēśvaradēva**'s *Kīrtikaumudī* (II. 48) **Kumārāpāla** is said to have seized in battle, out of passion, the heads of the kings **Ballāla** and **Mallikārjuna** like the breasts of the goddess of victory. And in the **Sōmnāthpattan** inscription of **Bhāva Brihaspati**, dated in **Valabhī-Saṃvat 850** (A.D. 1169),<sup>2</sup> he is called 'a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants—**Ballāla**, king of **Dhārā**, and the illustrious ruler of **Jāngala**.' The latest epigraphical date for **Kumārāpāla**'s predecessor **Jayasimhadēva** is **Vikrama-Saṃvat 1196**.<sup>3</sup> The earliest inscription of the reign of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. III. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 159 ff.

Kumārāpāla himself is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1202.<sup>1</sup> According to Mērtuṅga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* Jayasinhadēva reigned until Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199,<sup>2</sup> and in the same author's *Vichāratrēṇi* the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kṛttika of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1199, and that of his successor's coronation as the fourth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīra of the same year.<sup>3</sup> Ballāla, therefore, must have found his death between A.D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Sōmnāthpattan inscription. No king of that name, however, is found among the Paramāra rulers of Mālava of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is altogether improbable that Ballāla belonged to this dynasty. The question who he was and how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mālava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn<sup>4</sup> that after the death of Yaśōvarman, which must have occurred between A.D. 1135 and 1144,<sup>5</sup> the Mālava kingdom was for some time in a troubled state apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhārāvārsha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v. 37), was an enemy of the lord of Kauhkaṇa or Konkaṇ (v. 36), but no particulars are added. I have quoted already above the Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1265 (A.D. 1209), where Dhārāvārsha, 'the lord of Chandrāvati, the Śāmbhu to the Asuras—the provincial chiefs (*mūṇḍalika*),' is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhīmadēva II.

His younger brother Prahlādāna is called he 'whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha' (v. 38). The Gūrjara king who was saved by Prahlādāna from Sāmantasimha, of course, was Bhīmadēva II., but it is difficult to say who that Sāmantasimha was. No further details being given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that prince with certainty. The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the Sāmantasimha of the inscription is the Guhila chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions on Mount Ābū<sup>6</sup> and at Sādaḍi.<sup>7</sup> In the former inscription<sup>8</sup> he takes the fifth place after Vijayasimha, who must have flourished about A.D. 1125,<sup>9</sup> and the fifth place before Tējaḥsimha, whose Chitōrḡaḍh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1324 = A.D. 1267.<sup>10</sup> He thus appears to have reigned about A.D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary Prahlādāna was *yuvārāja* in A.D. 1209.<sup>11</sup> Also from a geographical point of view there is no objection to my identification, as Mēdarāṣṭa, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district ruled by the Paramāras of Chandrāvati. It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahlādāna defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief. That the relations between the Chaulukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of Visaladēva, the son of Virādhavala, where the king is given the epithet *Mēdapātākadēva-kaluṣa-rājya-vallī-kand-ēchchhēdāna-kuddāla-kalpa*, 'he who resembled a bee for rooting out the bulb of (that) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mēdapātāka country.'<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See the end of *sarga* 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> The latest inscription of Yaśōvarman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1192, and the earliest inscription of his son Lakshmi-varman is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama-Saṃvat 1200. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 349 and p. 353 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 114 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The Sādaḍi inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names.

<sup>9</sup> Vijayasimha's daughter was the Kalachuri queen Alhaṇadēvi, whose Bhēra-Ghat inscription is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era = A.D. 1155; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 7 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 222.

<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 210.

Besides his military achievements Prahlādana's learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv. 39 ; 40). This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a *vyāyōga*, called *Pārthaparākrama*, written by him when he was *yuvardja*,<sup>1</sup> and several single verses of his are found in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.<sup>2</sup>

As regards *Sōmasimhadēva*, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brāhmins (v. 41).

After the genealogy of the Paramāras the text returns again to the family of *Tējāhpāla*. Vv. 43-46 are devoted to *Tējāhpāla*'s brother *Vastupāla*, his wife *Lalitādēvi* and, particularly, their son *Jayantasimha* or *Jaitrasimha*. Vv. 47-49 are in praise of *Tējāhpāla* himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of *Anupamadēvi*, the wife of *Tējāhpāla* (vv. 50-54). The account begins with *Gāgā*, who belonged to the *Prāgvāṭa* family and was an inhabitant of *Chandrāvati* (v. 50). His son was *Dharaṇiga* (v. 51), who was married to *Tribhuvanadēvi* (v. 52). Their daughter was *Anupamadēvi* (vv. 53; 54). The son of *Tējāhpāla* and *Anupamadēvi* was *Lāvanyasimha* or *Lūpasimha* (vv. 55-57). V. 58 contains a short note on the family of *Tējāhpāla*'s elder brother *Malladēva* : *Malladēva* and his wife *Līlukā* had a son *Pūṇasimha*, who was married to *Ahlapādēvi* and had a son of the name of *Pēṭhaḍa*.

Vv. 59 and 60 record that *Tējāhpāla* built on the mountain *Arbuda* this temple of *Nāminātha* for the religious merit of his wife *Anupamā* and his son *Lāvanyasimha*, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice. The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty *maṇḍapa* in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinas on the sides of it and a *balānaka* or stone seat in front of it (v. 61). There were besides ten statues representing *Chandapa*, *Chandaprasāda*, *Sōma*, *Aśvarāja*, *Lūpiga*, *Malladēva*, *Vastupāla*, *Tējāhpāla*, *Jaitrasimha* and *Lāvanyasimha*, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62 ; 63). Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on *khattakas* of white marble (v. 64). The description concludes with some verses in honour of *Vastupāla* and *Tējāhpāla*, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv. 65-68).

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of *Vastupāla*'s and *Tējāhpāla*'s family (vv. 69-72). They belonged to the *Nāgendra gachohha*, and their names, in chronological order, were : *Mahēndrasūri*, *Śāntisūri*, *Ānandasūri* and *Amarasūri*,<sup>3</sup> *Haribhadrasūri*, *Vijayasēnasūri*, *Udayaprabhasūri*. The last, as shown by v. 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some *Girnār* inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that *Sōmēśvaradēva*, whose feet are honoured by the *Chulukya* king, composed this eulogy of the temple. The name of the engraver of the inscription, *Chandēśvara*, the son of *Dhāndhala*, the son of *Kōlhaṇa*, and the date of the consecration of the temple by *Vijayasēnasūri*, the Jaina priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll. 46, 47). The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of *Phālguna*, in the year 1287 of the glorious *Vikrama*. It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, *a priori* to restore the name of the month to *Śrāvana*, as done e.g. by Professor *Kathavate* ; but as the date is repeated in the inscription No. II., the reading *Phālguna* is beyond

<sup>1</sup> Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1872-73, p. 4. Kielhorn, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 748, 765, 1058 and 1071 ; compare Aufrecht's collection, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XXVII. p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> In the inscription No. II. *Amarasūri* is called *Amarachandrasūri*.

<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn, List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 81, note 1. *Udayaprabhasūri* was also the author of an astrological treatise called *Arambhasiddhi* ; see Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin, No. 1741.



all doubt. The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> to **Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230.**

Of the inscription No. II. only a short account was published by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 309 f. It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B. to his edition of the *Kirtikaumudī*. It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10" high. The size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Near the beginning and at the end of ll. 1 and 2 and at the end of ll. 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off. The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial *ō* in *ōm* (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in *Ōisavāla* (ll. 15, 17, 24) and *Ōrdsā* (l. 27) by the addition of a cross-bar. The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *va* everywhere, except in *Śrīmātāmahabū* in l. 27 and *Arbudās* in the last but one line. The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities. The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for *ra* and *śa* and medial *ē* and *ō*, the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in *bhājātē*, *bhavanē*, *-pāmthē*, *-śūrē*, *tayōh* and *vīlōkyamānē*, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in *varshē* (l. 1), *-dēvēna* (l. 26) and *Gōsala* (l. 13). There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is fully borne out by their contents.

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom. Proper names generally appear in their Prākṛit form, and even instead of Skt. *putra* we find here the abbreviation *u*<sup>o</sup>, which stands for Prākṛit *utta* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized *utra*<sup>2</sup> (ll. 10-25). Also the form *kumara* instead of *kumāra* in l. 26 is due to Prākṛit influence. The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by *tathā* (ll. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27). As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned : *apabhāra*, m., 'a burden' (l. 29); *āshṭāhikā*, f., 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (ll. 12, 14, 16, etc.); *kalyāṇika*, n., 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26);<sup>3</sup> *tathājñātiya*, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (ll. 10 ff.); *mahājana*, m., 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10);<sup>4</sup> *rāṣṭhiya*, m., which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 28); *varshagranthi*, m., 'an anniversary' (l. 12);<sup>5</sup> *satka*, 'belonging to' (ll. 3, 7, 10); *śārā*, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9).<sup>6</sup> In line 6 *pratishṭhita* is used in the sense of *pratishṭhāpita*.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of *Nēminātha*, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building.

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1287, while in prosperous *Aṇahilapātaka* the *mahārājādhirāja* Bh[īmadēva], the royal swan on the lotus of the *Chaulukya* family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . while the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rājakula*, the illustrious *Sōmasimhadēva*, born in the family of the illustrious

<sup>1</sup> *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, plate i. ll. 14, 15; pl. ii. ll. 4, 5, 6. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 279, note 46. The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate ii. l. 10. In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation *mahājani*<sup>5</sup> is found.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Marāṭhi *varshagṛanṭha*, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 206, note 2.

Dhûmarâjadêva who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy Vasiṣṭha, is reigning victoriously,' Têjahpâla caused to be made in the village of Dêulavâdâ on the top of the holy mountain Arbuda the temple of the holy Nêminâtha, called Lûpasimhavasahikâ, adorned by all shrines (*dêvakulikâ*) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (*hastîśâlâ*), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadêvi and his son Lûpasimha. The inscription gives the same pedigree of Têjahpâla as No. I., and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara rânaka*, the illustrious Viradhavaladêva, the son of the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara rânaka*, the illustrious Lavanaprasâdadêva, born in the family of the illustrious Chaulukyas, in the province (*maṇḍala*) of . . . *râtrâ*, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid *mahârâjâdhirdja*, the illustrious Bhîmadêva.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between Bhîmadêva II. and the members of the Vâghêlâ dynasty, which in Somêśvaradêva's account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that Bhîmadêva II. was considered lord paramount, while Lavanaprasâda and Viradhavala contented themselves with the rank of a *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* and the title of *rânaka*. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by Viradhavala is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . *râtrâ*, which I am unable to restore.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the Paramâras of Chandrâvatî, the inscription shows that in A.D. 1230 the reigning prince was Sômasimha, and not Kṛishṇarâja as might easily be supposed from the text of No. I. I would also point out that the legend told in No. I. of Paramâra is here ascribed to Dhûmarâja.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to Sunday, 3rd March A.D. 1230. The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the Jinas and the hall for the statues of the members of Têjahpâla's family spoken of in vv. 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by Vijayasênasûri (l. 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. Haribhadrasûri is here called 'the lord of the frontlet decoration (*paṭṭâlamkaraṇa-prabhu*) by the illustrious Âpandasûri and the illustrious Amarachandrasûri,' which apparently means that he had received his *paṭṭâbhishêka* from the hands of those two sûris.

The purport of the next section (ll. 6-9) is indicated already by the heading: 'And the names of the *śrâvaka* trustees appointed for this temple (*are*) as follows.' Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,<sup>2</sup> etc., in this temple is to be done and carried on for ever by the brothers Malladêva, Vastupâla and Têjahpâla and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of Lûpasimha's mother Anupamadêvi and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of Anupamadêvi's family, which resided at Chandrâvatî and belonged to the Prâgvâṣa jñâti, is inserted.

The following section (ll. 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, holy to the god,<sup>3</sup> and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc., were to be performed by the laymen (*śrâvaka*) of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the Vâghêlâ branch.

<sup>2</sup> The word *sêrd* occurs again in the Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207 in the phrase: *asya dharmasthânasya . . . Mair-aṣṭabhir-gôṣṭhikâi râûla-Uchchadêva-sakṭitair-d-chandr-ârkaṣ sârd karaṇtyd*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 338, plate ii. ll. 3-6. It has possibly a more special meaning than supervision.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the meaning of *dêvakīya*.

the country of Chandravati,<sup>1</sup> each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the *jāti*. About half of them belonged to the Prāgvātas; the rest was divided between the Ūsavālas or Ōisavālas, the Śrīmālas and the not very numerous Dharkatas. The places inhabited by them were the villages of Umbarāṇīkī, Śaraūlī and Kāsahrada,<sup>2</sup> Brahmāpa, the village of Dhaūlī, the great *tīrtha* Mundasthala, the villages of Philinī, Haṇḍāudrā and Dāvānī, Gaḍḍhaḍa, Sāhilavādā.

In a subsequent clause (ll. 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five *kalyāṇas* of Nēmināthadēva, i.e. the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (*śrāvaka*) residing at Dēūlavādā on the holy mountain Arbuda.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (ll. 26-30): 'Thus is this agreement: The lord of the prosperous Chandravati, the illustrious *rājakula* Sōmasimhadēva; again his son, the illustrious *rāja[kula]* Kānhaḍadēva, and the other princes, all royal persons; again the *sthānapatis bhaffārakas*, etc., of the prosperous Chandravati, *kavildas*;<sup>3</sup> again the Gūgūlī Brāhmanas,<sup>4</sup> all the trustees (who belong to the caste of the) merchants; again all persons, (*viz.*) *sthānapatis*, ascetics, Gūgūlī Brāhmanas, *rāthiyas* and others, residing at (the temples of) the holy Achaḷśēvara (and) the holy Vasiṣṭha on the mountain Arbuda and in the neighbouring villages, (*viz.*) the village of Dēūlavādā, the prosperous village of Śrīmātāmahaba, the village of Ābuya, the village of Ōrāsā, the village of Ūtarachha, the village of Sihara, the village of Sāla, the village of Hēthaūñjī, the village of Ākhi, Kōṭaḍī belonging to the holy Dhāndhalēśvaradēva, and others—twelve villages (*in all*); again all the *rājaputras* belonging to the race of the illustrious Pratihāras, residing in the villages of Bhālibhādā, etc., having sat down one by one in the hall of (the temple of) the holy Nēmināthadēva, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (and) for his own delight, from the *mahan[ta]*, the illustrious Tējappāla, the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy Lūpaśihavassahikā. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (endure). For—

'What need is there of alms-bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (or) red garments (and) tufts of twisted hair, (since) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince Kānhaḍadēva mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the Paramāra Kṛishnarājadēva spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the *mahārājakula*, the illustrious Sōmasimhadēva, in this holy Lūpaśihavassahikā, presented by an edict the village of Dāvānī in Vāhirahadī to the holy Nēmināthadēva, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with Sōmasimhadēva entreating the future kings of the Paramāra race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

<sup>1</sup> I take the term 'the body of the *śrāvakas*, namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to Chandravati' as the collective designation of the persons enumerated in detail later on.

<sup>2</sup> [According to Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 64, Kāsahrada is the present Kāsindra-Pālaḍī near Ahmadābād; see Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 229. It is mentioned in two Bāshtrakūṭa grants, *ibid.* p. 57 (Kāsahrada), and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 202 (Kāsahrada).—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *kavildas* is a proper name; at any rate, I do not know its meaning.—[Can it be meant for *Kailāsa*?—E. H.]

<sup>4</sup> The Gūgūlis, or Guglis as they are called now, are a class of Brāhmanas who at present are found chiefly in Dvārakā. They are Vaishnavas by religion and mostly *pūjāris* or priests in the temples of Kṛishna; compare *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII. p. 146, and Vol. IX. Part I. p. 2 f., where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of *Dēūlavādā* on the mountain Arbuda is the Dilwara of the *Indian Atlas*, situated lat. 24° 36' N.; long. 72° 43' E. The village of *Umbaraṇīki* is the Umarni of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of Dilwara. The village of *Dhaūli* is Dhauli, 8½ miles west-south-west of Dilwara. The great *tīrtha* of *Mūṇḍasthala* is perhaps identical with the Murthala of the map, 8½ miles south-east of Dilwara. The village of *Gaḍāhāḍa* may be identified with the *Gadara* of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of Dilwara, supposing *Gadara* to stand for *Gaḍāra* (*Gaḍāḍa*). *Sāhīlavādā* is *Selwara*, 8½ miles west-north-west of Dilwara. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Arbuda, *Ābuya* is the Abu of the map, 1½ miles south-west of Dilwara. *Ūtarachha* is *Utraj*, 5½ miles north-east of Dilwara. *Sihara* is *Ser*, 8 miles north-east of Dilwara. *Hēṭhaūñjī* is *Hetamji*, 2 miles south of Dilwara. *Kōṭaḍī* may be the *Kotra* of the map, 7 miles east of Dilwara. *Sāla* possibly is identical with *Salgaon*, 1 mile east-south-east of Dilwara. *Ōrāsā* bears a certain resemblance to *Oria*, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of Dilwara, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount Ābū by *Nayachandrasūri*, a descendant of the holy *rishi* *Kṛishṇa*, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.<sup>1</sup>

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III.-XXXII., all of which are edited now for the first time,<sup>2</sup> are written in Nāgarī characters of the Jaina type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their Prākṛit form. Once, in *Chakṣuṣa* in No. IV. l. 1, *ḍa* shows the peculiar shape given in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie* in Plate V. col. XVI. l. 22, from an inscription of *Bhīmadēva* I.

No. III., which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that *Tējapāla* caused to be made the great shrine (*mahātīrtha*) of the holy *Nēminātha* in this *Lūṇavasahikā* for the religious merit of his son *Lūṇasiha* 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of *Phāguṇa* (*Phālguna*) in the year 1287 of king *Vikrama*.' According to Professor Kielhorn, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for both V. 1287 expired and V. 1287 current. It would correspond, for V. 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV.-XXXII. prove that *Tējapāla* in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of *Jinas* and *tīrthakaras*, by *Tējapāla* for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is *mahām*<sup>3</sup>, the abbreviated form of *mahantā*. It is borne by *Tējapāla* and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIV. and XXVI.-XXXI. *Tējapāla*'s ancestors *Chandapa* and *Chandaprasāda*, his father *Āsvarāja* or *Āsarāja*, and his mother *Kumārādēvi* are given the title of *ṭha*<sup>c</sup>, which stands for *ṭhakkura*, whereas *Sōma*, the son of *Chandaprasāda* and father of *Āsvarāja*, is constantly styled *mahām*<sup>3</sup>. This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as *Chandapa* and *Āsvarāja* are called also *mahām* in

<sup>1</sup> I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount Ābū.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 310, No. XX.

<sup>3</sup> The pedigree in No. II. l. 3 f. shows the same distinction.

Nos. III.-VIII., X.-XVIII., XXI.-XXIII. and XXXII.<sup>1</sup> In No. XXXII. we find *ṭhakurājñi* as the title of Saṁtōshā, the mother of Tējahpāla's second wife Suhaḍādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called *ṭha°*. As shown by Nos. XXVI., XXVII. and XXX., Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tējahpāla, bore the title of *saṁghapati*.<sup>2</sup> From the ninth *sarga* of the *Kīrtikaumudī* it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śātrunājaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa. The title itself is alluded to in *sarga* IX. verse 12, where it is said: 'He dined when all (*others*) had dined; he went to sleep when all the (*other*) pilgrims had fallen into slumber; he was the first to awake. In this manner he performed the vow of being a *saṁghaprabhu*.'<sup>3</sup> Seven times female relatives of Tējahpāla are given the title of *bāī* (Nos. IV., XI., XXVI., XXVII., XXIX.-XXXI.)

No. XXXII. mentions the *Mōḍha jñātī* in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhaḍādēvi, the second wife of Tējahpāla, belonged.

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārśva (No. XII.), Muni Suvrata (No. XXI.), Vārisēpa<sup>4</sup> (No. XXIV.), Chandrānana (No. XXV.), the eternal Jina Ṛishabha (No. XXX.), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No. XXXI.), and the *tīrthakaras*<sup>5</sup> Śīmaṁdharasvāmin<sup>6</sup> (No. XXVI.), the Jina Yugaṁdharasvāmin (No. XXVII.), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII.), and Subāhu (No. XXIX.).

Nos. IV.-XVIII. are dated in the Vikrama year 1288; Nos. XIX.-XXIII. in the Vikrama year 1290; Nos. XXIV. and XXV. on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293; Nos. XXVI.-XXXI.<sup>7</sup> on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V. 1293 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A.D. 1237; No. XXXII. is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V. 1297 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1241.

No. I.<sup>8</sup>

TEXT.

1 श्री० ॥ वदे सरस्वतीं देवीं याति या क[ि]व[ि]मानसं । नी[यमा]ना  
[निजेने]व [यानमा]नस[व]ासिन[ा ।] १ यः [च]ातिमा[नप्य]व[च]ः  
प्रकोपे शांतोपि दीप्तः स्मरनिग्रहाय । निमीलिताक्षो[पि सम]घदशी  
स वः शिवायास्तु शि-

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in the pedigree of Tējahpāla's wife Anupamadēvi in No. II. l. 7 f. four persons are called *maḥam°*, while the rest is styled *ṭha°*.

<sup>2</sup> The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No. II. l. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The title of *saṁghapati* occurs also in the *Śātrunājayamāhātmya*. According to XIV. 84 ff. it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hastisēna, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places.

<sup>4</sup> The correct Sanskrit form would be *Vdrishēna*.

<sup>5</sup> The four *tīrthakaras* are distinguished by the epithet *viṣkaramāṇa*, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me.

<sup>6</sup> The Jina Śīmaṁdharasvāmin is known from Hēmachandra's *Śīhaviṇḍavalicharita*, IX. 95 ff. and the *Śātrunājayamāhātmya*, I. 163.

<sup>7</sup> Of No. XXVIII. the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year.

<sup>8</sup> On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1740 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 [वात]नूजः ॥ २ अण्डिलपुरमस्ति स्वस्तिपात्रं प्रजा[नाम]जरजिर[घुतुष्यै]:  
पा[स्व]मानं शु[सुखैः] । [चिरम]तिरमणीनां य[च वल्लो]दु[मंदी]कृत  
इव [सि]तपत्रप्रचयेप्यंधकारः ॥ ३ तत्र प्राग्वाटान्वयमुकुटं कुटजप्रसून-
- 3 विशदयशाः । दानविनिर्जितकस्यद्रुमचंडचंडपः समभूत् ॥ ४ चंडप्र[सा]द-  
सं[ज्ञ]: स्वकुल[प्रासा]दहेमदंडो ऽस्य । प्रसर[त्की]र्त्तिपताकः पुष्पवि-  
पाकेन सनुरभूत् ॥ ५ आत्मगुणैः किरणैरिव सोमो रोमोद्गमं  
सतां कु- ॥<sup>1</sup>
- 4 र्वन् । उदगादगाधमध्याह्नुधीदधिबांधवात्तस्मात् ॥ ६ एतस्मादजनि  
जिनाधि[ना]यभक्तिं विभ्राणः स्वमनसि शम्भदम्भरा[ज]: । तस्यासीद्वि-  
ततमा कुमारदेवी देवीव त्रिपुररिपोः कुमारमाता ॥ ७ तयोः  
प्रथमपु- ॥
- 5 चो ऽभूत्संजी लूणिगसंज्ञया । देवादेवाप बालो ऽपि सालोक्षं [व]ा-  
सवेन [स]: ॥ ८ पूर्वमेव सचिवः स कीविदैर्गण्यते स गुणवत्सु  
लूणिगः । यस्य निस्तुषमतेर्मनीषया धिक्कृतेव धिषण्यस्य धीरपि ॥ ९  
श्रीमन्नदेवः त्रि-
- 6 तमज्जिदेवस्तस्मानुजो मंचिमतज्जिकाऽभूत् । बभूव यस्यान्यधनांगनासु लुब्धा  
न बुद्धिः शमलम्बबुद्धेः ॥ १० धर्मविधाने भुवनच्छिद्रपिधाने विभिन्न-  
संधाने । सृष्टिकृता न हि सृष्टः प्रतिमज्जो मन्नदेव- ॥
- 7 स ॥ ११ नीलनीरदकदम्बकसुतस्त्वैतकीतुकिरणीहरणेन । मन्नदेवयशसा  
गलहस्तो हस्तिमन्नदशनांशु दत्तः ॥ १२ तस्मानुजो विजयते  
विजितेन्द्रियस्य सारस्वतामृतकृताभुतहर्षवर्षः । श्रीवस्तु-
- 8 [पा]त्र इति भासतलस्त्रितानि दौस्व्याचराणि सुकृती कृतिनां विष्णुपन् ॥  
१३ विरचयति वस्तुपालबुलुक्कसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचि-  
दर्थहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ १४ तेजःपालः पालितस्त्रा-
- 9 मितेजःपुंजः सोयं राजते मंचिराजः । दुर्हत्तानां शंकनीयः कनोद्यानस्य भ्राता  
विश्वविभ्रांतकीर्त्तिः ॥ १५ तेजःपालस्य विष्णोश्च कः स्वरूपं निरूपयेत् ।  
स्वितं जगज्जयीसूचं यदीयोदरकंदरे ॥ १६ जालूमाजसाज-
- 10 धनदेवीसोहगावयलुकास्थाः । पदमन्नदेवी चैषां क्रमादिमाः सप्त सोदर्यः ॥ १७  
एते ऽम्भराजपुत्रा दशरथपुत्रास्त एव चत्वारः । प्राप्ताः किल पुनरवना-  
वेकीदरवासलोमेन ॥ १८ अनुजस्मना समेतस्तेजपाः- ।

<sup>1</sup> These strokes as well as those at the end of ll. 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41, 42 are merely intended for filling up the line.

- 11 लीन वस्तुपालो ऽयं । मदयति कस्य न हृदयं मधुमाक्षो माधवेनेव ॥ १८  
पंधानमेको न कदापि गच्छेदिति क्षुतिप्रोक्तमिव स्मरंतौ । सहोदरी  
दुर्धरमोहचौरे संभूय धर्माध्वनि तौ प्रवृत्तौ ॥ २० इदं सदा सो-
- 12 दरयोद्धेतु युगं युगव्यायतदोर्ध्वगच्छि । युगी चतुर्थेऽप्यनवेन येन कृतं कृतस्या-  
गमनं युगस्य ॥ २१ सुक्तामयं शरीरं सोदरयोः सुचिरमेतयोरस्तु ।  
सुक्तामयं क्लिप्त महीवल्लयमिदं भाति यत्कीर्त्या ॥ २२ ए-
- 13 कोत्पत्तिनिमित्तौ यद्यपि पाणी तयोस्तथाप्येकः । वामो ऽभूदनयोर्न तु  
सोदरयोः कोपि दक्षिणयोः ॥ २३ धर्मस्थानांकितसुखीं सर्वतः कुर्वता-  
ऽसुना । दत्तः पादो बलाबद्धयुगलेन कलेर्गले ॥ २४ इतश्चौलुक्यवीरा-
- 14 णां वंशे शाखाविशेषकः । अर्धोराज इति ख्यातो जातस्त्रौजोमयः पुमान् ॥ २५  
तस्मादनंतरमनंतरितप्रतापः प्राप क्षितिं क्षतरिपुर्लवणप्रसादः । स्वर्गापगा-  
जलवलक्षितशंखशुभ्रा बभ्राम यस्य क्षवणाश्विमतीत्य कीर्तिः
- 15 ॥ २६ सुतस्तस्मादासीद्दशरथककुत्स्थप्रतिकृतेः<sup>१</sup> प्रतिष्ठापालानां कबलितबलो वीर-  
धवलः । यज्ञः पूरे यस्य प्रसरति रतिक्रांतमनसामसाध्वीनां भग्नाऽभिसरण-  
कलायां कुशलता ॥ २७ चौलुक्यः सुकृती स वीरधवलः क-
- 16 खेजपानां जपं यः कर्षेपि चकार न प्रलपतामुद्दिश्य यौ मंचिणौ ।  
आभ्यामभ्युदयातिरेकश्चिरं राज्यं स्वभर्तुः कृतं वाहानां निवहा घटाः  
करटिनां बहाश्च सौधांगणे ॥ २८ तेन मंचिहयेनायं जाने जानूप-  
वर्तिना । वि-
- 17 भुर्भुजह्वनेन सुखमाश्लिष्यति त्रियं ॥ २९ इतश्च ॥ गौरीवरचग्रभूधरसंभवो  
ऽयमस्त्वर्तुदः ककुदमद्रिकदंबकस्य । मंदाकिनीं घनजटे दधदुत्तमां [गि] यः  
श्यालकः शशिभूतो ऽभिनयं करोति ॥ ३० कचिदिह विहरंतीर्ष्वी- ।
- 18 क्षमाणस्य रामाः प्रसरति रतिरंतर्मोक्षमाकांक्षतो ऽपि । कचन सुनि-  
भिरर्थी पश्यतस्तीर्थवीथीं भवति भवविरक्ता धीरधीरात्मनो ऽपि ॥ ३१  
श्रेयःश्रेष्ठवशिष्ठहोमहुतभुक्कुंडान्मृतं डाक्षजप्रद्योताधिकदेहदीधितिभ-
- 19 रः कोप्याविरासीन्नरः । तं मत्वा परमारणैकरसिकं स व्याजहार श्रुतेरा-  
धारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नामाऽथ तस्यान्वयः ॥ ३२ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं  
बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेद्रवशे । भूमीभूतो यः कृतवानभिमानं पञ्चदयोच्छे-
- 20 दनवेदनासु ॥ ३३ धंधुकध्रुवभटादयस्ततस्ते रिपुद्विपघटाजितौ ऽभवन् ।  
यत्कुले ऽजनि पुमान्मनोरमो रामदेव इति कामदेवजित् ॥ ३४ रोदः-  
कंदरवर्त्तिकीर्त्तिरुहरोलिसामृतांशुद्युतेरप्रद्युम्नवशो यशोधवल इ-

<sup>१</sup> ककुत्स्थ° would be more correctly written ककुत्स्थ°.

- 21 त्वासीत्तनूजस्ततः । यच्चौलुक्खकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्चितामागतं मत्वा सत्वरमेव  
मालवपतिं <sup>1</sup>वज्जालमालव्ववान् ॥ ३५ श्चुत्थेणीगलविदलनोच्चिद्रनिस्तृशधारो<sup>2</sup>  
धारावर्षः समजनि सुतस्तस्व विचप्रशस्वः । क्रोधाक्रांतप्र- ।
- 22 धनवसुधानिचले यच्च जातास्योतत्तेचोत्पलजलकचाः कौकणाचीशपत्थः ॥ ३६  
सौर्य पुनर्दाशरथिः पृथिव्यामव्याहृतौजाः स्फुटमुज्जगाम । मारीचवैरादिव  
यो ऽधुनापि [मृ]गव्यमव्यग्रमतिः करोति ॥ ३७ सामं-
- 23 तसिंहसमितिचितिविचतौजः श्रीगूर्जरचितिपरच्छणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनुजो  
दनुजोत्तमारिचारिचमच्च पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३८ देवी सरीजासनसंभवा  
किं कामप्रदा किं सुरसौरभेयो । प्रह्लादनाकारधरा
- 24 धरायामायातवत्त्वेष न निचयो मे ॥ ३९ धारावर्षसुतो ऽयं जयति  
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः । पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाहानमुभयतो  
जगृहे ॥ ४० मुक्ता विप्रकरानरातिनिकरान्निर्जित्य तत्किंचन प्रापत्संप्रति  
सोम-
- 25 सिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाशं यशः । येनोर्वीतलमुज्ज्वलं<sup>4</sup> रचयताप्युत्ताम्बतामी-  
र्ष्या सर्वेषामिह विद्भिषां न हि मुक्ताम्बालिख्यमुन्मूलितं ॥ ४१ वसुदे-  
वस्त्वैव सुतः श्रीकृष्णः कृष्णराजदेवो ऽस्य । मात्ताधिकप्रतापो यशोद-
- 26 यासंजितो जयति ॥ ४२ इतश्च ॥ अन्वयेन विनयेन विद्यया विक्रमेण  
सुक्ततक्रमेण च । ज्ञापि कोपि न पुमानुपैति मे वस्तुपालसदशो  
दृगोः पथि ॥ ४३ दयिता ललितादेवी तनयमवीतनयमाप सचिवेद्रात् ।  
नाम्ना जयंत- ।
- 27 सिंहं जयंतमिन्द्रात्पुलोमपुत्रीव ॥ ४४ यः शैशवे विनयवैरिणि बोधबंधे धत्ते  
नयं च विनयं च गुणोदयं च । सोयं मनोभवपराभवजागरूकरूपी न  
कं मनसि चुंबति जैत्रसिंहः ॥ ४५ श्रीवस्तुपालपुत्रः कल्यायुरयं जयं-
- 28 तसिंहो ऽस्तु । कामादधिकं रूपं निरूप्यते यस्य दानं च ॥ ४६ स  
श्रीतेजःपालः सचिवश्चिरकालमस्तु तेजस्वी । येन जना निचिंताचिंता-  
मणिनेव नंदन्ति ॥ ४७ यच्चाणक्यामरगुरुमरुद्वाधिशुक्रादिकानां प्रागुत्पादं  
व्यधित भुवने
- 29 मंजिषां बुद्धिधानां । चक्रे ऽभ्यासः स खलु विधिना नूनमेनं विधातुं  
तेजःपालः कथमितरथाधिक्यमापैष तेषु ॥ ४८ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिकेतनं  
तनुभृतां श्रीवस्तुपालानुजस्तेजःपाल इति स्थितिं बलिहृतासुर्वीतले पाल-  
यन् । आत्मीयं व-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the reading is वज्जालम्.<sup>2</sup> Read 'निर्जित'.<sup>3</sup> Read पुनरुज्ज्वलं.<sup>4</sup> Read 'लमुज्ज्वलं'.



- 30 इ मन्थते न हि गुणग्रामं च कामंदकिष्णकोपि चमत्करोति न  
हृदि प्रेक्षास्यदं प्रेक्ष यं ॥ ४८ इतश्च ॥ मङ्गं श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीअनुप-  
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्धनं ॥ प्राग्वाटान्वयमंडनैकमुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रावतीवास्तव्यः स्त-  
31 वनीयकीर्त्तिहृदिप्रक्षालितस्मातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यदृक्षानु-  
रागादभूत्की नासप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्भूतरोमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-  
सृतसज्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुहृदये ।  
32 गुणिना हारेणैव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-  
विख्यातशीलसंपत्ता । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं द्वेधा मनस्वेकं ॥ ५२  
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वाचायणीव शीलिन । तदुद्दिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-  
पालेन  
33 पत्न्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमंजी-  
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकौचित्यदाक्षिण्यदानप्रमुखगुणगणैर्दुष्योतिताशेषगोचा ॥ ५४  
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरयं रयं जयन्ति- ।  
34 रिद्रियदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्धापि मीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-  
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणानसुख श्रीलूणसिंहकृतिनः कति  
न स्तुवंति । श्रीबंधनोद्भूतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता चित्रगति क्रि-  
35 यते स्म कीर्त्तः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च खलसर्पैः ।  
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ मङ्गदेवसचिवस्य  
नंदनः पूर्यसिंह इति लोलुकासुतः । तस्य नंदति सुतोयमङ्गला-  
36 देविभूः सुकृतवेत्त पियडः ॥ ५८ अभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य  
मंजिषः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थं  
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्य श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमर्बुदे ।  
37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति क्षितींदुसचिवः शंखोष्णलाभिः<sup>१</sup> शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-  
दिंदुकुंदरुचिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मंडपमग्रतो जिन[वरा]वासद्विपंचाशतं  
तत्पार्श्वेषु बलानकं<sup>२</sup> च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमच्छंड-  
38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवच्छंडप्रसादस्ततः सीमस्तम्भवी ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः  
पवित्राश्रयाः । श्रीमङ्गुणिगमङ्गदेवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाह्वयास्तेजःपालसमन्विता  
जिनमतारामोन्नमनीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमंजीश्वरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीजै-  
39 त्सिंहाह्वयस्तेजःपालसुतश्च विश्रुतमतिर्ज्ञावण्यसिंहाभिधः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्तयः  
करिवधस्कांधाधिरूढाक्षिरं राजन्ते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिग्मायकानामिव ॥  
६३ मूर्त्तीनामिह पृष्ठतः करिवधूपृष्ठप्रतिष्ठाशुषां तन्मूर्त्तीर्विम- ।

<sup>१</sup> Read शंखोष्णलाभिः.<sup>२</sup> Possibly the reading is बलानकं.

2 नमो विदेमः सुतं देवीं दानि दानि  
 4 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 6 विनयदया ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 8 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 10 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 12 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 14 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 16 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 18 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 20 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 22 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 24 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 26 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 28 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 30 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 32 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 34 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 36 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 38 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 40 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 42 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 44 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि  
 46 वनतः ॥ २ ॥ दानि दानि दानि



- 40 लाशमखत्तकगताः कांतासमेता दश । चौलुक्खचितिपालवीरधवलस्यादैतबंधः  
सुधीस्तेजःपाल इति व्यधापयदयं श्रीवस्तुपालानुजः ॥ ६४ तेजःपालः सक-  
लप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफलः
- 41 सरीवरस्येव सहकारः ॥ ६५ तेन भ्रातृयुगेन या प्रतिपुरग्रामाध्वशैलस्थलं  
वापीकूपनिपानकाननसरःप्रासादसञ्चदिका<sup>१</sup> । धर्मस्थानपरंपरा नवतरा  
चक्रे ऽथ जीर्णोद्भूता तत्संस्थापि न बुध्यते यदि परं तद्देदि- ।
- 42 नी मेदिनी ॥ ६६ शंभोः चासगतागतानि गणयेद्यः सम्प्रतिर्यो ऽथ वा  
नेत्रोन्मीलनमीलनानि कलयेन्मार्कंडेनाम्नो मुनेः । संख्यातुं सचिवद्वयोर्वि-  
रचितामेतामपेतापरव्यापारः सुकृतानुकीर्त्तनततिं सोप्युज्जिहीते यदि ।
- 43 ॥ ६७ सर्व्वत्र वर्त्ततां कीर्त्तिरश्चराजस्य शाश्वती । सुकर्त्तुमुपकर्त्तुं च  
जानीते यस्य संततिः ॥ ६८ आसीच्छंडपमंडितान्वयगुरुर्भागेंद्रगच्छन्त्रियशूडा-  
रद्वयमसिंहमहिमा सूरिर्महेंद्राभिधः । तस्माद्विस्मयनीयचारुचरितः श्रीशान्ति-
- 44 [सूरिस्त]तोप्यानंदामरसूरियुग्ममुदयश्चन्द्रार्कदीप्रद्युति ॥ ६९ श्रीजैनशासनवनीनव-  
नीरवाहः श्रीमांस्ततो ऽप्यघहरो हरिभद्रसूरिः । विद्यामदोन्मदगदेष्वनव-  
द्यवैद्यः ख्यातस्ततो विजयसेनमुनीश्वरो ऽयं ॥ ७० गुरो[स्त]
- 45 स्या[श]षां पात्रं सूरिरस्त्युदयप्रभः । मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भांति  
यत्प्रतिभांबुधेः ॥ ७१ एतद्धर्मस्थानं धर्मस्थानस्य चास्य यः कर्त्ता । तावद्भयमिद-  
मुदियादुदयत्ययमर्बुदो यावत् ॥ ७२ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवशुक्लनरदेवसेवितांद्भि-
- 46 युगः । रचयांचकार रुचिरां धर्मस्थानप्रशस्तिमिमां ॥ ७३ श्रीनिमेरुस्विका-  
याश्च प्रसादादर्बुदाचले । वस्तुपालान्वयस्यास्तु प्रशस्तिः स्वस्तिशालिनी ॥ ७४  
सूत्रं<sup>२</sup> केल्हणसुतधांधलपुत्रेण चंडेश्वरेण प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा ।[१\*]
- 47 श्रीविक्रम[संवत् १२८७ व]र्षे [फाल्गु]णवदि ३ रवौ श्री[नागेंद्रग]च्छे [श्री-  
विजय]सेनसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

•  
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) *Om.* I worship the goddess Sarasvatī who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (*thither*), as it were, by her own swan (*which serves her as*) a vehicle.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 2.) May the son of Śivā<sup>3</sup> grant you welfare,— he who, though patient, is red in anger ; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love ; (*and*) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything.

(V. 3.) There is (*the city of*) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Ohulukyas equal to Aja, Rāji and Raghu,<sup>4</sup> where even at the close of the bright half of the

<sup>1</sup> Read °सञ्चदिका.

<sup>2</sup> In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is *mādaśa*, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Gaṇēśa.

<sup>4</sup> Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great-grandfather, of Rāma. Rāji was the grandson of Purūravas.

month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women.

(V. 4.) In that (*town*) there was Chaṇḍapa, the crown of the family of the Prāgvātas, whose fame was as white as *kuṇḍaja* flowers, (*and*) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees.

(V. 5.) In consequence of the maturing of his good actions there was (*born*) to him a son named Chaṇḍaprasāda, a golden staff on the palace of his family, provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V. 6.) From him, who was not shallow-hearted,<sup>1</sup> (*and*) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang Sôma, who by his own virtues caused thrills (*of joy*) to the good, as (*the moon causing thrills*) by her beams (*sprang from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre*).

(V. 7.) From him was born Aśvarāja, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinas. His beloved wife was Kumārādēvi, as Dēvi, the mother of Kumāra, (*was the wife*) of the destroyer of Tripura.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 8.) Their first son was the minister called Lūṇiga. By fate he obtained, though being (*still*) a youth, a residence in the same world as Vāsava.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 9.) That pure-minded minister Lūṇiga, whose intelligence despised, as it were, even the wisdom of Dhishaṇa,<sup>4</sup> was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment.

(V. 10.) His younger brother was the illustrious Malladēva, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with Mallidēva,<sup>5</sup> who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (*and*) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others.

(V. 11.) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (*and*) as to repairing what has been broken,<sup>6</sup> the Creator did not create a rival of Malladēva.

(V. 12.) The fame of Malladēva, surpassing the beams of the moon freed from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of Hastimalla.<sup>7</sup>

(V. 13.) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious Vastupāla, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the nectar of his poetry, (*and*) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned!

(V. 14.) Vastupāla, the foremost among the ministers of the Chulukyās and among poets, never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems.

(V. 15.) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother Tējāhpāla, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master; who is to be dreaded by the wicked; (*and*) whose fame spreads in all directions.

(V. 16.) Who can fathom the natures of Tējāhpāla and Viṣṇu, as the rules (*of conduct*) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (*of the first*) and the string of the three worlds<sup>8</sup> in the cavity of the belly (*of the second*)?

(V. 17.) These (*brothers*) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, Jālhā, Mātū, Sātū, Dhanadēvi, Sôhagā, Vayajukā, and Padamaladēvi.

<sup>1</sup> The word *madhya* appears to be used here as a synonym of *antarā* which, according to Amara III. 3, 186 has also the meaning of *antarātman*.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Śiva.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* in common parlance, he died.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Brihaspati.

<sup>5</sup> Mallidēva is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present Avasarpinī.

<sup>6</sup> I believe that the terms *bhucana-cchhidra-pidhāna* and *vibhinna-saṁdhāna* refer to Malladēva's works of charity, but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another.'

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* Indra's elephant.

<sup>8</sup> The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together.

(V. 18.) Surely, these sons of Aśvarāja are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb.

(V. 19.) Does not this Vastupāla accompanied by his younger brother Tājapāla delight everybody's heart like the first month of spring followed by the second?

(V. 20.) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21.) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (and) who made the Kṛita age appear even in the fourth age!

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time!

(V. 23.) Although the two hands (of a man) are due to springing from one (body), yet one of them is left (or bad); but of these two brothers neither (was so, although they had sprung from one father), as both were honest (or right).

(V. 24.) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (age).

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arṇōrāja.

(V. 26.) After him Lavanaprasāda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (and) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,<sup>1</sup> roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (king), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Viradhavala, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V. 28.) The wise Chaulukya Viradhavala did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (and) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (and) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace.

(V. 29.) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees.<sup>2</sup>

Again—

(V. 30.) There is this (mountain) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gauri,<sup>3</sup> who, carrying the Mandākinī on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer<sup>4</sup> (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgā on his head covered with thick braids).

(V. 31.) In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics.

(V. 32.) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśiṣṭha distinguished by virtuousness<sup>5</sup> there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the son

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Gaṅgā.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Edm.* I. 1. 10.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the Himālaya, the father-in-law of Śiva.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Śiva.

<sup>5</sup> I take *śrīyaḥ-śrīṣṭhā-* to stand for *śrīyasi śrīṣṭhā-* and *śrīyas* to be a synonym of *dharma*, as taught by Amara I. 4, 24, *Malāyudha* I. 125, and Hēmachandra, *Andhārthas.* II. 580, and *Abhidhānaś.* 1372.

of Mritapāda.<sup>1</sup> Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him **Paramāra**. From that time his family received that name.

(V. 33.) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious **Dhūmarāja**, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (*of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off*).

(V. 34.) Then there were **Dhandhuka**, **Dhruvabhata** and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants. In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, **Rāmadēva** by name.

(V. 35.) From this (*king*), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called **Yasōdhavala**, who was not subject to the god of love, (*and*) who quickly killed **Ballāla**, the lord of **Mālava**, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the **Chaulukya** king **Kumārāpāla**.

(V. 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, **Dhārāvarsha**, the edge of whose sword was indefatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of **Kaunkapa** shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V. 37.) Evidently it is the son of **Daśaratha** that has been born again on earth as this (*prince*) of unchecked strength, (*and*) out of hatred, as it were, against **Mārīcha**<sup>2</sup> even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V. 38.) His younger brother **Prahlādana**, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious **Gūrjara** king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by **Sāmantasimha**, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of **Danu**.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 39.) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seated (*Brahman*)<sup>4</sup> or the celestial cow granting (*every*) wish that has come to the earth in the form of **Prahlādana**.

(V. 40.) Long live this son of **Dhārāvarsha**, the illustrious **Sōmasimhadēva**, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them !

(V. 41.) Having remitted the taxes of **Brāhmaṇs** and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king **Sōmasimha** soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (*or the spottiness*) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy.

(V. 42.) Long live his son **Krishṇarājadēva**, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (*and*) who (*therefore*) resembles the glorious **Krishṇa**, the son of **Vasudēva**, who is united with **Yasōdā**, (*and*) whose splendour is augmented by his mother !

Again—

(V. 43.) No man equalling **Vastupāla** in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V. 44.) From the excellent minister **Lalitādēvi**, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name **Jayantasimha**, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of **Pulōman** (*obtained*) **Jayanta** from **Indra**.

(V. 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this **Jaitrasimha**, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (*and*) who (*even*) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues ?

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the sun.

<sup>2</sup> The demon **Mārīcha** in the shape of an antelope lured **Rāma** away from **Sitā**.

<sup>3</sup> Probably this expression refers to **Vishṇu**.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* **Sarasvatī**, the goddess of learning.

(V. 46.) May he live for a *Kalpa* age, this Jayantasimha, the son of the illustrious Vastupāla, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (*of the suppliants*) !

(V. 47.) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious Tējāhpāla, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares !

(V. 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as Chāpakya, the preceptor of the gods,<sup>1</sup> Marudvyādhi,<sup>2</sup> Śukra,<sup>3</sup> and others. Otherwise, how should this Tējāhpāla have obtained his superiority over them ?

(V. 49.) There is the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, called Tējāhpāla, an abode of prosperity to (*all*) living beings, who maintains the order established by Bali on the surface of the earth ; seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, Kāmandaki does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and Chāpakya also ceases to wonder at (*his own*) intellect.

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious Anupamadēvi, the wife of the illustrious Mahām Tējāhpāla—

(V. 50.) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious Gāgā, the only diadem adorning the Prāgvāṣa family, an inhabitant of Chandrāvati full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (*or*) nodded his head (*or*) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct ?

(V. 51.) His son was Dharaniga by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (*and*) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (*strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner*).

(V. 52.) His beloved wife was Tribhuvanadēvi, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (*but*) one.

(V. 53.) Their daughter Anupamadēvi, who on account of her virtues resembled Dēvi, the daughter of Daksha, in person, was united with the illustrious Tējāhpāla as husband.

(V. 54.) This Anupamadēvi, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister Tējāhpāla.

(V. 55.) Their son, this Lāvanyasimha, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-bannered (*god of love*).

(V. 56.) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious Lūpasimha, the son of the illustrious Tējāhpāla, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds ?

(V. 57.) This vessel (*filled with*) a money-hoard of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,<sup>4</sup> is continually increasing although good people subsist on it.

(V. 58.) The son of the minister Malladēva, begotten on Līlukā, was called Pūrpasimha. Flourishing is his son, begotten on Ahlapādēvi, this Pēthaḍa, an abode of virtues.

(V. 59.) Anupamā was the wife of the minister Tējāhpāla. Their son was this long-lived (*youth*) called Lāvanyasimha.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Brihaspati.

<sup>2</sup> [*I.e.* Pavanavyādhi or Uddhava, the counsellor of Kṛishṇa.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Śukra was the teacher of the Asuras.

<sup>4</sup> The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the *Kṛtikāvaṁśā*.



(V. 60.) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Tējāhpāla built this temple of the holy Nēminātha on the (*mountain*) Arbuda.

(V. 61.) The minister Tējāhpāla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nēmi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (*and*) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (*maṇḍapa*) in front (*of it*), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (*balānaka*) in the front.

(V. 62.) The son of the illustrious Chaṇḍapa was Chaṇḍaprasāda; from him (*was born*) Sōma; his son was Aśvarāja by name; his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (*the men*) called the illustrious Lūpiga, the minister Malladēva and the illustrious Vastupāla, together with Tējāhpāla.

(V. 63.) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupāla is he named the illustrious Jaitrasimha, and Tējāhpāla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lāvanyasimha by name. The statues of these ten (*men*), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina.

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called Tējāhpāla, the matchless friend of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, caused to be made here ten images of those (*persons mentioned above*) together with their wives on *khattakas* of spotless stone. \*

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupāla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Tējāhpāla appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all creatures.

(V. 66.) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells, fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top, one does not even know the number; it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67.) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mārkaṇḍa,<sup>1</sup> might also set himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions<sup>2</sup> drawn up by the two ministers, provided he abandon other occupations.

(V. 68.) May the fame of Aśvarāja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to help, perpetually spread in all directions!

(V. 69.) There was a sage (*sūri*) called Mahēndra, the preceptor of the family adorned by Chaṇḍapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nāgēndra *gachohha*, who had acquired his greatness without effort. After him (*came*) the illustrious Śāntisūri, of admirable good conduct. After him (*there was*) a pair, Ānanda(*sūri*) and Amarasūri, whose splendour was as bright as that of the rising moon and (*the rising*) sun.

(V. 70.) After them there was the illustrious Haribhadrāsūri, the purifier from sin, who was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous excellent sage Vijayasēna, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated with the liquor of learning.

(V. 71.) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (*sūri*) Udayaprabha. His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72.) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two rise as long as this (*mountain*) Arbuda rises!

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* Mārkaṇḍeya, who according to the *Mahābhārata* (III. 183, 48) was many thousand years old, though he looked only twenty-five.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> The term *sukṛit-dharmātana* seems to have about the same meaning as *dharmaśāstha-prasasti* occurring in v. 73.

(V. 73.) The illustrious Sômesvara<sup>1</sup>deva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building.

(V. 74.) By the grace of the holy Nêmi and Ambikâ on the mountain Arbuda may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of Vastupâla !

(Line 46.) This eulogy has been engraved by the mason Chaṇḍésvara, the son of Dhândhala, the son of Kêlhaṇa.

(L. 47.) On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phâlgua, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama, the consecration was performed by the illustrious Vijayasénasûri of the illustrious Nâgêndra gachchha.

No. II.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ओ नमः.....[संव]त् १२८७ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुनवदि १  
रवौ अद्योह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके चौलुक्कुलकमलराजहंससमस्ताराज-  
वलीसमलंजतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभ....<sup>3</sup>
- 2 विजयिराज्ये त..... 'श्रीवशिष्ट' कुंडयजनानलोद्भूतश्रीमद्भूमराज-  
देवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्यैव महाराजा-  
धिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसा[द].....
- 3 राजामंडले श्रीचौलुक्कुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीलवणप्रसाददेवसुतमहामंड-  
लेश्वरराजकुलश्रीवीरधवलदेवसत्कसमस्तसुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्री-  
प्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ<sup>4</sup> श्रीचंड[प].....<sup>5</sup>
- 4 चंडप्रसादात्मजमहं श्रीसोमतनुजठ<sup>6</sup> श्रीभासरजभार्याठ<sup>7</sup> श्रीकुमारदेव्यैः पुत्र-  
महं श्रीमन्नदेवसंवपतिमहं श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजसहोदरभ्रातृमहं श्रीतेजः-  
पालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीअनुपमदेव्यास्तकुक्षि[सं]...<sup>8</sup>
- 5 विप्रपुत्रमहं श्रीलूणसिंहस्य च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये श्रीमदर्वुदाचलोपरि<sup>9</sup> देउलवाडा-  
ग्रामे समस्तदेवकुलिकालंकृतं विशालहस्तिशालोपशोभितं श्रीलूणसिंह-  
वसहिकाभिधानश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिदं कारितं ॥ छ [॥]
- 6 प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>10</sup> श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीमहेंद्रसूरिसंताने श्रीशान्तिसूरिशिष्यश्रीभाबंदसूरिश्री-  
अमरचंद्रसूरिपट्टालंकरणप्रभुश्रीहरिभद्रसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ छ ॥  
अथ च धर्मस्थाने कृतश्रावकगोष्ठिकानां नामा-
- 7 नि यथा ॥ महं श्रीमन्नदेवमहं श्रीवस्तुपालमहं श्रीतेजःपालप्रभृतिभ्रातृचय-  
संतानपरंपरया तथा महं श्रीलूणसिंहसत्कमातृकुलपदे<sup>11</sup> श्रीचंद्रावतीवास्तव्य-  
प्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ<sup>12</sup> श्रीसावदेवसुतठ<sup>13</sup> श्रीशालिगतनुजठ<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On a white slab built into a niche in the corridor. No. 1741 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Restore 'श्रीभीमदेव'. <sup>4</sup> Read 'वशिष्ट', <sup>5</sup> Restore 'श्रीचंडपसुतठ' श्री.

<sup>6</sup> Restore 'संभूतप'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'श्रीमदर्वुदा'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'प्रतिष्ठित'.

<sup>9</sup> The प of 'पदे' seems to have been corrected out of प.

- 8 श्रीसागरतनयठ° श्रीगागापुत्रठ° श्रीधरणिगभ्रातृमहं° श्रीराणिगमहं° श्रीलीला  
तथा ठ° श्रीधरणिगभार्याठ° श्रीतिष्ठणदेविकुक्षिसंभूतमहं° श्रीअनुपमदेवि-  
सहोदरभ्रातृठ° श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ° श्रीऊदल<sup>1</sup>
- 9 तथा महं° श्रीलीलासुतमहं° श्रीलूणसीह तथा भ्रातृठ° जगसीहठ° रत्न-  
सिंहानां समस्तकुटुम्बेन° एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकल-  
मपि अर्पणपूजासारादिकं सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च ॥ तथा।<sup>3</sup>
- 10 श्रीचंद्रावत्याः सत्कसमस्तमहाजनसकलजिनचैत्यगोष्टिकप्रभृतिआवकसमुदायः<sup>4</sup> ॥  
तथा 'उंवरणीकीसरउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटन्ना°' अ° रासलउ° आसधर तथान्ना°  
माणिभद्रउ° अ° आल्हण तथान्ना° अ° देल्हणउ° खीम्बसी-°
- 11 ह धर्कटन्नातीयअ° नेहाउ° साल्हा तथान्ना° धउलिगउ° आसचंद्र तथान्ना°  
अ° वहुदेवउ° सोम प्राग्वाटन्ना° अ° सावडउ° श्रीपाल तथान्ना° अ°  
जींदाउ° पाल्हण धर्कटन्ना° अ° पासुउ° सादा प्राग्वाटन्नातीयपूनाउ° सा-
- 12 ल्हा तथा श्रीमालन्ना° पूनाउ° साल्हाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>7</sup> । अमीभिः श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवप्रतिष्ठावर्षग्रंथियाआष्टाहिकायां<sup>8</sup> देवकीयचैत्रवदि ३ तृतीयादिने अर्पण-  
पूजाद्युत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा कासङ्गदग्रामीयजएसवालन्ना-
- 13 तीयअ° सोहिउ° पाल्हण तथान्ना° अ° सलखणउ° वाल्हा प्राग्वाटन्ना°  
अ° सांतुयउ° देल्हय तथान्ना° अ° गोसलउ° आल्हा तथान्ना° अ°  
कोलाउ° आम्बा° तथान्ना° अ° पासचंद्रउ° पूनचंद्र तथान्ना° अ°  
जसवीरउ° ज-
- 14 गा तथान्ना° <sup>10</sup>ब्रह्मदेवउ° राल्हा श्रीमालन्ना° कडुराउ° कुलधरप्रभृति-  
गोष्टिकाः<sup>11</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ४ चतुर्थीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य द्वितीया-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा <sup>12</sup>ब्रह्माणवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटन्नातीयमहाजनि°
- 15 आंमिगउ° पूनउ° जएसवालन्ना° महा° धांधाउ° सागर तथान्ना° महा°  
साटाउ° वरदेव प्राग्वाटन्ना° महा° पाल्हणउ° उदयपाल श्रीइसवालन्ना°  
महा° आवोधनउ° जगसीह श्रीमालन्ना° महा° वीसलउ° पासदेव प्रा-<sup>13</sup>
- 16 ग्वाटन्ना° महा° वीरदेवउ° अरसीह तथान्ना° अ° धणचंद्रउ° रामचंद्रप्रभृति-  
गोष्टिकाः<sup>14</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ५ पंचमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य तृतीया-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा धउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटन्नातीयअ° सा-

<sup>1</sup> Read श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ°. The line is filled up by a sign resembling a hook.

<sup>2</sup> Read °कुटुम्बेन.

<sup>3</sup> This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line.

<sup>4</sup> Read °गोष्टिक°.

<sup>5</sup> Read उंवरणीकी°.

<sup>6</sup> Read खीम्बसी°.

<sup>7</sup> Read °गोष्टिकाः.

<sup>8</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठा°.

<sup>9</sup> Read आम्बा.

<sup>10</sup> Read ब्रह्मदेव°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °गोष्टिकाः.

<sup>12</sup> Read ब्रह्माण°.

<sup>13</sup> The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Read °गोष्टिकाः.

- 17 जण्ड° पासवीर तथाज्ञा° अ° वीहडिड° पूना तथाज्ञा° अ° जसडुयड°  
जेगण तथाज्ञातीयअ° साजनड° भीला तथाज्ञा° पासिलड° पूनुय तथाज्ञा°  
अ° रालुयड° सावदेव तथाज्ञा° दूगसरणड° साहणीय ओइसवाल-<sup>1</sup>
- 18 ज्ञा° अ° सलखणड° मङ्ग° जीगा तथाज्ञा° अ[°\*] देवकुंयारड° आसदेव-  
प्रभृतिगोष्टिका:<sup>2</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ६ षष्ठीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य चतुर्था-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा मुंडखलमहातीर्थवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय-
- 19 अ° संघीरणड° गुणचंद्रपाल्हा तथा अ° सोहियड° आखेसर तथा अ° जेजाड°  
खांखण तथा फील्लिणिग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञा° वापलगाजणप्रमुखगोष्टिका:<sup>4</sup>  
अमीभिस्तथा ७ सप्तमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचमाष्टाहिकाम-
- 20 होत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा चंडाउद्राग्रामडवाणीग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीयअ° 'आम्बु-  
यड° जसरा तथाज्ञा° अ[°\*] लखमणड° आसू तथाज्ञा° अ° आसलड°  
जगदेव तथाज्ञा° अ° सूमिगड° धणदेव तथाज्ञा° अ° जिणदेवड° जाला
- 21 प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अ° आसलड° सादा श्रीमालज्ञा° अ° देदाड° वीसल तथाज्ञा°  
अ° आसधरड° आसल तथाज्ञा° अ° थिरदेवड° वीरुय तथाज्ञा° अ°  
गुणचंद्रड° देवधर तथाज्ञा° अ° हरियाड° हेमा प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अ° लखमण-
- 22 उ° कडुयाप्रभृतिगोष्टिका:<sup>6</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ८ अष्टमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवस्य 'षष्ठाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा [ग]डाहडवास्तव्यप्राग्वाट-  
ज्ञातीयअ° देसलड° 'ब्रह्मसरणु तथाज्ञा° जसकरड° अ° धणिया  
तथाज्ञा[°\*] अ°
- 23 देल्हणड° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° अ° वालाड° पन्नसीह तथाज्ञा° अ° 'आंवुयड°  
वीहडि तथाज्ञा° अ° वीसरिड° पूनदेव तथाज्ञा[°\*] अ° वीरुयड° साजण<sup>10</sup>  
तथाज्ञा° अ° पाहुयड° जिणदेवप्रभृतिगोष्टिका:<sup>11</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ९  
नवमीदिने
- 24 श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य सप्तमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा साहिलवाडावास्तव्य-  
ओइसवालज्ञातीयअ° देल्हाड° आल्हण अ° नागदेवड° <sup>12</sup>आम्बदेव अ°  
काल्हणड° आसल अ° वोहियड° लाखण अ° जसदेवड° वाहड अ°
- 25 सीलणड° देल्हण अ° वहुदा अ° महघराड° धणपाल अ° पूनिगड°  
वाघा अ° गोसलड° वहुडाप्रभृतिगोष्टिका:<sup>13</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा १० दशमीदिने

<sup>1</sup> The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.<sup>2</sup> Read षष्ठीदिने.<sup>3</sup> Read आम्बुय°.<sup>4</sup> Read ब्रह्म°.<sup>5</sup> Read गोष्टिका:.<sup>6</sup> Read गोष्टिका:.<sup>7</sup> Read गोष्टिका:.<sup>8</sup> Read आम्बुय°.<sup>9</sup> Read आम्ब°.<sup>10</sup> Read गोष्टिका:.<sup>11</sup> Read षष्ठाष्टा°.<sup>12</sup> Read साजण (?).<sup>13</sup> Read गोष्टिका:.

श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य षष्ठमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा श्रीशर्वदो-  
परि देउलवा-

- 26 डावास्तव्यसमस्तत्रावकैः<sup>1</sup> श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचापि कल्याणिकानि यथा-  
दिनं प्रतिवर्षं कर्तव्यानि ॥ एवमियं व्यवस्था श्रीचंद्रावतीपतिराजकुलश्री-  
सोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्रराजं श्रीकान्हडदेवप्रमुखकुमरैः समस्तराजलोकैस्त-
- 27 था श्रीचंद्रावतीयस्थानपतिभट्टारकप्रभृतिकविलास तथा गूगुलीब्राह्मणसमस्त-  
महाजनगोष्ठिकैश्च<sup>2</sup> तथा शर्वदोचलोपरि श्रीभचलेश्वरश्रीवशिष्ठ तथा संनि-  
हित<sup>3</sup> ग्रामदेउलवाडाग्रामश्रीश्रीमातामहबुग्रामभ्रातृग्रामभोरासाग्रामज<sup>4</sup>
- 28 तरङ्गग्रामसिहरग्रामसालग्रामहैठडंजीग्रामभाखीग्रामश्रीधांधलेश्वरदेवीयकोटडीप्रभृति-  
द्वादशग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानस्थानपतितपोधनगूगुलीब्राह्मणराठियप्रभृतिसमस्तलोकै-  
स्तथा भालिभाडाप्रभृतिग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानश्रीप्रतीक्षा-
- 29 रवंशीयसर्वराजपुत्रैश्च शास्त्रीयास्त्रीयस्त्रेच्छया श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य मंडपे समुप-  
विश्योपविश्य महं<sup>5</sup> श्रीतेजःपालपार्श्वीत् स्त्रीयस्त्रीयप्रमोदपूर्वकं श्रीलूणसीह-  
वसहिकाभिधानस्यास्य धर्मस्थानस्य सर्वोपि रक्षापभारः स्वीकृतः । तदेतदा-
- 30 स्त्रीयवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्भिरेतैः<sup>6</sup> सर्वैरपि तथा एतदीयसंतानपरंपरया च धर्म-  
स्थानमिदमाचंद्रार्क्षं यावत् परिरक्षणीयं ॥ यतः ॥ किमिह कपालकमंडलुवत्कल-  
सितरक्तपटजटापटलैः । व्रतमिदमुज्ज्वलमुन्नतमनसां प्रतिपन्ननिर्वृणं ॥ छ ॥
- 31 तथा महाराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन अस्यां श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमि-  
नाथदेवाय पूजांगभोगार्थं वाहिरहृद्यां डवाणीग्रामः शासनेन प्रदत्तः ॥ स च  
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवाभ्यर्चनया प्रमाराव्ययिभिराचंद्रार्क्षं यावत् प्रतिपात्यः ॥<sup>10</sup>
- 32 ॥ सिद्धिचैत्रमिति प्रसिद्धमहिमा श्रीपुंडरीको गिरिः श्रीमान् रैवतकोपि  
विश्वविदितः चेन्नं विमुक्तेरिति । नूनं चेन्नमिदं द्वयोरपि तयोः श्रीशर्वदस्त-  
वभू मेजाते कथमन्यथा सममिमं श्रीभादिनेमी स्वयं ॥ १ संसारसर्व-  
स्वमिहैव मुक्तिस-
- 33 ॥ अस्ममप्यत्र जिनेश दृष्टं । विलोक्यमाने भवने तवास्मिन् पूर्वं परं च त्वयि  
दृष्टिपांथे ॥ २ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनयशचंद्रसूरैरिति ॥ सं सरवणपुत्रसं सिंह-  
राजसाधू साजणसंसहसासाहदेपुत्री सुनयव प्रणमति ॥ शुभं ॥<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'शर्वदो'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'गोष्ठिकैश्च'.

<sup>3</sup> This sign of punctuation is out of place; read संनिहितग्रामं.

<sup>4</sup> Read संतिष्ठमानं and 'ग्राह्यं'.

<sup>5</sup> At the end of the line there is a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in l. 31.

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'गोष्ठिकैश्च'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'शर्वदो'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'भ्रातृ'.

<sup>11</sup> कुर्वन्भिरेतैः.





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No. III.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीपुष्पविष्णुसंवत् १२८७ वर्षे फागुणसुदि ३ सोमे अष्टमे श्रीपु-  
दाचले<sup>3</sup> श्रीमदण्डिलपु-
- 2 रवास्त<sup>4</sup> प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>5</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये महं<sup>6</sup> श्रीपा-  
सरासुतमहं<sup>7</sup> मालदे-
- 3 वमहं<sup>8</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजन्मादमहं<sup>9</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं<sup>10</sup> श्रीपु-  
पमदेविकुलि-
- 4 संभूतसुतमहं<sup>11</sup> श्रीलूणसीहपुण्यार्थ अस्यां श्रीलूणवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
महातीर्थ कारितं ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. IV.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>5</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविष्णुसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे 'प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>6</sup>  
श्रीसोममहं<sup>7</sup> श्रीपासराव्यये महं<sup>8</sup> श्रीमालदेवसुतावार्श्रीसदमलत्रेयो-
- 2 ऽर्थ महं<sup>9</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. V.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>8</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविष्णुसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>9</sup>  
श्रीसोममहं<sup>10</sup> श्रीपासराव्यये महं<sup>11</sup> श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं<sup>12</sup> श्रीपुंनसीहयभा-
- 2 र्यामहं<sup>13</sup> श्रीपालदेवित्रेयोऽर्थ महं<sup>14</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारि-  
ता ॥ छ ॥

No. VI.<sup>9</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>10</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविष्णुसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे<sup>11</sup> प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-  
महं<sup>12</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये<sup>13</sup> महं<sup>14</sup> श्रीपासरासुतमहं<sup>15</sup> श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं<sup>16</sup>[\*]  
श्रीपातूत्रेयोऽर्थ महं<sup>17</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलि-
- 2 का कारिता ।[\*]

No. VII.<sup>13</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>14</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविष्णुसंवत्<sup>15</sup> १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine. No. 1742 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'चतुर्धा'.

<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor. No. 1666 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> The ८ of 'चंडप' has an abnormal form.

<sup>7</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor. No. 1667 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor. No. 1668 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Read वर्षे.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'सोमान्वये'.

<sup>13</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor. No. 1669 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>14</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'विष्णु'.



- महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीभासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामहं  
 श्रीलीलूत्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्री-  
 2 तेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ।[\*] छ ॥

No. VIII.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
 श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरामहं श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं श्रीपुनसीहसुतमहं  
 श्रीपेयडत्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीते-  
 2 जपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. IX.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>5</sup> १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
 श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुतमहं श्रीपुनसीहत्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन  
 देवकुलि[का\*] कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. X.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
 श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीभासरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेवत्रेयोऽर्थ तत्सोदरलघुभ्रातृमहं  
 श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ ॥<sup>8</sup>

No. XI.<sup>9</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>10</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं  
 श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरामहं श्रीमालदेवान्वये महं श्रीपुनसीहसुतावार्द्धश्री-<sup>11</sup>  
 2 वलालदेवित्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XII.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>13</sup> श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>14</sup> १२८८ वर्षे श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडप-  
 श्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरासुतश्रीमालदेवमहं

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 5 in the corridor. No. 1670 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 6 in the corridor. No. 1671 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>5</sup> The स of 'संवत्' has not been finished.<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 7 in the corridor. No. 1672 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>8</sup> Between the last two signs of punctuation there is a symbol.<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 8 in the corridor. No. 1673 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>11</sup> Read 'सुतावार्द्ध'.<sup>12</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 40 in the corridor. No. 1727 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol. Before this, but a little lower down, there is a reversed श्री.<sup>14</sup> Read 'संवत्'.

- 2 श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालिन महं श्रीवस्तुपालभार्यायाः महं श्रीसोसु-  
कायाः पुष्पार्थं श्रीसुपार्श्वजिनालंकता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIII.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>3</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्री-  
चंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरासुतश्री-  
2 मालदेवमहं श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालिन महं श्रीवस्तुपालभार्या-  
ललतादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

No. XIV.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>6</sup> ॥ संवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरांगज-  
महं श्रीवस्तुपालसुतमहं श्रीजयतसीहश्रेयोऽर्थं  
2 महं श्रीतेजपालिन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XV.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>9</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं  
श्रीभासरांगजमहं[\*] श्रीतेजपालिन श्रीजयतसीहभार्याजयतलदेवि-  
2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVI.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 नृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्रीसोममहं  
श्रीभासरांगजेन महं श्रीतेजपालिन श्रीजयतसीहभार्यासुहवदेवि-  
2 श्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

No. XVII.<sup>11</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>12</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटप्रातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-  
श्रीसोममहं श्रीभासरावयससुहवमहं श्रीतेजपालिन महं श्रीजयतसी-  
2 हभार्यामहं श्रीरूपादेविश्रेयोऽर्थं देवकुलिका कारिता ।[\*] छ ॥

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 41 in the corridor. No. 1729 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

<sup>5</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 42 in the corridor. No. 1731 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.

<sup>8</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 43 in the corridor. No. 1732 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 44 in the corridor. No. 1734 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>11</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 45 in the corridor. No. 1736 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>12</sup> Expressed by symbol.

No. XVIII.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोममहं  
श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुताश्रीसहजलश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन दे-  
2 वकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XIX.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं  
श्रीलूणसीहभार्यामहं श्रीलघमादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका  
कारिता ॥

No. XX.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुत-  
महं लूणसीहभार्यारयणादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका  
कारिता ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXI.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८० वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं  
श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीआसरासुतमहं श्रीमालदेव-  
भ्रातृमहं श्री-  
2 'वस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं' श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीअनुपमदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ  
देवश्रीसुनिमुव्रतस्य देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XXII.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>10</sup> ॥ संवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्री-  
[सी]मश्रीआसरान्वयसमुद्भूतमहं<sup>11</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन स्वसुतश्रीलूणसीहसुतागडरदेवि-  
श्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ।[\*] छ ॥

No. XXIII.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>13</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंड-  
प्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीआसरान्वय[समुद्भूत]महं श्री[तेजपालेन] स्वसुतावडल-  
देविश्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 46 in the corridor. No. 1738 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1684 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor. No. 1685 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor. No. 1686 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'वस्तुपाल'.

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor. No. 1690 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> The त of 'समुद्भूत' is not quite finished.

<sup>12</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor. No. 1692 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

No. XXIV.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>3</sup> १२८३ चैत्रवदि ७ अद्योह श्रीभर्गुदा-  
चलमहातीर्थे श्रीप्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ<sup>4</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>5</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>6</sup> श्री-  
सोमान्वये ठ<sup>7</sup> श्रीआसराजसु[त]-
- 2 ॥ महं<sup>8</sup> श्रीमालदेवमहं<sup>9</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं<sup>10</sup> श्रीतेजःपालेन<sup>11</sup> स्वभगिन्याः  
पद्मलायाः श्रेयोर्थे श्रीवारिसेणदेवालंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारि[ता] ॥

No. XXV.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>13</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ७ अद्योह श्रीभर्गुदाचल-  
महातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां महं<sup>14</sup>  
श्रीतेजःपालेन
- 2 मातुलसुतभाभाराजपालभणितेन स्वमातुलस्य महं<sup>15</sup> श्रीपूनपालस्य तथा भार्या-  
महं<sup>16</sup> श्रीपूनदेव्याश्च श्रेयोर्थे अस्यां देवकुलिकायां श्रीचंद्राननदेवप्रतिमा  
कारिता ॥

No. XXVI.<sup>17</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>18</sup> ॥ ११ स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपात् सं १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्योह  
श्रीभर्गुदाचल[तीर्थे]<sup>19</sup>
- 2 स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटप्राती-  
3 यठ<sup>20</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>21</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं<sup>22</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये ठ<sup>23</sup> श्रीआसराजठ<sup>24</sup> श्रीकुमारदे-  
4 व्योः सुतमहं<sup>25</sup> श्रीमालदेवसंघपतिश्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं<sup>26</sup> श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभ-  
5 गिन्या वार्जजालहणदेव्याः<sup>27</sup> श्रेयोर्थे ॥ विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसीमंवरस्वामिप्रतिमा-  
6 लंकृता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ प्रतिष्ठिता<sup>28</sup> श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीविजयसेन-  
सु[रभिः] ॥

No. XXVII.<sup>29</sup>

- 1 [॥ श्री]<sup>30</sup> ॥ १२ स्वस्ति संवत् १२८३ चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले अद्योह<sup>31</sup> श्रीभर्गुदाचल-  
तीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीह]-

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1715 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read °संवत्.

<sup>4</sup> Read °भर्गुदा°.

<sup>5</sup> The ते of °तेजःपालेन is only half finished.

<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor. No. 1716 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Read °भर्गुदा°.

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor. No. 1707 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.

<sup>12</sup> Read °भर्गुदा°.

<sup>13</sup> Read वार्ज°.

<sup>14</sup> Read °सीमंवरस्वामि°.

<sup>15</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठिता.

<sup>16</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor. No. 1708 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>17</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>18</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.

<sup>19</sup> Read °भर्गुदा°.

- 2 ॥ वसहिकाख्यश्रीभरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंड-  
प्रसादमहं° श्री[सी]-
- 3 ॥ मान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेव-  
संचपतिमहं° ॥
- 4 ॥ श्रीवसुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिनीवाईमाउश्रेयोर्थ<sup>1</sup> विहर-  
माण- ॥
- 5 ॥ तीर्थकरश्रीयुगंधरस्वामिजिनप्रतिमालंकता देवकुलिका इय<sup>2</sup> कारिता ॥<sup>3</sup>  
॥ छ [॥]

No. XXVIII.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . . .<sup>5</sup> [अद्येह श्रीभर्वदाचले° स्वयंकारित-  
श्रीलू]-
- 2 [ण]सीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीभरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ[°]
- 3 श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतम[हं°]
- 4 श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवसुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या<sup>6</sup> सा[ज]-
- 5 [देव्याः श्रेयोर्थ] विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीवाहुजिनालंकता° देवकुलिका कारि[ता ॥]

No. XXIX.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup> स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीभर्वदाचलमहातीर्थ<sup>13</sup> स्वयं[का]-
- 2 ॥ रितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटप्रातीयठ° श्री-  
चंडप-
- 3 ॥ ठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः  
सुतमहं° श्रीतेजःपाले-
- 4 न स्वभगिन्या<sup>14</sup> वार्द्धधनदेविश्रेयसे विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसुवाहुविंवालंकता<sup>15</sup>  
देवकुलिका कारिता [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read °वाई°.<sup>2</sup> Read °कुलिकेयं.<sup>3</sup> After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 28 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>5</sup> The first *aksharas* of this line are illegible.<sup>6</sup> Read °भर्वदा°.<sup>7</sup> Read श्रीवसुपाल°.<sup>8</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>9</sup> Read °श्रीवाहु°.<sup>10</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>11</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>12</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.<sup>13</sup> Read °भर्वदा°.<sup>14</sup> Read वार्द्ध°.<sup>15</sup> Read °सुवाहुविंवा°.

No. XXX.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॥ ओ<sup>2</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १]२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीभर्गुदाचलमहातीर्थे<sup>3</sup> स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकास्थश्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देव- ॥
- 2 ॥ चैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञा[तीयठ° श्रीचिंडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसो-  
मान्वये ठ° श्रीभासराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवसंघप- ॥
- 3 ॥ तिमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या बाईसोहगाया  
अयोर्यं शाश्वतजिनश्रीचपभदेवालंकता देवकुलिका कारिता [॥\*]

No. XXXI.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 ॥ ओ<sup>5</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीभर्गुदाचलमहातीर्थे<sup>7</sup> स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवचैत्ये जगत्यां<sup>8</sup>
- 2 ॥ श्रीप्राग्वाटजावीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीभा-  
सराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं°
- 3 ॥ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या <sup>10</sup>बाईवयसुकायाः अयोर्यं श्रीवर्धमानाभिध-  
शाश्वतजिनप्रतिमालंकता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ शुभम् भवतु । मंगलं  
महाश्रीः ॥<sup>11</sup> ॥

No. XXXII.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>13</sup> संवत् १२८७ वैशाखवदि १४ गुरौ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयचंडपचंडप्रसादमहं[°\*]  
श्रीसोमान्वये महं[°\*] श्रीभासराजसतमहं[°\*] श्रीतेजःपालेन श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्त-  
व्यमोढज्ञातीयठ° जालहणसुतठ° भासासुतायाः ठकुराज्ञीसंतोषाकुचिसंभूताया  
महं[°\*] श्रीतेजःपालद्वितीयभार्यामहं[°\*] श्रीमुहडादेव्याः [अयोर्यं] [॥\*]

No. 22.—NAUSARI PLATES OF SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA;  
THE YEAR 421.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The copper-plates which bear this inscription come from Nausari,<sup>14</sup> the head-quarters town of the Nausari division of the Baroda State. The inscription was first published, with a lithograph, by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal*

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 30 in the corridor. No. 1711 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>3</sup> Read °भर्गुदा°.

<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 31 in the corridor. No. 1712 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>6</sup> Read °संवत्.

<sup>7</sup> Read °भर्गुदा°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °चैत्यजगत्यां.

<sup>9</sup> Read श्रीप्राग्वाटजावीय°.

<sup>10</sup> Read बाई°.

<sup>11</sup> This sign of punctuation is followed by a symbol.

<sup>12</sup> On the ornamental niche close to the entrance doorway of the main shrine. No. 1744A of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> Indian Atlas sheet No. 23, S. E. (1888), lat. 20° 57', long. 72° 59'.

*Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI. p. 1 ff. It is now re-edited from an excellent ink-impression supplied by Dr. Fleet, who contributes the following remarks on the original :—

"The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1884, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about  $8\frac{5}{8}$ " long by 5" broad at the ends and  $4\frac{7}{8}$ " in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The ring is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Śrī-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  oz.: total, 2 lbs.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  oz."

The alphabet resembles that of other records of the early Chalukyas. The *jīhvāmūliya* occurs once (l. 12). Final forms are found of *m* (ll. 1, 2, 20), *t* (l. 13) and *n* (l. 17). The only mark of punctuation is a small vertical line after *Svāmantasvāmī* (l. 14). The date at the end of the inscription is expressed in words and numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit, mostly prose; two well known Anuṣṭubh verses occur in l. 1 f. and l. 19 f. Although the inscription is very well preserved, and though the engraving is neat and distinct, the text is full of serious blunders. As may be seen from the footnotes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and syllables are either omitted or corrupted. In line 15 a whole word seems to be missing, which cannot be supplied with certainty.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription opens with an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu (l. 1 f.). It then states that in the family of the Chalukyas<sup>2</sup> (l. 5) was Pulakēśi-Vallabha (l. 6), "who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the collection of all hostile kings, who resembled Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira, (and) who possessed true chivalry." His son was Dh[a]rāśraya-Jaya-sinhavarman (l. 9 f.), "whose power had been increased by (his) elder brother, the glorious Vikramāditya-Saty[ā]śraya-Prithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka, the fervent Māhēśvara, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father and of the holy Nāgavardhana, (and) who by unchecked prowess had overcome the Pallava family." His son was the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) Śryāśraya-Śilāditya<sup>3</sup> (l. 13), "who illuminated all quarters of the sky by the banner of (his) fame that was as pure as the great garland of the rays of the spotless full-moon in autumn, who was as liberal as Rājārāja (i.e. Kuvēra), [who resembled] the god of love in being endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, (and) who was as skilled in all arts (and) as brave as (Naravāhanadatta) the emperor of the Vidyādhara." While residing at Navasārikā, he granted to the Brāhmaṇa Bhōgikkasvāmin (l. 15) a village named Āsaṭṭi-grāma (l. 16). The donee was an Adhvaryu (i.e. a student of the Yajurvēda), the pupil (?) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātrīśvara (?), and the son of [S]āmantasvāmin. The latter was the son of Āgāmisvāmin, who belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and resided at Navasārikā. The village granted was included in the district (*viśaya*) of Kaṇhavalāhāra, a subdivision of the Bāhirikā district (*viśaya*). According to the two last lines of the inscription, "this (edict) was written by the minister (*s[ā]ndhivigrah[ī]ka*), the glorious Dhana[m]jaya,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 232 below, note 14.

<sup>2</sup> For this early variant of the name 'Chalukya' see Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 336, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> On the seal, Śilāditya's surname Śryāśraya is spelt *Śrī-āśraya*, without Sandhi.

on the thirteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha, in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one—400 20 [1].”

Of the royal personages named in this grant, two belong to the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. These are Pulakēśi-Vallabha, i.e. Pulakēśin II., and his son Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Prithivivallabha, i.e. Vikramāditya I. The latter is said to have worshipped the holy Nāgavardhana, which may be the name of a temple or of a spiritual guide,<sup>1</sup> and to have overcome the Pallava family.<sup>2</sup> He is distinguished by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc., from the remaining two princes of the Chalukya family that are referred to in the grant, viz. Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman and his son, the Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, who were not of sovereign, but of mere feudatory rank. The former of them was a younger brother of Vikramāditya I., the son of Pulakēśin II. The grant states that “his power had been increased by his elder brother.” This seems to imply that he was entrusted by Vikramāditya I. with the administration of a province, which must have included Navasārikā, where his son resided at the time of the grant, and Āsaṭṭi-grāma, the village granted by him. Another copper-plate grant of the same Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, which comes from Surat,<sup>3</sup> mentions the villages Kārmaṇēya, Ōsumbhala and Alūra. Bühler has identified Navasārikā, Āsaṭṭi-grāma and the three last with the modern Nausāri (where these plates were obtained), Astgām,<sup>4</sup> Kamrēj, Umbhēl and Alurā<sup>5</sup>—all south of the Tapti in Lāṭa or Southern Gujarāt.

Altogether the grants of this Gujarāt branch of the Chalukya family are four in number:

A.—The Nausāri plates of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, dated in the year 421.

B.—The Surat plates of the same, dated in the year 443.

C.—The unpublished Balsār plates of (his brother) Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarāja, dated in the Śaka year 653.<sup>6</sup>

D.—The Nausāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, younger brother of Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasārāja, dated in the year 490.<sup>7</sup>

According to A. and B., Jayasimhavarman and his son, the Yuvarāja Śilāditya, were contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 655 to 680) in the year 421, and of Vinayāditya (A.D. 680 to 696) in the year 443 of an unspecified era. This can be no other than the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A.D. 249-50.<sup>8</sup> With this starting-point the dates of the two grants of Śilāditya (A. and B.) correspond to A.D. 671 and 692.<sup>9</sup> The Balsār plates of Maṅgalarāja (C.), who seems to have governed Gujarāt in succession of his father Jayasimhavarman after the death of the Yuvarāja Śilāditya (probably an elder brother of Maṅgalarāja), are dated in the Śaka year 653=A.D. 731-32.<sup>10</sup> Like the dates of A. and B., that of D. has to be referred to the Kalachuri era. Accordingly, Pulakēśirāja, the younger brother of Maṅgalarasārāja (the Maṅgalarāja of the Balsār plates), was ruling in A.D. 739.<sup>11</sup>

It remains to be added that the Bāhirikā-vishaya and its subdivision Kaphavalāhāra, to which Āsaṭṭi-grāma belonged, have not yet been identified.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 123, and *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. p. 5. The name Nāgavardhana appears twice in a grant of doubtful authenticity; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 123 ff. and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 357 f.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 145, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 362 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 211 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Fleet informs me that this is a large village seven miles east-south-east- $\frac{1}{2}$ -south from Nausāri, and remarks that “in the Bombay *Postal Directory* the name is spelt ‘Ashtgām,’ which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsaṭṭi-grāma.”

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 77; *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 219 f.; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 364, No. 3, and p. 370, No. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 374, No. 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 376, No. 6.



TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

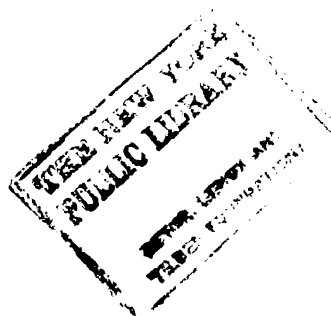
- 1 Om<sup>2</sup> svasti [||\*] Jayaty=âvishkṛitam Vishṇôr=vvārâham kshôbhit-ârnna[va\*]m [I\*]  
dakshin-ônnata-da[m\*]shṭr-âgra-vi-
- 2 śâ(érâ)nta-bhuvana[m\*] vapuḥ [||\*] Śrimatâm sakala-bhuvana-samstûya[mâna\*]-  
Mânava-sagôtrânâm(nâm)
- 3 Hârîti-putrânâm sapta-lôka-mâtṛibhis=sapta-Mâtṛibhi[r=abhi\*]varddhitâsa(nâm)  
Kârttikêya-pa-
- 4 rirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparâpâm bhagavainn-<sup>3</sup>Nârâya[na\*]-prasâda-samâśadita-  
varâha-la-<sup>4</sup>
- 5 ñehhanikshaṇê rakshaṇê vasôkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâm Chalikyânâm=ânva<sup>5</sup>yê nija-  
bhujâ-bala-parâjit-â-
- 6 khila-ripu-mahîpâla-samêtivirâmayudhishtôpamâna[h\*]<sup>6</sup> satya-vikrama[h\*] śri-  
Pulakêsi-Vallabhah [I\*] Tasya
- 7 putraḥ paramamâhêśvara-mâtâpitṛi-śri-Nâgavarddhana-pâd-ânuddhyâta-śri-Vikramâditya-  
Saty[â\*]-
- 8 śraya-Pṛithivivallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramamâhêśvara-bhaṭṭâra[k]êna(na)<sup>7</sup> anivârîta-  
paurush-â-
- 9 krata-<sup>8</sup>Pallav-ânva<sup>5</sup>yêna jyâyasâ bhrâtrâ sama[bhi\*]varddhitâ-vibhûtir=Ddhârâśraya-<sup>9</sup>  
śri-Jayasimbha-
- 10 varmm[â ||\*] Tasya putraḥ<sup>10</sup> śarad-amala-sakala-śâśadhara-marîchi-mâlâ-vitâna-  
viśuddha-kirtti-patâkâ-

## Second Plate.

- 11 vibhâsita-lamanta-<sup>10</sup>dig-antarâhah[lah] pradâtâ Rô(râ)jarâja [i\*]va rû[pa\*]-<sup>11</sup>lâvanya-sau-
- 12 bhâgya-sampannañ=Kâmadêva<sup>12</sup> sakala-kalâ-pravi(vi)ṇaḥ paurushavân=Vidyâdhara-chakra-
- 13 vartt-i(i)va Śryâśraya-śri-Śilâditya-yuvarâja(jô) Navasârikâm-adhivasat(san)[I\*]  
Navasâri-
- 14 kâ-v[â\*]stavya-Kâśyapa-sagôtr-Âgâmisvâminah putraḥ Svâ(sâ)mantasvâmi | tasya  
putrâ-
- 15 ya [I\*] Mâtṛisvavira[h]<sup>13</sup> [I\*] tasy=ânua-bhrâtrâ(trê) Kikkasvâminah<sup>14</sup> Bhôgikkasvâminê  
<sup>15</sup>Adhvaryu-[sa\*]brahmachâri-
- 16 nê Bâhirikâ-<sup>16</sup>vishay-ântarggata-Kaṇhavalâhâra-<sup>17</sup>vishayê Âsaṭṭi-grâmah s-ôdraṅgam  
sa-pa-

<sup>1</sup> From Dr. Fleet's ink-impressions.<sup>2</sup> Cancel the anusvâra.<sup>3</sup> Read =anvayê.<sup>4</sup> Read probably =samittê Râma-Yudhishtîr-ôpamânaḥ.<sup>5</sup> Read =paramêśvara-bhaṭṭâdrakṣa=anivârita-.<sup>6</sup> Read =Ddhârâśraya- and see Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 384, note 4.<sup>7</sup> Read =samasta-.<sup>8</sup> Compare text line 15 of the Surat plates; *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 226.<sup>9</sup> The particle *iva* may have to be supplied here.<sup>10</sup> Read either *Mâtṛisvaviraḥ* or, more probably, *Mâtṛisvaraḥ*; for the latter see l. 20 of the Surat plates.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps *śishyâya* has to be supplied here.<sup>12</sup> Here and in *vishayê* (l. 16) and *rikaram* (l. 17) the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.<sup>13</sup> The first letter of *Bâhirikâ* closely resembles that of *bala* (l. 5), *brahma*° (l. 15) and *baḥ*° (l. 19). Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit read *Thâharikâ*.<sup>14</sup> Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit read this word as *Kaṇḍavalâhâra*; but the *h* is quite distinct. The third *akṣara* may be either *va* or *dha*.<sup>15</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>16</sup> Read =lâchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vatîkṛit-.<sup>17</sup> Read *krânta*-.





- 17 rikaram udak-otsargga-pûrvam mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha punya-yasô-bhividdhayê dattavân [I\*]  
 18 Vât-âhâ(ha)ta-dîpa-sikhâ-chañchalâ[m\*] lakshi(kshmi)m=anusmṛitya sarvvair=âgâmi-nṛipatibhidhammaddâyô=<sup>1</sup>  
 19 numantavyah [II\*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjâ(ja)bhi[h\*] Sagar-âdibhi[h\*] yasya yasya yadâ bhû-  
 20 mi[s=\*]tasya tasya tadâ phalam [II\*] Mâkha(gha)-śuddha-trayôdaśyâm likhitam=idam sandhivigrahaka-<sup>2</sup>śrî-Dhana[m\*]jayêna  
 21 samvatsara-śata-chatuṣṭayê<sup>3</sup> êkaviṁśaty-adhikê 400 20 [I]<sup>4</sup> [II\*] Ôm<sup>5</sup> [II\*]

## No. 23.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF KUMARAVISHNU II.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These copper-plates "were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalûr in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago." The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A. Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. The subjoined transcript is based on two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya, who also furnished me with the following description of the original :—

"The copper-plates are five in number. The first and last bear writing on the inner side only. The plates have no rims. In the upper and lower borders they are not as broad as in the middle. Their breadth accordingly varies from 8" to 8½". The height is throughout 2½". At a distance of 1" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, ½" in diameter; and through these holes passes a circular ring (out by me for the first time with permission and soldered), 3½" in diameter and about ¼" thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures between 1½" and 1¾" in diameter and bears in its middle an indistinct symbol in relief. Around the margin there seems to be a legend which is too much worn to be made out. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 95 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao."

The inscription on the plates is well preserved; only a few syllables at the end of ll. 2, 3, 4, 12 and 20 are obliterated. The sign of *anusvâra* is so small that its existence on the plate remains doubtful in most cases where the context requires it. A final form of *m* occurs thrice (ll. 28, 29 and 32). The letter *t* is distinguished from *n* by a loop; but in a single case (*grâmayâkânâtrâ*, l. 15) the form with the loop is used for *n*. The end of a verse is marked by a double vertical line in three cases (ll. 28, 29 and 30), and the end of the inscription by five circles between double lines. Plates i., ii.b, iii.b and iv.b bear on the left margin the numerical symbols 1, 2, 3 and 4, while plate v. is not numbered at all. The language is Sanskrit prose, and four Sanskrit verses 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll. 26-32.

The inscription is an edict issued from Kâñchîpura (l. 1) in the second year of the reign (l. 23) of the Pallava Mahârâja Kumâravishnu (II.) (l. 14), who was the son of the M.

<sup>1</sup> Read -nṛipatibhir=ayam=asmad-dâyô=; compare l. 29 of the Surat plates.

<sup>2</sup> Read sandhivigrahika-.

<sup>3</sup> Read -chatuṣṭaya êkaviṁśaty-.

<sup>4</sup> The figure '1' is hardly visible at all, but is secured by the preceding words and by the empty space between '20' and ôm.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

**Buddhavarman** (l. 8), the grandson of the **M. Kumāravishṇu** (I.) (l. 6), and the great-grandson of the **M. Skandavarman** (l. 3). It records that the king granted to a Brāhmaṇa a field in the village of **Chendalūra** (ll. 14 and 16 f.) in **Kavachakāra-bhōga** (l. 16), a subdivision of the district of **Karmā[ñ]ka-rāshṭra** (l. 14) or **Kammā[ñ]ka-rāshṭra** (l. 16).

Of the localities mentioned in this record **Kāñchīpura** (l. 1) is Conjeeveram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, and Chendalūra is Chendalūr in the Nellore district, the village where the plates were unearthed. **Karmānka**-or **Kammānka-rāshṭra**, i.e. 'the district named (after) Karma or Kamma,' is mentioned as **Karma-rāshṭra** in two Eastern Chalukya grants,<sup>1</sup> and as **Kamma-rāshṭra** in a third one.<sup>2</sup>

The wording of this inscription is very similar to that of three other Pallava grants, which belong to the reign of **Simhavarman**, viz. the **Pikira**, **Māngaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants.<sup>3</sup> Nay, ll. 1-14 are almost identical with ll. 4-16 of the **Uruvupalli** grant.<sup>4</sup> The names of the kings, however, differ in those three grants on the one hand and in the Chendalūr plates on the other, and no lineal connection can be established between both sets of kings. The name **Skandavarman** occurs in both, but **Kumāravishṇu** I., **Buddhavarman** and **Kumāravishṇu** II., who were the three direct descendants of **Skandavarman** according to the Chendalūr plates, are unknown to the three other grants. Nor do their names occur in the Pallava pedigree of the **Kāśākuḍi** plates, which begins with **Simhavishṇu**.<sup>5</sup> Under these circumstances our only guide can be the palaeography of those different records. The alphabet of the Chendalūr plates is more archaic than those of the **Kūram** and **Kāśākuḍi** plates, but resembles those of the **Pikira**, **Māngaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the **Pikira**, **Māngaḷūr** and **Uruvupalli** grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalūr plates ruled in the interval between **Simhavarman** and **Simhavishṇu**. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will enable us to bridge some of the gaps in the direct succession of the Pallavas, one of which is now partially filled by the information contained in the Chendalūr plates.

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### *First Plate.*

- 1 Svasti<sup>7</sup> [||\*] Jitam=bhagavatā [||\*] Svasti [||\*] Vijaya-Kāñchi[p]urād-abhyuchchita-sakti-
- 2 siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-[vīra]-
- 3 sya mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmanapaḥ prapantṛō dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ā(ō)pa[chā]-
- 4 yinō vivṛiddha-vinayasy-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhu(bhū)my-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-[dharmma-sa]-

##### *Second Plate; First Side.*

- 5 ūchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām=<sup>8</sup>pañchamasya
- 6 lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Kumāravishṇōḥ pautṛō bhagavad-bhakti-sa-
- 7 mbhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ādi-rāja-pratispa[r\*]ddhi-guṇa-samudayasy-āmi-
- 8 tātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Buddhavarmanapaḥ putrah prajā-saṃrañjana-paripālan-ōdyō-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 238 below.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 160 above.

<sup>4</sup> Only the compound beginning with *ādirdja* is peculiar to the Chendalūr plates (l. 7).

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 344, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 823.

<sup>6</sup> From two sets of ink-impressions.

<sup>7</sup> On the left margin of plate i.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from *lōkapālōndm*.

Chendalur plates of Kumaravishnu II.

i.

2  
4  
2  
4

ii a.

6  
8  
6  
8

ii b.

10  
12  
10  
12

iii a.

14  
16  
14  
16

E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE THREE-FOURTHS.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR. V. VENKAYYA.





*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 9 ga-satata-satya-vrata-dīkshito-nēka-samara-sāhas-āvamardda-labdha-  
 10 vijaya-yasa[h]<sup>1</sup> prakāśaḥ Kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasanna-dharmm-ōddharana-ni-  
 11 tya-sannaddhō rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigi(gi)shur-ddharmma-vijigi.<sup>2</sup>  
 12 shur=bhagavat-pād-ānu[d]dhyātaḥ parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvājō bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-  
 pā[da-bha].

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 13 ktaḥ sva-vikram-ākṛānt-ānya-nṛipa-śrī-nīlayānā[m] yathāvad-āhṛit-ānēk-āśvamēdhānā-  
 14 m=Pallavānān-dharmmamahārāja[h] śrī-Kumāravishṇuḥ Karmma[m\*]ka-rāshtre  
 Chendalūra-  
 15 grāmē grāmēyakān=atr=ādhipāta-sarvva-naiyōgika-vallabhānā=ch=ājñ[ā]-  
 16 payati yath=āsmīn=asmābhi[h] Karmma[m\*]ka-rāshtre Kavachakāra-bhōgē  
 Chendalū.

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 17 ra-grāmē rāja-vastu bhūtvā sthitañ=chatu[r\*]ddisam=ashtafata-paṭṭikā-sa-  
 18 mmitam [i\*] samudāyatō dvātri[m\*]śad-yukta-chatuśśatā(ta)-paṭṭikā-sammita[m]  
 kshētra[m\*]  
 19 brāhmaṇāya Kaundinya-gotrāya-Chchhandōga-sūtrāy-Ābhi-  
 20 rūpē . . . . vāstavyāya Bhavaskandatrātāya brahmadē[ya]-

*Fourth Plate; First Side.*

- 21 ma[r\*]yyādāyā dēvabhōga-varjja[m] hala-nyāyēna sarvva-parihār-ōpētam=a-  
 22 smad-āyur-ābala-vijay-aśvavy-ābhivṛiddhayē pravarddhamāna-vijaya-  
 23 rājyē dvitīyē sa[m]vatsarē Kā[r\*]ttikē māsē śukla-pakshasya pañchamāyā[m\*]  
 24 sarvva=ēta[t\*]kshētra[m] sampratta=Tad=avagamya sarvva-parihārair=ēta=brahmadēya-kshētra-

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

- 25 m=pariharantu parihārayantu cha [i\*] Yaś=ch=ēdam=asmach-chhāsanam-atikrāmēt=sa pā-  
 26 paś=śārīran=daṇḍam-arhati [i\*] Api ch=ātra Brahma-gītāḥ ślōkāḥ [i\*] Bhūmi-  
 dānā-  
 27 t=paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [i\*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpen=na bhūtan=  
 na bha-  
 28 vishyati || Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā<sup>3</sup> yō harēta vasundharām [i\*] gavām  
 śatasahasra-

*Fifth Plate.*

- 29 sya hantu[h] pibati kilbisham || Pā[r\*]vvai[h] pūrvvatarais=ch=aiva dattām<sup>7</sup>  
 bhūmim harēt=tu yaḥ [i\*]  
 30 sa nitya-vyasanē magnō narakē cha vasēt=puna[h\*] || Bahubhir=vasudhā da-  
 31 tā bahubhis=ch=ānupālītā [i\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya  
 32 tadā phalam [i\*] Ēvam=ājñā(jñā)ptam=iti [i\*] Gō-brāhmaṇan=nandatu [i\*] Svasty=  
 asta prajābhya[h\*] || ॐ [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *sa* was entered subsequently below the line.<sup>2</sup> The syllable *ji* stands below the line.<sup>3</sup> Here four *aksharas* are engraved on an *ensure*; they look like *gullāśra*.<sup>4</sup> Originally *smaddā* had been engraved. Subsequently the first *dd* was struck out.<sup>5</sup> The *akshara mpa* seems to have been corrected from *mod*.<sup>6</sup> Read *-dattā* *vd*.<sup>7</sup> The *anuvāda* has failed to come out on the photo-lithograph.



## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vishnu). Hail! From the victorious **Kāñchīpura**,

(L. 2.) the great-grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Skandavarman**, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 6.) the grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Kumāravishṇu (I.)**, whose mind was truthful,

(L. 7.) the son of the glorious **Mahārāja Buddhavarman**, whose mind was immeasurable,

(L. 12.) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, the glorious **Kumāravishṇu (II.)**,— the rightful **Mahārāja** (of the family) of the **Pallavas**, who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (*and*) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,— addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village of **Chendalūra** in **Karmā[n]ka-rāshṭra** and to all officers (*naiyōgika*) and (*royal*) favourites who are appointed to this (*district*):—

(L. 16.) "In the village of **Chendalūra** in **Kavachakāra-bhōga**, (*a subdivision*) of this (*district of*) **Kammā[n]ka-rāshṭra**, the king's domain<sup>1</sup> in the four directions amounts to eight hundred *paṭṭikās*.<sup>2</sup> (*Of this*) a field amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty-two *paṭṭikās* has been given by Us as a *Brahmadēya*, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga*), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the Brāhmaṇa **Bhavaskandatrāta** of the *Kauṇḍinya gōtra* and the *Chhandōga sūtra*, who resides in **Abhirūpā** . . . .— this whole field (*has been given*), for the increase of Our length of life, power, victory and supremacy, in the second year of (Our) reign of growing victory, in the month **Kārttika**, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight.

(L. 24.) "Knowing this, they must exempt this *Brahmadēya* field with all immunities and cause (*it*) to be exempted. And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this (*there are*) also (*the following*) verses sung by Brahman."

[Ll. 26-32 contain four of the customary verses.]

(L. 32.) "Thus it has been ordered (*by Us*). Let cows and Brāhmaṇas rejoice!" Let there be welfare to (*all*) men!

## No. 24.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF SARVALOKASRAYA; A.D. 673.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

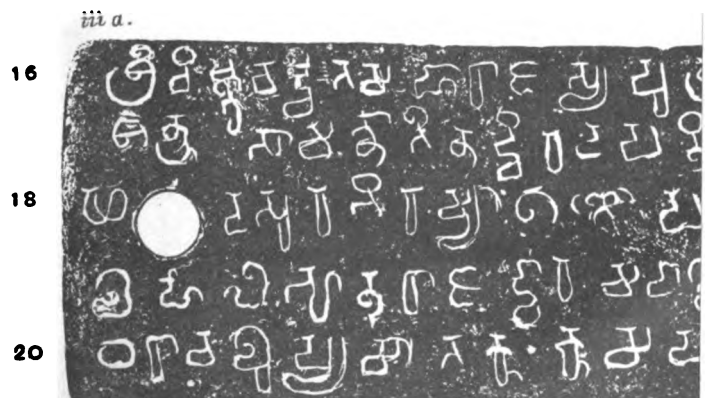
Like the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II. (No. 23 above), these copper-plates "were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalūr in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago." The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr. N. Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakil, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A.

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'that which stands having become the king's property.'

<sup>2</sup> *Paṭṭikā* seems to be the same as the Tamil *paṭṭi*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *nivartana*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 359, note 12. Compare *Lakṣmaṇa-paṭṭikā*, i.e. 'the *paṭṭikā* (belonging to) Lakṣmaṇa, in a Maitraka grant, above, p. 198, text l. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Compare above, p. 49, note 2, and p. 148, text l. 16.

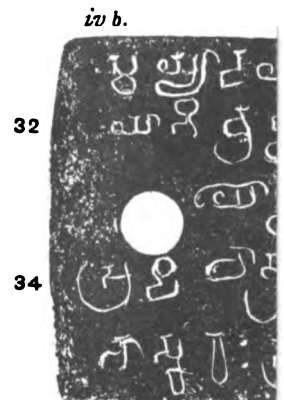
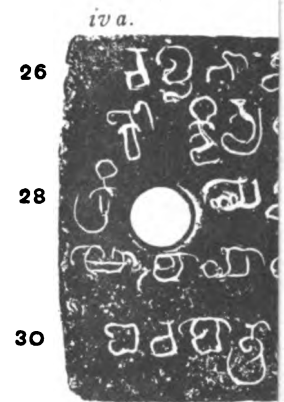
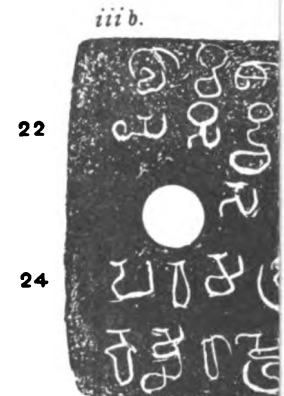
Chendalur plates of Sa



E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE

FROM INK-IMPRESSION





Butterworth, I.C.S., to Mr. Venkayya. They are now edited from two sets of inked estampages received from Mr. Venkayya, who supplies the following description of the original :—

“The copper-plates are five in number and have no rims. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner side only. In the upper and lower borders the plates are not so broad as in the middle; their breadth accordingly varies from  $9\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". The height too gradually decreases from either margin to the middle of the plate—it being roughly  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in the margins and  $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in the middle. At a distance of  $\frac{1}{8}$ " from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, also  $\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter; and through these holes passes an oval ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), measuring  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by 3", and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures about  $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". It bears, in relief on a plane surface, the legend *Sri-Vijayasiddh[i]* in the middle; below the legend is a seven-petalled lotus in relief; and above the legend is the crescent of the moon between two symbols which may be taken to be daggers pointing upwards. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 84 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao.”

The inscription is carefully engraved and on the whole well preserved. The alphabet resembles that of the two published copper-plate grants of Sarvalōkāsraya's father Vishṇuvardhana II.<sup>1</sup> A final form of *t* occurs in ll. 2, 33 (twice), 37, and one of *m* in l. 41. The lingual *ṛ* is used in *Chalukyānām* (l. 5), *laṭita* (l. 22), *Koḷḷi* (l. 28) and *Kālabava* (l. 29 f.), and the Telugu *r* in ll. 25 and 29. The first plate bears on the left margin the numerical symbol '1'; but the remaining plates are not numbered.

The language is Sanskrit prose; two Sanskrit *ślokas* 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll. 37-39. The rules of Sandhi are disregarded in the two compounds *bhagavat-śri-* (l. 2) and *asmat-śisanam* (l. 33), and frequently between two words (ll. 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35).

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahārāja Sarvalōkāsraya* (l. 24), son of the *M. Vishṇuvardhana* (II.) (l. 16), grandson of the *M. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman* (l. 10 f.), and great-grandson of the *M. Vishṇuvardhana* (I.), 'who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas*' (l. 5 f.). Some of the laudatory epithets bestowed on Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Vishṇuvardhana II. were evidently copied from inscriptions or office records of the *Pallavas*,<sup>2</sup> who had been supplanted by the Eastern Chalukyas. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman seems to have borne the surname *Simhavikrama* (l. 8), and Vishṇuvardhana II. that of *Makaradhvaḥ*.<sup>3</sup> Sarvalōkāsraya's valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words which fill five lines (16-21), but which contain nothing of any historical interest. His surname *Vijayasiddhi*, which occurs also on the seal of this grant, is alluded to in the next compound: 'he who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (*vijaya-siddhi*) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles' (l. 21 f.).

In later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty<sup>4</sup> this king *Vijayasiddhi* or *Sarvalōkāsraya* is named *Maṅgiyuvarāja*. To his reign has to be referred the date at the end of the subjoined inscription (l. 39 f.): "(This) set of copper-plates (*paṭṭikā*) was given (to the donees) on the occasion of an eclipse on the full-moon tithi of *Vaiśākha* in the second

<sup>1</sup> See the Plates in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 191, and Vol. VIII. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> For the epithets *अभ्युदित* and *प्रतापोपन्न* in l. 6 f., *अजेयनी* in l. 9 f., *स्वभाट* and *विधिविहित* in l. 11 f., see e.g. the *Pikira* grant of *Simhavarmān*, above, p. 161, text ll. 4, 5 f. and 2.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. 'the god of love.' The inscription justifies this surname by asserting that the king 'had seized the countries, ear-rings (? *makara*) and banners (*dhvaja*) of many mighty (*tvāga*) enemies (l. 18 f.);' compare above, Vol. VI. p. 345 and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> The first part of this compound is found also in *Pallava* grants; see e.g. above, p. 235, text l. 9.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. VII. Appendix, p. 93, note 6.

year of the reign of increasing victory." According to Dr. Fleet, Maṅgiyavarāja reigned from A.D. 672 to 696.<sup>1</sup> Hence his second year would correspond to A.D. 673, while Mr. Sewell's *Eclipses of the Moon in India* do not record any lunar eclipse in Vaiśākha between A.D. 665 and 683. They do mention a total eclipse of the moon, not in Vaiśākha, but in Jyēṣṭha, on Friday, 6th May 673. Prof. Kielhorn, to whom I submitted this difficulty, has solved it by showing (see his Postscript on p. 240 f. below) that by Brahmagupta's rule the month would not be called Jyēṣṭha, but Vaiśākha. Accordingly, the European date of the subjoined inscription of Maṅgiyavarāja's reign is the 6th May 673—a result which corroborates the correctness of Dr. Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.

According to l. 24 ff. "the very pious one, he who possesses the dignity of *Mahārāja*, the glorious *Sarvalōkāśraya-Mahārāja*" informs "the villagers in the village of Chendaṭūra in (the district named) *Kamma-rāshṭra* and all officers (*naiyōgika*) and favourites gone to this (district)" that he has granted this village to six Brāhmaṇas, who were Chhandōgas (i.e. students of the *Sāmaveda*), and each of whom received two shares of it. Five of them belonged to the Kaundinya *gōtra* (l. 27) and one to the Kālabava *gōtra* (l. 29 f.). Curiously enough their proper names are not given, but only their native villages, followed in the case of the first donee by the Sanskrit word *vāstavya*, 'residing in' (l. 28), and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word *bōya*, which seems to be employed in the same sense.<sup>2</sup> The six villages in question were Kaṭūra, Vaṅgra, Koḷlipuṛo (?), Pidena, Kuriyida and Koḍiṅki. The phraseology of the grant portion again resembles that of the Pallava copper-plates.

L. 34.—"And the *Ājñapti* for this (grant is) the sun among men (*Narabhāskara*) who resembles the sun crowning the peak of the eastern mountain (*Udayagiri*),<sup>3</sup> the principal mountain of the circle of the earth (which is) the family of Ayyapa, he who has been victorious in the crush of many battles, the fervent Māhēśvara, the glorious A[na]ghavarman." The edict was written by Pāmbēya Sarvōttama Ātharvaṇa (l. 41).

The village granted, Chendaṭūra, must be the same as the present Chendalūr, at which the copper-plates were discovered. The district *Kamma-rāshṭra*, to which it belonged, is mentioned as *Karma-rāshṭra* in two other grants of Viṣṇuvardhana II. and Maṅgiyavarāja.<sup>4</sup> In the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II. the same village and district are named Chendalūra and *Karmā[n]ka-* or *Kammā[n]ka-rāshṭra*.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति° [॥\*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तू[य]मानमानव्यसगीच[।\*]णां हारी[ती]-
- 2 पुत्राणां लोकमात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां° भग[वत्श्री]-
- 3 नारायणप्रसादसमुपलब्धवरवराहलाञ्छ[ना]नां
- 4 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां अनेकाश्चमेधयाजि-
- 5 नां चक्रुः कथानां कुलमलंकरिणीः श्रीविष्णुवर्धनमहाराज-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> The same seems to be the case in a grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187 f.

<sup>3</sup> This epithet may imply that the *Ājñapti* was the governor of the fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 16.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 234 above.

<sup>6</sup> From M. Venkayya's ink-impressions.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> The two words श्री स्वस्ति are engraved on the left margin opposite lines 1 and 2.

<sup>9</sup> Read लोकमात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां भगवत्श्री°.

<sup>10</sup> The म of महाराज seems to be corrected from मा.

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 6 स्व प्रपौत्रः अभ्युक्षितशक्तिसिद्धिसंपन्नस्य प्रतापोपनतराज-  
 7 मण्डलस्य [प]रनृपतिमत्तमातंगकुंभस्थलविदारणविधिदर्शित-  
 8 सिंहविक्रमस्य सिंहविक्रमस्य रणभूषणायमान-  
 9 व्रणकिणालंकृतसर्वगात्रस्य अनेकगोहिरण्यभूष्या[दिप्र]-  
 10 दानैः प्रहृष्टधर्मसच्चयस्य श्रीमती महाराजस्ये[न्द्र]भट्टा-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 11 रक्तवर्मणः पौत्रः स्वबाहुवल्गुर्जितोर्जितचात्रतपोनिधेः विधिवि-  
 12 हितसर्वमर्थ्यादस्य 'प्रतापानुरागावनतसामन्तचक्रस्य  
 13 चक्रवर्त्तिलक्षणोपेतस्य गृहीतानेकतुंगारिवसुधा-  
 14 मकरध्वजस्य मकरध्वजस्य स्वप्रभावाञ्जितसकलसामन्त-  
 15 मकुटतटघटितमणिकिरणारुणीकृतचरणारविन्दस्य'

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 16 श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजस्य पुत्रः निजभुजपराक्रमाव[न]मितानिक-  
 17 शत्रुसामन्तानीतद्विरदपतिमदधाराभिषेककर्हमितसप्त-  
 18 'हृदसुरभिरम्यांगणोपविष्टानेकराजन्यामितसमितिकी-  
 19 ल[1\*]हलीभूतराजद्वार[\*] मदालसमत्तकाशिनीजनघनपयो-  
 20 धरावलुप्यमानकुंकुमपंकावशेषशोभितकनकगिरिशि-

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 21 सावित्राश्वत्थस्थलः अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्हलब्धविज-  
 22 यसिद्धिः जलधिरिव रम्यतरलक्ष्मीलकितनिवासः मूर्त्त इव व-  
 23 सन्तः समुद्र इव गुणानां दृष्टान्त इव भूमिपतीनां  
 24 परमब्रह्मण्यः महाराजानुभावश्रीसर्वलोकात्रयमहाराजः  
 25 कक्षराष्ट्रे चेन्दुःशरग्रामे ग्रामेयकानच गतसर्वभैरोगिक-

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 26 वक्त्रभाषाप्रपयति [11\*] एष ग्रामोस्माभिः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः कुन्देगीभ्यः<sup>4</sup>  
 27 कौण्डिन्यगोत्रेभ्यः षट्कर्म्मनिरतेभ्यः सतताविच्छिन्न[प]ञ्चमहायज्ञ-  
 28 क्रियेभ्यः कटूरवास्तव्याय हे अंशे [1\*] वंशवोयाय हे [1\*] कोक्किपु-

<sup>1</sup> The पा of प्रतापा<sup>2</sup> seems to be corrected from पी.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 105, text l. 12 f.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'हृद' and compare *Sitapadavadha*, VI. 50.

<sup>4</sup> The *visarga* has not come out on the accompanying Plate, though it is quite distinct on the ink-impressions.

- 29 ॐबीयाय हे [i\*] पिदेनबीयाय हे [i\*] कुरियिदबीयाय हे [i\*] काळ-  
 30 बवबीयाय<sup>1</sup> कीदिंकिबीयाय हे अंगे [i\*] एवमेतेभ्यः ब्र[ह्म]देय-

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

- 31 मर्यादया सर्वपरिहारोपेतो देवभोगहलवर्ज आयुर्बल[वि]ज-  
 32 याभित्तये संप्रत्तः<sup>2</sup> [i\*] तदवगम्य परिहरन्तु परिहारयन्तु च [i\*]  
 33 'योस्मत्शासनमतिक्र[i\*]मेत् स पापः शरीरन्दण्डमर्हति [i\*]  
 34 अपि चात्रासिद्धि[द]यगिरिशिखरमकुटायमानभास्कर इव नर-  
 35 भास्करः अय्यशान्वयधरणिमण्डलकुलप[र्वत]: अनेकसमर-

*Fifth Plate.*

- 36 संघट्टविजयी पर[म]माहिचरः श्रीमद[ण]घवर्मा<sup>3</sup> [i\*] अपि चात्र ब्रह्म-  
 37 गीता<sup>4</sup> श्री[के] भवतः [i\*] भूमिदानात्परन्द[i\*]नन्न भूतन्न भवि-  
 ष्यति [i\*] तस्यैव हरणात्  
 38 पापन्न भूतन्न भविष्यति [ii\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्  
 वसुधरां [i\*] गवां<sup>5</sup> शत-  
 39 सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति किल्बिषं [ii\*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वि-  
 40 तीये वैशाखपौर्णम्ये[1]स्वां ग्रहणनिमित्तं<sup>6</sup> दत्ता पट्टिका [i\*] स्वस्य-  
 41 स्तु सर्वभूतेभ्यः [i\*] पांवेयेन सर्वोत्तमेनाध्वर्चयेन<sup>7</sup> लिखितम् ॥ श्रीं ॥—

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.

Vishṇuvardhana II., the father and immediate predecessor of Maṅgiyavarāja, according to Dr. Fleets's calculations, commenced to reign some time in February-March A.D. 663, and the traditional length of his reign is nine years. A date of the month of Vaiśākha of the second year of Maṅgiyavarāja's reign therefore would in the first instance be expected to fall in or near April A.D. 673; and I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of our date is **Friday, the 6th May A.D. 673** (falling in Śaka-saṁvat 595 expired), when there was a **total eclipse of the moon**, from 13 h. 21 m. to 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore **visible in India**. The question is, whether this day could have been described as the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.

According to the rules now in force, the 6th May A.D. 673 would have been the full-moon day of the month **Jyēṣṭha** (which follows upon Vaiśākha); by the same rules the Śaka year 595 expired would have contained an intercalated month **Āshāḍha**. By the rules of **mean intercalation** and the ordinary manner of naming the months, the intercalated month in Ś. 595

<sup>1</sup> Read °गीयाय.

<sup>2</sup> Read संप्रत्तः.

<sup>3</sup> The [ण] seems to be corrected from द; read श्रीमद्वर्मा<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Read गीता श्रीकी.

<sup>5</sup> The left top-stroke of च is written upside down.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read यीज्यासनं.

<sup>8</sup> Read नर्वा.

<sup>9</sup> Read °नाचर्चयेन.

expired (according to both the *Ārya-* and the *Sūrya-siddhānta*) would have been *Jyēshṭha*, and the 6th May A.D. 673 the full-moon day of the first or intercalated *Jyēshṭha*. But this very intercalated month, by an earlier—Brahmagupta's—rule, would have received its name, not from the following month *Jyēshṭha*, but from the *preceding* month *Vaiśākha*, i.e. it would have been called *Vaiśākha*, not *Jyēshṭha*, and, by the earlier rule referred to, the 6th May A.D. 673 would thus have been correctly described as the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* (or, more fully, of the second *Vaiśākha*).

This date at once reminds us of the date of the Kaira plates of Dharasēna IV. (*Northern List*, No. 484), which quotes a 'second *Mārgaśīra*,' and falls in A.D. 648 or Śaka-samvat 570 expired. In the case of that date, by the rules of mean intercalation and according to the *Ārya-* and *Sūrya-siddhāntas*, a month was intercalated in Ś. 570 expired before the month *Pausha*. By the ordinary rule that month would have been called *Pausha*, so that there would have been two months called *Pausha*; but the date, in quoting 'the second *Mārgaśīra*,' shows that there really were two months called *Mārgaśīra*, and that therefore the intercalated month, by the earlier rule, had received its name from the *preceding* *Mārgaśīra*.

I would besides compare the Chōla date No. 33, of the 25th November A.D. 1033 (above, Vol. V. p. 21), where the given name of the month—*Mārgaśīra*, instead of *Pausha*—likewise can be accounted for only by the assumption that a month, by the rules of mean intercalation intercalated before *Pausha*, had taken its name from the *preceding*, not from the following month. In that Chōla date the month *Mārgaśīra* which is quoted was the *second* *Mārgaśīra*, just as in the date under discussion the month *Vaiśākha* in my opinion was the *second* *Vaiśākha*.

For a date (of the 5th February A.D. 817, with a lunar eclipse), which proves the observance of the rules of mean intercalation, but is otherwise of no importance here, see my *Southern List*, No. 68.

#### No. 25.—TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

BY PROFESSOR R. FISCHER, PH.D.; BERLIN.

The two Prakrit poems here edited were discovered at Dhār, in November 1903, together with the corresponding slab of black stone which contains the *prāsaśti* of Arjunavarman published above, p. 96 ff., by Professor E. Hultzsch. Prof. Hultzsch was good enough to send me two inked estampages which had been forwarded to him by Dr. Vogel and Mr. Cousens, and one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.

Like the *prāsaśti*, the poems are on the whole well preserved; in the second poem, however, the beginning of lines 26-38 is broken away, as may be seen from Plate iii. The inscription consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. Only one serious mistake occurs in A. verse 65, where instead of *chammakkaṇam aṇamaggo* apparently must be read *chakkammaṇam aṇamagge*.

The alphabet is the same as in the *prāsaśti* and has been already discussed by Prof. Hultzsch. I would draw special attention to the initial *i*, *u*, *o*; to *tha*, e.g. in *thakkam*, A. verse 40 (Plate i. l. 16), *tha*, A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), *thāhīd*, B. 2 (Plate ii. l. 1), *aṇathakkam*, B. 40 (Plate iii. l. 14), *thāhavid*, B. 87 (Plate iii. l. 32); to *kkha*, e.g. in *rakkhaū*, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); to *jjha*, e.g. in *majjhe*, A. 6 (Plate i. l. 3); to *śa*, e.g. in *Śivāya* (Plate i. l. 1), °*paramēśvara*°, *śrī*°, °*śatam*, *mahāśrīh* (Plate ii. l. 42); and to *ṣga*, e.g. in *kayaṇ garuḍa* (Plate i. l. 18) and *maṅgalam* (Plate ii. l. 42). *Chchha* and *ttha*, though resembling each other, are more clearly distinguished than in the manuscripts of the Jains, where these two letters are constantly confounded; compare, e.g. °*viṭṭhāro* and °*chchhāya*, A. 2 (Plate i. l. 1); °*śarichchham* and *ēṭtha*, A. 15 (Plate i. l. 6). There occurs in A. 87 (Plate ii. l. 34) one letter about the reading of which I am not certain. It



looks exactly like *thā* as given by Bühler on Plate v. l. 26, No. 19 of his *Indian Palæography*; but since *thā* in all other instances (B. 2, 78, 87) has quite a different form, the reading remains uncertain. Unfortunately there is a gap just in this place.

There is much inconsistency in writing the Anusvāra and the secondary forms of *e* and *o*. Thus in B. 16 (Plate ii. l. 6) we read *paḍihamtaṃ*, but in B. 20 (Plate ii. l. 8) *paḍihantaṃ*. In A. 52, 54 (Plate i. l. 21), *e* in *pariyattānte kāle ke ke* and *o* in *jo vi hu so vi hu* are partly written in the ancient, partly in the modern fashion. Instead of the Anunāsika in combination with *v* the inscription uses throughout the group *mv*, which is also found in manuscripts (see my Prākṛit Grammar, § 179). Thus we have *jāehim vi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23); *hōntehim vi*, A. 84 (Plate ii. l. 32); *kaehim vi*, A. 86 (Plate ii. l. 33); *annehim vi*, A. 92 (Plate ii. l. 35); *jāehim vi*, A. 100 (Plate ii. l. 38), etc. In B. 98, 103 (Plate iii. ll. 37, 38 f.) *valayam va* is wrong for *valayam va*. Similar mistakes, as *jam māi* instead of *jam māi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), have been noticed in the foot-notes on the text.

The orthography is that of the Jainas. Hence in the beginning of words, and generally when doubled, dental *n* is written instead of cerebral *ṇ*, with the single exception of *ṇu*, as remarked in the note on A. 5. Very often also *nha* is written instead of *ṇha*. The *ya-truti* shows the same inconsistency as in the manuscripts.

The language of the poems is Māhārāṣṭrī. There occur, however, some forms which are Apabhraṃśa, such as *laggavi*, A. 92, *mīlavi*, B. 108, *ēha*, B. 45, *āṇam*, B. 48, *loa*, B. 61, instead of *loo*. Blunders like *tan na* instead of *taṃ na* and *kayaṃ garuḍa* instead of *kayaṃ garuḍa* in A. 43, which occur very frequently, I am inclined to attribute to the author himself, considering the numerous cases where *hu* is written instead of *khu*, as in A. 54, B. 8, 28, 36, etc. Even faults like *ḥiam* instead of *ḥiaṃ* in B. 36, *kiṃ ttha* instead of *kiṃ tha* in A. 95, *gauravam* in B. 62, *gauraviṃ* in B. 92, *gauraviḍ* in B. 105, where *au* is written instead of *o* (compare Hēma-chandra, l. 1), may go back to the author himself. On the whole, however, the latter must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Dēśi-words which have not yet been met elsewhere. At the same time there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration, as in A. 23 and 28, 32 and 33, 98 and 101, or with very slight modifications, as in A. 10 and 55, 14 and 101, 93 and 94. The half-verse *na ya jāo nea jammihi* occurs no less than five times (A. 10, 16, 48, 55, 85).

The poems consist of two odes, each of 109 stanzas in the Āryā metre, to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. They have no poetical value. In the first the author varies *ad nau-seam* essentially two thoughts, viz. that nobody has carried the earth so well as the tortoise, and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of this tortoise. In the second it is said that even the tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhōja who now carries the earth. Though a very poor performance, the poems, owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode, pleased king Bhōja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself:<sup>1</sup>—"Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhōja alone. By him this *Kārmasātaka* has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies" (A. 107), and:—"By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhōja has this *Sātaka* been composed" (B. 109). The very fact that in the second ode king Bhōja is several times directly addressed (B. 5, 6, 7, 11, etc.) would alone suffice to prove that he himself is not the real author. Tradition has it that Bhōja was a great friend and admirer of scholars and poets, and it is well known that in legendary works like *Mārutāṅga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and Ballāla's *Bhōjaprabandha* many famous poets of quite different

<sup>1</sup> The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhōja has been drawn up by Prof. Aufrecht, *Catalogue Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 418, and Vol. II. p. 95.

centuries are placed at his court. As yet no poems had been found which could with certainty be ascribed to the time of Bhôja. So far the new find is of some interest.

With the exception of a few stanzas, the poems are easily intelligible. It would have been a tedious task to translate them. I have therefore contented myself with mentioning in the notes all the difficulties and trying to explain them as far as possible. The abbreviation Gr. refers to my Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages, where the remaining abbreviations are explained on p. 410 ff.

#### TEXT OF A.

#### [1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

इच्छ[1]ए जस्य भुषणं धरिषं एकाए असमसत्तोए ।  
 उभणेउ सो सुहाइं तुम्हाणं पव्वईनाहो ॥१॥  
 सो कुम्भो वो रक्खउ कणयइकडारदेहवित्थारो ।  
 जो जरठभुषणवत्तीकंदच्छायं समुव्वहइ ॥२॥  
 जस्य भणिएण भुषणं कुम्भप्पसुहा वि धारयन्ति [2] इमं ।  
 सो भकलियसद्धो ससिचूडो देउ सोक्खाइं ॥३॥  
 कमठकुडुव्वे विउले वि पसविष्ठा उभह एत्थ सा एक्का ।  
 भुषणभरस्य वि पट्ठी जीए जाएण ओडुविष्ठा ॥४॥  
 कुम्भेण को ण सरिसो विष्ठा वि क्खेण जेण एक्केण ।  
 जह निभसुहस्य पट्ठी तह दिष्ठा [3] भुषणभारस्य ॥५॥  
 एक्क सि[च] सा धक्का मज्जे महिलाण पसविष्ठा कमठो ।  
 भइदुव्वहो वि वूढो भुषणभरो जीए जाएण ॥६॥  
 कमठकुले के न इष्ठा अप्पा वि इ दुव्वहो परं ताण ।  
 अविरोखं भुषणभरो उव्वूढो तेण एक्केण ॥७॥  
 कमठकुले जायाणं संखं को सुणइ किं तु [4] सो एक्को ।  
 आजमं भुषण[भ]रो उव्वूढो जेण एक्केण ॥८॥  
 जो कह व परिग्गहिष्ठी भारो कुम्भेण निभह तस्स गई ।  
 जीएण समं पेच्छइ पम्मुक्को पल्लयपेरन्ते ॥९॥

१. As in many other cases, e.g. जीए, A. 6, जववीए, A. 46, वरवीए, A. 49, etc., the final ए of इच्छाए and एकाए is metrically short; Gr. § 85, 375. असमसत्तोए = असमसत्ता.

२. कणयइ = कनकाद्रि°. जरठ°, 'which exhibits the colour of dry earth and the bulbous root of a creeper,' i.e. 'which is yellowish, or brown.'

३. Instead of 'कुडुव्वे' read 'कुडुव्वे'. For पट्ठी compare Gr. § 53, 358. ओडुवर and ओडुइ occur frequently in this *Sataka*; compare A. 18, 31-33, 36, 37. In A. 44 there is a substantive ओडुव्व. The verb means 'to place,' 'to set,' 'to locate,' and is common in Pāli. Compare Childers, s.v.; *Jāt.* 1, 143, 20; 3, 184, 6; 330, 17; *Aguttaran.* III. 185, 4; *Therīg.* 73, 357, etc. In Prākṛit it must be restored in Hāla, 642, 787.

४. Observe the cerebral in the enclitic ण here and elsewhere (B. 21, 23, 37, 60, 75, 105).

५. इष्ठा, Gr. § 476. अविरोख belongs to विरीख, Hc. 4, 121, विरीखिय, P. 191, and means 'not tossing about,' 'not shaking about,' 'not agitated,' 'quietly.'

६. गई, as संखा in A. 11, must be taken as Acc. Plur. Perhaps we ought to correct them to गइ and संखं.

पायाले मज्जंतं खंधं दाजण भुण्णमुद्धरिणं ।  
 तेण कमटेण सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जग्गिहिइ ॥१०॥  
 [5] निअसुहकज्जे जग्गो जाणं संखा वि ताण को मुणइ ।  
 परकज्जेकरसिज्जो कुम्भकुडुम्बे परं दिट्ठो ॥११॥  
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं मज्जे महिलान पसविष्सा तं सि ।  
 वीसामओ वि जाओ जीए जायस्स न इ भुण्णे ॥१२॥  
 जे वि इ धरंति धरणिं तेहिं पि समं धरिज्जे सा वि ।  
 इअ एरिस[6]ववसाओ कुम्भो खिअ एत्थ उप्पओ ॥१३॥  
 जइ जग्गो वि इ जायइ ता जायउ कमठ तुम्भ सारिज्जो ।  
 परउवयारेक्कफलो पेरंतं जाव जो पत्तो ॥१४॥  
 निअजाईयसरिज्जं चरिणं निव्वडइ एत्थ पुरिसाण ।  
 निअपरजाइविरुहं दीसइ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥१५॥  
 [7] निअयपसवस्स गव्वं एक खिअ कमठिणी समुव्वड ।  
 जीए तणयस्स सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जग्गिहिइ ॥१६॥  
 अज्जावहि अज्जिं वीओ भुण्णे वि नेअ उप्पओ ।  
 एकलजुएण भुण्णं कुम्भो एको खिअ वहेइ ॥१७॥  
 सो खिअ वुम्भइ भारो वीओ खंधं न जस्स ओडे[8]इ ।  
 कुम्भो अज्जेण समं पेच्छइ जइ भारमुव्वइइ ॥१८॥  
 सो खिअ वुम्भइ भारो अज्जेहिं जाइ जो न परिकलिउं ।  
 अज्जेण समं वूढो वूढो वि इ सो अनिब्वूढो ॥१९॥  
 जाई देव्वायत्ता चरिणं पुण होइ पुरिससाहीणं ।  
 अज्जवसायं पेच्छइ केरिसओ सो इ कुम्भस्स ॥२०॥  
 रे देव [9] तं विडंवसु पुरिसो किं जाइ तुइ विडंवेउं ।  
 कुम्भो कओ कह तए तस्स वि चरिआइं कह पेच्छ ॥२१॥  
 कुम्भेण धरा धरिआ लोओ जंपेइ नाइ इअ विलिओ ।  
 अंगाइं अंगेसुं निअयाइं उअइ निव्वइइ ॥२२॥  
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ इ एत्थ पुरि[10]साण ।  
 कुम्भस्स तं खु रु[अ] ववसाओ सो इ पुण तस्स ॥२३॥

१०. जग्गिहिइ, Gr. § 540.

११. Read °कुडुम्बे.

१५. निव्वडइ, Hc. 4, 62.

१७. अ° अ°=अयावधि अज्जिं. Read वीओ, Gr. § 105. एकल is to be added Gr. § 595; एकलजुएण=एकलयुगेण, 'one-yoked,' i.e. 'quite alone.' Compare A. 74, 78, 92, and एकलपुरिओ, A. 106; compare also एअंओ, B. 25.

१८. Read वुम्भइ and वीओ. For ओडेइ compare note on A. 4.

१९. Read वुम्भइ.

२१. Read °डंवरु, °डंवेउं, °वाइ.

२२. विलिओ=वीडितः, Gr. § 81.

२३. चइज्जइ, V. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 86. The first verse of this stanza is repeated in A. 28.

चंकमणविरहियाणं निभरिसणं ववसिभस्य सो ज्ञेय ।  
 पेच्छह कमटे दोन्नि वि पेरन्तं जाव पत्ताइ ॥२४॥  
 उवमाणं कह लम्भउ पेच्छह कुम्भस्य असमचरिभस्य ।  
 न य जाणो न य दीसइ न य होही ज[11]स्य सारिच्छी ॥२५॥  
 भवेण मणेण तए कुम्भो हयदेव्य सो विणिग्गविभो ।  
 भवइत्थिज्जण तं पि इ चरिभं तस्सज्जहा जायं ॥२६॥  
 भायारो सो रइभो अणचंकमणं च देव्य तं दिन्नं ।  
 कुम्भस्य ववसिएणं सयलं तुह मत्थए पडिभं ॥२७॥  
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाभो इ [12] एत्थ पुरिसाण ।  
 कुम्भेण तं खु कलिभं हिभए वि इ जन्न सम्माइ ॥२८॥  
 कुम्भो वहेइ भुभणं धुभं हि भुभणस्य उप्परे कुणसि ।  
 हयदेव्य साहुचरिभं पुज्जउ किं भस्यए अन्नं ॥२९॥  
 भायारो जाई वा ववसाए कारणं न पेच्छामो ।  
 सुणिकच्छवे निहालह ववसायं ता[13]ण पेच्छेह ॥३०॥  
 सोक्खं च[इ]ज्जण निभं भुभणस्य वि ओड्डिभो तहा खंधो ।  
 रे साहु साहु कच्छव अन्नं वहुत्तयं लव्वं ॥३१॥  
 दुज्जणजणो इ जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्डिभा भारे ।  
 एभं पि इ तेण कयं बीएणं भणसु जइ भणसु ॥३२॥  
 दुज्जणजणो इ जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्डिभा भा[14]रे ।  
 पट्ठी वि इ ओड्डिज्जइ एभं निव्वडइ कुम्भस्य ॥३३॥  
 निभसुहकज्जे सव्वो इह ववसइ तं खु कमट तेण विणा ।  
 चिन्तंतेहिम्बि कच्छव न भाणिभो तुह अहिप्पाभो ॥३४॥  
 रित्तं भुभणकडित्तं अच्छइ रेहाहिं वज्जिभं निभह ।  
 वहुत्तणस्य रेहा एका कमटस्य तत्थ परं ॥३५॥  
 [15] विहिणा तारिसभो च्चिभ [नो?] विहिभो धरउ केण अनेण ।  
 इभ कुम्भेणं पट्ठी ओड्डिभा भुभणभारस्य ॥३६॥

२४. निभ°=निदर्शनं. दीप्ति, i.e. अणचंकमणं and ववसाभो ? Compare A. 23, 27.

२५. Read लम्भउ.

२६. तस्स°=तस्मान्नया.

२८. जन्न is grammatically incorrect; read जं न. The first verse of this stanza has already occurred in A. 2.

२९. The first letter of धुभं is not quite clear; from अवस्यं in A. 89, where the same shape of the letter occurs, it becomes certain that धु is meant. The sense is: "For thou, O fate, hast put the polar star above the earth." Compare A. 70, 72, 97. With उप्परे compare उप्परि, Hc. 4, 384, and उप्पि, Gr. § 148.

३१. For ओड्डिभो compare note on A. 4.

३२. One would expect जइ भस्यि; compare A. 74. Read बीएणं.

३४. °तेहिम्बि is grammatically and metrically incorrect; read °हिं वि. Gr. § 180.

३५. Read रेहाहिं or °हि.

३६. नो is uncertain. धरउ is incorrect for धरिज्जउ.

होतेहिं अवयवेहिं पङ्क्तिं ओडुवइ जइ न ता साहु ।  
 तेहिं विणा वि पङ्क्तिं कुम्भो ओडुवइ भुषणस्य ॥३७॥  
 केणावि जो न दिहो खुन्नी न कया वि एत्थ सुहु नवो ।  
 परड[16]वयरणे मग्गो पढमो कुम्भेण निम्भविणो ॥३८॥  
 रे कुम्भ तं सि जाणो अवेहिं सुहा किमेत्थ जाएहिं ।  
 जस्य समप्पिअभारं सुहेहिं भुषणं पि निवसेइ ॥३९॥  
 अज्झवसिअं खु तं चिअ जं न हु कइआ वि को वि अणुसरिही ।  
 तं कुम्भे चिअ यत्तं इअरा इअर चिअ वराया ॥४०॥  
 [17]निअकज्जे जाण तणू ताणं संखं पि एत्थ को मुण्ड ।  
 जीअं पि हु परकज्जे जस्य पुणो सो हु कमठवरं ॥४१॥  
 संखारहिआ जाया भुषणे अन्ने वि तं पि तइ कुम्भ ।  
 भङ्गीए पुणो भेओ अन्नी चिअ तुम्ह निव्वडिओ ॥४२॥  
 अच्छउ भुषणुव्वहणं हिअएण वि तन्न जाइ चित्तेउं ।  
 तं पि हु कम[18]ठेण कयङ्कअण गइ असावजा ॥४३॥  
 पङ्गीए ओडुवणे लोओ सुहुसुइइ कमठरायस्य ।  
 भारस्य दुव्वहत्तं भग्गो न हु मुण्ड केरिसयं ॥४४॥  
 के के न एत्थ जाया के न हु होन्ता खणे तहिं पि जणा ।  
 मोत्तूण कमठरायं भण भुषणं केण उअरिअं ॥४५॥  
 सासेण जस्य भुअ[19]णं सयलं अससइ कमठरायस्य ।  
 को तेण होउ सरिसो जाओ जणणीए सो वेअ ॥४६॥  
 वहुए वि एत्थ जाया तेहिं पि हु किं पि किं पि एत्थ कयं ।  
 भुषणुवरणसमत्थो एक्को चिअ कच्छओ जाओ ॥४७॥  
 के के न एत्थ जाया अरियायारेहिं अत्थि ताण समा ।  
 कच्छवसरिच्छएणं न य जाओ ने[20]अ जग्गिहिइ ॥४८॥

३७. Read होतेहिं.

३९. Read अवेहिं and सुहेहिं.

४०. For अक्क compare Hc. 4, 16; *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3, 258 f.; 6, 84 ff.

४२. The second verse means: "In one way or another (?), however, another special lot has fallen to you."

४३. तन्न and कयङ्क are grammatically incorrect for तं न and कयं गइ.

४४. सुहुसुइइ apparently means 'to shout at,' 'to applaud.'

४६. For जणणीए with short ए compare Gr. § 385 and note on A. 1.

४७. Read वहुए; the form is quite unusual and probably wrong. Compare सए, A. 109, मवए, B. 34, and Gr. § 380.

४८. Read रेहिं. अत्थि is used in the sense of सन्ति; see Gr. § 499. For न य जाओ etc. compare A. 10, 16, 55.

सुखं भुषणं पि कयं संका धरणीए तह समुद्धरिया ।  
 किं किन्न किन्न विहिषं कुम्भ तए एख जाएख ॥४८॥  
 खेभो सोक्खब्भहिभो भारव्वहणे विहाइ कुम्भस्स ।  
 गरुभाण ववसिभाणं को मक्कं जाणितं तरइ ॥४९॥  
 भुषणभरव्वहणेण वि भन्नं सोक्खं विहाइ कमदस्स ।  
 [21] जं रुद्धं तं सुहयं भन्ना इ गइ न सोक्खस्स ॥५१॥  
 परियत्तंते काले के के इ खणा न एख उप्पन्ना ।  
 सो इ खणो एको सिअ जस्सिं कुम्भो समुप्पन्नो ॥५२॥  
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं धन्नो जाओ वि तुम्ह सो एको ।  
 तह विहुरे जेण तहा जयस्ससत्ती समुप्पसिआ ॥५३॥  
 उभयारो गणियाणं जो वि इ सो वि [22] इ कुण्ड इह लोए ।  
 भुअ[णस्स] वि उभयरिअं कुम्भेण परं इ एकेण ॥५४॥  
 जाओ सो सिअ युद्धं जम्भो सहलो इ तस्स एक्कस्स ।  
 जस्स सरिच्छो भुअणे न य जाओ नेअ जम्भिहिइ ॥५५॥  
 जम्भप्फलो इ जम्भो जो जायइ होउ होउ किन्तेण ।  
 परउभयरणस्स कए जो जम्भो सो इ फलजम्भो [23] ॥५६॥  
 पोइभरणस्स कळे [जे जा]या ते सुभा इ तम्मि खणे ।  
 परउभयरणस्स कए जाणं जम्भो इ ते धन्ना ॥५७॥  
 कम्मठवइ तं सि जाओ जाएहिम्मि एख किं थ अजेहिं ।  
 तं किं पि जेण विहिषं भन्नाण मणे न जम्माइ ॥५८॥  
 कम्मठवइ किं भणिज्जउ धन्नो जम्भो इ तुम्ह एक्कस्स ।  
 परउभयरणस्स क[24]ए अप्पा जेण तहा खविओ ॥५९॥  
 निअउभयरणस्स कए सयलो वत्थूण आयरं कुणइ ।  
 परउभयरणं अप्पा कुम्भ तय खेअ इह विहिओ ॥६०॥  
 कइआ वि जो न दिहो न य निसुओ नेअ अणुइवं पत्तो ।  
 सो मग्गो पटमं विअ कुम्भेण एख कइविओ ॥६१॥

४८. Instead of किन्न किन्न read किं न किं न.

५०. Read °अहिओ. विहाइ=विभाति. तरइ, Hc. 4, 86.

५१. जयस्ससत्ती=जयस्स असत्ती, i.e. जगतीऽमृतिः; compare Gr. § 395, 173. With विहुरे=विधुरे supply the locative जअसि or जए=जगति. समुप्पसिआ belongs to पुसइ, Hc. 4, 105, and means 'has been wiped off,' i.e. 'has been removed.'

५४. इ is a blunder for ख, Gr. § 94.

५५. सहलो=सफा.

५६. किन्तेण is a blunder for किं तेण.

५७. इ ते metri caused for ते इ.

५८. 'हिम्मि is wrong for °हिं वि, Gr. § 180. थ, Gr. § 175. मणे Gr. § 400. जम्माइ is wrong for जं माइ.

६०. तय=तया is wrong for तह or तए, Gr. § 421.

६१. कइआ, Gr. § 113. निसुओ, Dôlin. 4, 27; Pâiyal. 184







10

**RECEIVED**

adav  
Kane

sōvigr  
 hichai  
 andra  
 danap  
 windac  
 ayacha  
 yachch

10.		20.	21.	A.D.
				400
				500
				600
				700
			Pālas. <sup>10</sup>	800
		E. Gaṅgas of Kalinga.	Gōpāla I. Dharmapāla. <sup>11</sup>	800
		Gupamahārṇava.	Dēvapāla.	900
adavālas Kanauj.	is ra.		Vigrahapāla I. Nārāyapāla. Rājyapāla. Gōpāla II.	900
sōvighra. hichandra. andradēva.	I.	Kāmārṇava. 1038. Vajrahasta. 1075. Rājarāja I. 1078. Anantavarman- [Chōḍagaṅga.	Vigrahapāla II. 1026. Mahīpāla I. Nayapāla. Vigrahapāla III.	1000
danapāla. vindhachandra. ayachandra. ayachandra.	II. II. III.	1142. Kāmārṇava. Rāghava. Rājarāja II. Anāṅgabhīma I.	1175. Gōvindapāla.	1100
		Rājarāja III. Anāṅgabhīma II. Narasimha I. Bhānudēva I. 1296. Narasimha II.		1200
		1309. Bhānudēva II. Narasimha III. Bhānudēva III. 1384-97. Narasimha IV.	<sup>10</sup> For Sēnas see Col. 7. <sup>11</sup> Married daughter of Parabala in Col. 15.	1300

E 1

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D.		20.	21.	A.D.
				400
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ras nkaṇa.			*	800
din I. ulaṣakti.		Chôlas.	Pāṇḍyas	800
din II. anna.		Vijayālaya. Āditya I.	[863]. Varaguṇa.	
Goggi. a I.		907. Parāntaka I.	Rājasimha.	900
jita.		Rājāditya Mūvaḍi-Chôla.	Vīra-Pāṇḍya.	
II. arin. tarāja. ummuṇi. tapāla.	105	985. Rājarāja I. 1012. Rājendra- [Chôla I. 1018. Rājādhirāja I. 1052. Rājendradēva. 1063. Vīrarājendra. 1070. Kulōttuṅga- [Chôla I.	Sundara-Pāṇḍya. Vikrama-P.; Vīra-P.	1000
lla. ārjuna. iitya.	111 114 1178	1118. Vikrama-Chôla. Kulōttuṅga-Chôla II. 1146. Rājarāja II. 1178. Kulōttuṅga- [Chôla III.	Pāṇḍyas of Madhurā. 1190. J. <sup>3</sup> Kulaśēkhara.	1100
vara.		1216. Rājarāja III. 1246. 1267. Rājendra- [Chôla III.	1216. M. Sundara-P. I. 1238. M. Sundara-P. II. 1251. J. Sundara-P. I. 1253. Vīra-Pāṇḍya. 1268. M. Kulaśēkhara I. 1276. J. Sundara-P. II.	1200
			1314. M. Kulaśēkhara II. 1335. M. Parākrama-P. 1358. J. Parākrama-P.	1300
			<sup>3</sup> J. = Jaṭavarman; M. = Mājavarman.	



जइ भारो वि हु वुम्भइ ता वुम्भइ एत्य कुम्भभारसमो ।  
 एकलजएण वूढो जेण सया वीभनिरवेक्खो ॥७४॥  
 कज्जेण एत्य उभरिं जो जायइ सो हु तत्य धुम सच्चं ।  
 उभरिद्धिओ वि हेट्ठे जो ववसाएण पम्मुक्को ॥७५॥  
 तं कुम्भ एत्य जाओ तए जिम्मन्तं [30] सि एत्य रे धक्खो ।  
 वीभधुरिएण खंधो जस्स न केणावि उवुरिओ ॥७६॥  
 वंभाओ पसविष्ठाओ वि सयलाओ वि एत्य भल्लमहिलाओ ।  
 विहिष्ठाओ कच्छवेणं चत्तं भण्डं न सम्माइ ॥७७॥  
 भल्ले वहंति भारं विणा न वीएण ते हु कइया वि ।  
 एकलजएण भारं एक्को कुम्भो शिष वहेइ ॥७८॥  
 दहूण कुम्भ[31]रूपं जम्भो उव्विसइ भत्तणो वि इहं ।  
 दहूण ववसिष्ठाइं तस्स पुणो भहिप्पसुव्विसइ ॥७९॥  
 जम्भविणासाण कए जो जम्भो सो हु कस्स न हु एत्य ।  
 जम्भफलो पुण जम्भो जाओ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥८०॥  
 वीएण विणा वूढं जं वूढं तं खु एत्य सच्चिमयं ।  
 भल्लसुहं दहूणं जं वुम्भइ तं खु जाउ द्रहे ॥८१॥  
 [32] चंक्रमिच्चन्तं वुच्चइ जे[ण] मग्गे वि दरिसिए इधरा ।  
 न चरंति पयं दाउं मग्गे जइ कमठनिम्मविच्चं ॥८२॥  
 धरणिधरणम्मि हिच्चयं जाणं जायं खु तेहिं समयं पि ।  
 उव्वूढो भुषणभरो पेच्छइ एक्केण कुम्भेण ॥८३॥  
 कमठिणि तं सि पसूपा जीए जाएण सयलमहिलाओ ।  
 होत्तेहिम्मि पसवेहिं वंभाओ हटे[33]ण विहिष्ठाओ ॥८४॥

७४. Read वुम्भइ, Gr. § 541. For एकल<sup>०</sup> see note on A. 17. Read वीभ<sup>०</sup>. Instead of the second वुम्भइ one would expect वुम्भउ; compare A. 82.

७५. हेट्ठे, Gr. § 107. पम्मुक्को, Gr. § 196.

७६. Read जिच्चं तं and वीभ<sup>०</sup>. The second verse means: "whose shoulder has not been freed from the burden by a second one able to bear a burden."

७७. Read everywhere उ instead of ची, which is against the metre; compare Gr. § 85, 376.

७८. Read वीएच. For एकल<sup>०</sup> see note on A. 17.

७९. The meaning of उव्विसइ is not certain. It seems to mean 'gets tedious.' I have not found the word elsewhere.

८१. Read वीएच and वुम्भइ. सच्चिमय occurs again in A. 103 and B. 9; it means 'real,' 'true,' Sanskrit सत्यमय. इहे, Gr. § 354; जाउ द्रहे=यातु द्रुइ seems to be a proverbial saying.

८२. Read चंक्रमिच्चं तं. चरंति, Gr. 8, 70; Hc. 4, 86. ८३. Read तेहि.

८४. हो<sup>०</sup> wrong for होत्तेहिं वि, Gr. § 180. Instead of वंभाओ read उ.

[के के] न एतज्जाया के न इ पच्छन्ति के न होहिन्ति ।  
तह वि तुह कुम्भ तुम्हो न य जायो नेप चम्पिहि ॥८५॥  
कम्पसएहिं कएहिंवि किन्तेहिं कएहिं सत्तरहिंएहिं ।  
एकं पि खु तं किम्पइ चह विहिं पत्त कुम्भेण ॥८६॥  
दिहे ममे जो वि इ सो वि इ पायडइ निभयववसा[34]यं ।  
केणावि इ प याइ (?) . . . . . कुम्भो क्षिप पयटो ॥८७॥  
जार् अइसयहीसा प्पुण बोझिउं पि न इ जार् ।  
कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं तह वि इ लहुइकसा पुइइ ॥८८॥  
धवला[35]ण गई एसा सुपा बि न सुपन्ति उचह भवसत्तं ।  
कुम्भस मयस वि कप्पं पि भुषणं समुव्वइइ ॥८९॥  
गरुपाण गई एसा चन्ते वि [सुप]न्ति नेप चत्तायं ।  
कुम्भो मयो वि पडिं न इ कइइ कइ व धरणीए ॥९०॥  
उव्वूटो भुषणभरो सुहिंसा धरणी कया जणेण समं ।  
एन्तेहिं पि समं जं इइइ होउ तं कुम्भे ॥९१॥  
उव्वूटो चन्तेहिंवि भारो धरणीए किं तु मिल्हिएहिं ।  
एकलभुषण घडणा लम्भ[36]वि कुम्भस उप्पसा ॥९२॥  
सेसकिरिक्कुम्भदिग्गयपमुहाणं निभइ ववसिणं लोपा ।  
अप्पा परस कळे पाजकां जेहिं तह खविणो ॥९३॥  
किरिसेसकमठदिग्गयपमुहाणं विभइ ववसिणं लोपा ।  
चइऊण निभयसोक्खं अप्पा जेहिं तह खविणो ॥९४॥  
कुम्भेण किं त्य विहिं लोपो स[37]लइइ लोपभणिए[ण] ।  
जेण ससेसा पुइइ वूटा न इ उचह नीसेसा ॥९५॥  
लोपाणं कुम्भस य जम्भो जम्भप्फलो विहाइ महं [1]  
कळेण पुणो दोह वि विवरोधं चन्तरं गरुधं ॥९६॥  
विरएउ धुधं देखो भुषणस वि उप्परे तहा वि वला ।  
निभचरिएहिं पेच्छइ कुम्भो क्षिप उप्परे जायो ॥९७॥

८६. The first verse is metrically quite incorrect. Read 'सहहिं कएहिं वि किं तेहिं कएहिं', Gr. § 180.

८८. Read की.

८८. For कप्पं compare note on B. 45.

९१. Read एहिं तेहिं.

९२. Read असेहिं वि, Gr. § 180. For एक्कं see note on A. 17. लम्भवि, Gr. § 588.

९३. Read जेहिं or जेहि, Gr. § 180.

९५. Read य instead of त्य; compare A. 58.

९६. Read दीइइ.

९७. Read वला.

[38] जइ जगो चिष लम्भइ ता लम्भउ कमठजग्यसारिण्यो ।  
 अफलेणं अफेणं लहेण व होइ न हु कळं ॥८८॥  
 रे कमठ तुज्ज गोत्ते के न कृष्ण के न अस्ति होचिंति ।  
 सहेण पुण भणामो तुज्ज सरिण्यो तुमं चेष ॥८९॥  
 यो कमठो चिष जाणो जाएहिं वि किं जकेहिं अकेहिं ।  
 जग्यस्य किं पि [39] सरिसं जीवतेहिं न जेहिं कयं ॥९०॥  
 जइ जगो चिष लम्भइ ता लम्भउ कमठजग्यसारिण्यो ।  
 लहेण व अफेणं न हु कळं तेण न हु कळं ॥९१॥  
 पसवण्णलेण गम्भा सविष्ठा सयल्लण एत्थ महिल्लण ।  
 सच्चिमयो पुण पसवो जाणो कमठस्य जणणीए ॥९२॥  
 इधराण पसविष्ठा[40]ण वि गम्भा सविष्ठा हु सयल्लमहिल्लण ।  
 सहेण पसविष्ठा पुण एक चिष कमठ तुह जणणी ॥९३॥  
 अन्नायो पसविष्ठायो वि नेष पसूपाड ताण गम्भसुई ।  
 जाया सच्चयसवा एक चिष कमठिणी भुषणे ॥९४॥  
 भुषणे वि जा न जाणो सरिसो ता किं करेउ सो वरणी ।  
 एको चिष वइइ भरं [41] कुम्भो वीचं अपावन्तो ॥९५॥  
 एकल्लसुरिणी सो चिष भारेण समं पि एत्थ जो वीचं ।  
 उव्वइइ उव्वइ भारं अणो उण भणियमेत्तेण ॥९६॥  
 कुम्भस्य वि वीसामो द्विजो एकेण भोग्गराएण ।  
 हरिज्ज वेरिष्ठासं कुम्भसयं विरइणं तेण ॥९७॥  
 गाहासयं न एषं गाहाण सएहिं केवलि[42]हिं कयं ।  
 सयवारं एकेकं पठइ जणो जेण तेण सयं ॥९८॥  
 एषाईं सयाईं तए गाहाण सएहिं नेष रइष्ठाईं ।  
 सयवारं आवत्ती जेणं एषाण तेण सए ॥९९॥ ॥ ॥  
 ॥ इति सङ्काशजगन्निद्राजपरमेष्ठनीभोक्तृविरचितं चतुर्निर्गुण्यतम् ॥ ॥  
 ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ ॥

८८. Read लम्भइ and लम्भउ.

१००. Read जाएहिं वि किं जकेहिं, and in the second verse जेहिं or जेहि.

१०१. Read लम्भइ and लम्भउ.

१०२. Read गम्भा.

१०३. Read गम्भा.

१०४. Read अन्नाड 'पाड and गम्भ'.

१०५. वरणी=वरकः, Gr. § 80. Read वीचं.

१०६. For एक्कं see note on A. 17. Read वीचं.

१०८. Read सएहिं, 'केहिं, or twice 'हि.

१०९. Read एषाईं सयाईं and सएहिं, or the same without Annavāra. सय must be taken in the sense of सयाईं.

Compare वइए, A. 47 (with note), and गइए, B. 34. तए=लया is rather singular here, since Bhōja has not been addressed in this ode.



## TEXT OF B.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

भुषणां वहर कन्हो वुम्भइ तस्मै निभइ कंकालं ।

हेलाए जेण सो इह तुम्हाण सिवो सिवं देउ ॥१॥

कुलगिरिणो लहुवविष्णो जलनिहिणो याहिष्णो सकज्जेण ।

पच्छा धरिष्णो धरणी सुवहा जेणं हु सा होइ ॥२॥

कुलगिरिधरणीजलनिहिमेरुपमुहा नरेन्द इह [2] पढमं [1]

लहु[व]विज्जणं पच्छा धरिष्णं भुषणं पि हेलाए ॥३॥

धरणि शिष ता गरुह ते गरुषा जे वहन्ति तं पि पुणो ।

लहुवविष्णं पढमं चिष्ण एणं सयलं तप्पो वूढं ॥४॥

धवली सो शिष वुम्भइ भरधारणवावडेहिं [3] समयं पि ।

उच्चलइ जो हु भरं सो एक्को भीष्ण तं चेष्ण ॥५॥

लहुवविज्जणं सयलं भुषणं भरधारणहिं समयं पि ।

पच्छा वुम्भइ भूवइ को हु गुणो चडइ इष्णविहिण ॥६॥

इह अप्पस्स सयासा वुम्भइ लहुष्णं इमेण विहिण ॥

भण चडइ को इह गुणो भूवइ धरणीधरंतस्स ॥७॥

धरणि तुहं गरुषत्तं कुम्पप्पमुहेहिं एत्थ जं दिस्सं ।

लीलाए तं हु हरिष्णं भीष्णं इष्णधरंतं ॥८॥

भारस्स इह गरुत्तं [4] धवलाहासेहिं चडइ चडवविष्णं ।

सखिमधवलेण हिष्णो भारी वि हु लहइ लहुवत्तं ॥९॥

कुम्मेण तुह गरुत्तं करचरणविवज्जिण वहुविष्णं ।

पच्छा सेसमुहेहिं भीष्णं तं कयं पयडं ॥१०॥

१. Read °षाह, लपही, वुम्भइ.

२. लहुववइ is a denominative from लहु according to Gr. § 559, = 'लघ्वापयति'; compare § 552 and लहुवी = लघ्नी in § 139. It means 'to make light,' 'to reduce in weight,' 'to relieve.' For याहिष्णो compare षाह in Gr. § 89; it means 'they have been fixed, made stationary.' हु is wrong for लु.

३. °पमुहा is Acc. Plur.; Gr. § 89, 367A.

४. धवली, Défin. 5, 57, = वी यस्यां जातावुत्तमः. Read °हेहि. उच्चलइ, 'to remove,' Gr. § 488, 553.

५. Read °एहि and वुम्भइ. For इष्ण° compare Gr. § 116.

६. Read वुम्भइ. अप्पस्स सयासा लहुष्णं = चात्मनः सकाशाद्भुजं, 'something lighter than oneself,' compare B. 18. चडइ here and in A. 9 means 'to be found,' 'to be,' compare Hc. 4, 206, *Materialien*, s. v. *cadai*, and संचडइ, B. 17.

७. Read °हेहि, and लु instead of हु. For इष्ण° see note on B. 6.

८. धवली = धवलाभासः. चडवविष्णं is a double causative from चट (note on B. 7), as दवावेइ from दा (Gr. § 552); चडइ चट° means 'it becomes increased,' = वहुविष्णं of the next stanza. Read लहुवत्तं.

सञ्चेण वि अइगवत्था धरणी पडिहाइ चिन्तमाणाण ।  
 इह पुण एसो कलिष्ठा पडिहायइ भोअ कह लहु[5]आ ॥११॥  
 चिरपरिचिन्नाण पासा उहालसु लहुववेसु तह धरणिं ।  
 तह वि तह शिअ रत्ता अन्नसु मुहं न पुसएइ ॥१२॥  
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपसुहा एसो भारो इ तुम्ह पडिहन्तो । ●  
 पुज्जइ सव्वं दिठं तुम्हाण वि गरुडमा सुणिष्ठा ॥१३॥  
 तुम्हाण एस भारो पडिहन्तो कुम्भसेसकिरिपसुहा ।  
 [6] पेच्छइ इमस्स भारं भूराओ भणइ विहसन्तो ॥१४॥  
 भावव्वहणसमत्था अज्जावहि जे जयन्ति विक्खाया ।  
 ते वि उअ हासपयविं कुम्भप्पसुहा तए नीष्ठा ॥१५॥  
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं पसुवग्गे निवडिअस्स पडिहत्तं ।  
 भुवणेअधवल तं चिअ तए कहं कह णु अवहरिअं ॥१६॥  
 निअगरुडमाए लहु[7]अं भुअणं काऊण वुअए पच्छा ।  
 तुह नहुअत्तमेअं अन्नस्स न कह व संचडइ ॥१७॥  
 धरणि तुमं अइगरुइ तुम्ह सयासाओ कच्छओ गरुओ ।  
 भोएण सो वि जित्ति गरुआहिअि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥१८॥  
 असरिच्छं धरणिभरं धारय वग्गेण सह वहंतेण ।  
 अत्थि गरुमाण गरुआ जणवाओ इह तए हरिओ [8] ॥१९॥  
 अइदुव्वहो इ भारो धरणि ति जणस्स भोअ पडिहन्तं ।  
 कह अज्जमेण सो शिअ तए हिओ तं धरंतेण ॥२०॥  
 कुम्भस्स सो इ दप्पो माहप्पो सो इ सेसपसुहाण ।  
 धरणिं धरंतएणं कह णु तए सो इ उप्पुसिओ ॥२१॥  
 धरणी तए इ धरिआ गरुअत्तं कच्छवस्स अवहरिअं ।  
 अज्जुअंतेण व काइअ तस्स त[9]ए पाडिआ वट्टा ॥२२॥  
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपसुहा सञ्चेण पसु मए इ विक्खाया ।  
 अन्नइ हिअयं ताणं न आइ सयसिअरं कह णु ॥२३॥

१२. उहालसु, Gr. § 553.

१२, १४. पडिहन्ती=प्रतिभान् in the sense of प्रतिभाति.

१५. अजन्ति=जगति, Gr. § 395.

१६. For णु compare note on A. 5.

१७. Read वुअए. नहुअत्त apparently belongs to लहुली or लहुली, 'tortoise,' Déf. 4, 20: "This thy tortoisanship is not at all found with any other."

१८. Read सयासाउ and compare note on B. 7. जित्ति, Gr. § 194. Read नहुआहिं वि and compare Gr. § 369. For अत्थि see note on A. 48.

२१. For उप्पुसिओ compare note on A. 53.

२२. Read काइं व. For वट्टा see note on A. 64.

२३. आइ=जायते, Gr. § 487. सय=सतमीरकारं.

धरणिभरे तद् कलिह की चरमदधो वि पलहुको कुम्भो ।  
 मणुभारंभवलको को खायद् लिखए इधरे ॥२४॥  
 लहुवविजणं भुषणं पच्छा एधतधो वहन्तेण ।  
 को [10] गारधो हु धण्यो को तस्सिं कहसु निवविधो ॥२५॥  
 लहुवविजणं कुम्भं मयं धरणीए पुण वहन्तेण ।  
 मयस्य तद् य ताणं वहुत्तं कं तए विहिणं ॥२६॥  
 वहुत्तणस्य कज्जे जाधो कुम्भो हु एत्थ धरणीए ।  
 तीए लहुभत्तकज्जे भीम तुमं एत्थ उप्पको ॥२७॥  
 जं इह पसुहिं दिक्कं केधिरयाणं हु तस्स निव्वा[11]ही ।  
 पुहद् तुहं वहुत्तं भीएणं भज्ज पायडिणं ॥२८॥  
 लहुवविजणं धरणिं पच्छा धरिभाए को गुणो चडद् ।  
 फलकज्जे सब्बो वि हु कज्जाहं भोभ विरएद् ॥२९॥  
 कुलगिरिणो लहुभविष्ठा लहुभविष्ठा सायरा तद्देभ मही ।  
 पच्छा भारो कलिधो लहुउव्वहणेण किं होद् ॥३०॥  
 पुहद् [12] गरुभत्तणं तुह केहिम्वि धीवज्जिएहिं वहुविणं ।  
 भीएण तस्सि कलिए भत्ताणं पेच्छ कोहेण ॥३१॥  
 गरुभत्तणं पसुहिं धरणीए जं हु एत्थ वहुविणं ।  
 तं पयडिज्जण पोरिस्समव्वं भीएण लहुवविणं ॥३२॥  
 को वि गरुभत्तकज्जे धरणीए एत्थ निव्विधो विहिण ।  
 भको हु को वि विहिणो तीए वि हु क[13]हुदमाकज्जे ॥३३॥  
 एणं विभ तुह कज्जं जे सत्तः लहुभवेसि ते चेभ ।  
 एणसिं किज्जन्ते साह कज्जं किं तुहं फलद् ॥३४॥  
 धरणिमुहे सयले वि हु लहुभत्तवद् कज्जणीए किं भज्जिमे ।  
 तुहे वि कुणह एणं पिसुष्ठा सण किं कज्जिन्ति ॥३५॥

२४. वल्लो=वाचदे, Pāyā. 247; compare वल्लार, Hc. 4, 206. I am not sure about the meaning of खायद् and hence of the sense of the whole second verse.

२५. For लहु° see note on B. 2. गारधो, Gr. § 61, 357. धण्यो, Gr. § 401.

२६. समयं=समक, i.e. समं, 'together with.' वाणं, viz. the tortoise and the earth.

२८. Read पसुहिं. केधिर°, Gr. § 149. Read खु. पायडिणं=प्रकटितं, Gr. § 77.

२९. Read केहिं वि °एहिं. कोहेण=कौतुहेण, Hc. 4, 422, 9.

३२. Read 'खु'. भज्जं, Gr. § 181.

३३. लहुदमा, Gr. § 358.

३४. गहए, as वहुए in A. 47, is quite a singular form of the Nomin. Plur. instead of गहए and वहुए. किज्जन्ते is the Loc. of the Participle Pres. Pass., = क्रियमाणे. साह, Gr. § 264.

३५. °मुहे सयले are Acc. Plur.; compare Gr. § 357. कज्जणीए=कज्जणा ?

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H. C

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अज्जावहि गदधत्तं धरणीसखिनाहपव्वएसुं ठिअम् ।  
 गदधत्तयस्स [14] नामं एहिं ताणं हुं अल्लविअं ॥१६॥  
 गदधत्तयं हुं गदधं एको वड्डिउं न जाव सखेइ ।  
 ता पुव्वेहिं विहत्तं तं पि तए लहुइअं कइ सु ॥१७॥  
 मह गदधत्तं सा तइ य गदइमा दो वि तइ य हरिआइ ।  
 अहरडिरलहरिआहिं सरिआहो निअइ रोवेइ ॥१८॥  
 तइ उप्पमे भूवइ गदधत्तं ताव वि अल्लिअं जाव ।  
 पस[15]रंतनिअरनिहा कुलगिरिणी ताव रोवन्ति ॥१९॥  
 जय पुरिसाण हिअइ गदधत्तं तव महिलिआण कइ ।  
 अणयअं पुइइ वि हुं रोवइ सरिआण मंगीए ॥२०॥  
 धरणीए तली कुम्भो कीलप्पसुहा वि लज्जिआ लुका ।  
 जा लहुअत्तं तीए पुइइए कयं हुं भीएण ॥२१॥  
 जा मरिज्जयं धरिआ कुम्भप्पसुइहिं क[16]इ वि इइ धरणी ।  
 सा विहिआ खेज्जणयं भोअ तए इइ धरन्तेण ॥२२॥  
 धरणीए समं धरिआ कुलगिरिपसुहा हुं जाव तेण समं ।  
 जलनिहिआ तुडेअं अज्जं वेला तुइं गहिआ ॥२३॥  
 पुइइए गदधत्तं अज्जावहि नेअ केअ वि निरुइ ।  
 धरिज्जण तए एअं लहुइलहुअ त्ति नाम कयं ॥२४॥  
 तइमभिअकप्परे[17]अं धरणी एइ धारिआ कइ कइ व ।  
 सा नीसंका अज्जं इसीइ गिरिनिअरनिहिण ॥२५॥  
 लहुआविआ हुं धरणी कुलगिरिणी खविआ सरीनाहो ।  
 अणगहिरो निअविओ कअ निमित्तअ मह कइसु ॥२६॥  
 धरणी अज्जं हिहा तइ धरिआ भोअ मअए एअं ।  
 पुरिसोत्तिमेअ रइअं लहुअत्तं गदइमअ[18]हिअं ॥२७॥  
 कमठो धरेइ धरणिं आएणं गदइमा वि अइलहुइ ।  
 तइ धरिआ पुण सा वि हुं पेअसु कं गदइमं पत्ता ॥२८॥

१६. Read ठिअं, एहिं, सु, अल्लिअं.

१८. निअइ, Hc. 4, 181.

२१. लुका, Gr. § 568. Read सु.

२४. I think we must write लहुइलहुअ=लुआ and translate this by 'lighter than light.'

२५. कप्परे=the shell of the tortoise; compare A. 89. एइ, s.e. आ=एआ, Gr. § 263.

२६. For खविआ from अणय (root खि) compare अणय, Gr. § 548.

२७. हिहा, D66in. 8, 67. Read 'अ'. गदइमं=गदइमं अअ, Gr. § 178.

२८. आएणं, Gr. § 429.

१७. Read सु and पुव्वेहि. विहत्तं=विनज्जं.

२०. For अणयअं see note on A. 40.

२२. Read 'सुइहि'. खेज्ज, Gr. § 206.

लहुभत्तं तुह दिक् मा मन्सु धरणि भोभराण ।  
 तेण धरिष्ठा सि एणं गरुभाण वि गरुमं देह ॥४८॥  
 कुम्भविणासे खुहिष्ठा अज्जावहि संकिष्ठा ठिष्ठा धरणी ।  
 तद् धरिष्ठा पु[19]ण एण्हिं सप्पसरा पुण व सप्पसरा ॥५०॥  
 लहुभाविष्ठा वि पुह्णं अण्यं लहुभाविष्ठां न मन्नेह ।  
 न गणंति किं पि द्दए रत्तुम्भत्ताओ महिलाओ ॥५१॥  
 लहुभविष्ठा वि हु ह्णं भोभ तए सुण्ह गरुभत्ताणं ।  
 महिलाण पिण्ण कयं सयलं लडहं पडीहाह ॥५२॥  
 कुम्भेण धरा धरिष्ठा लहुभं अण्यं सया [20] वि मन्न्तो ।  
 तद् धरिष्ठा पुण एसा दूणं अत्ताणयं लहह ॥५३॥  
 ओ गारओ हु दिओ पसूहिं सो होह एत्थ केरिसओ ।  
 लहुभत्तणं तद् कयं पडिहाह महीए अहगरुभं ॥५४॥  
 लहुभत्तं गरुभत्तं भारस्स चडेह धारण कयं ।  
 गरुभविष्ठा कुम्भेण धरणी लहुभाविष्ठा हु तए ॥५५॥  
 गरुभत्त[21]णं पि दिक् पसूहिं पडिहाह लहुभम्भहिष्ठां ।  
 तद् दिक् लहुभत्तं पडिहायह गरुभम्भहिष्ठां ॥५६॥  
 मरिक्कण ओ धरिक्कह भारो हह कुम्भ सो हु केरिसओ ।  
 अहपलहुभाए तुम्हे इमीए कह कायरा जाया ॥५७॥  
 गरुभं लहुभत्तं उभणीणं गरुमं पि हह देह ।  
 इभ सायरपसुहा[22]णं हिष्ठाए खेओ न तण्णओ वि ॥५८॥  
 दाजणं लहुभत्तं सह धरणीगरुभमा हु वहुविष्ठा ।  
 भूवह पुह्णं तए इभ तीए वडिओ हरिसो ॥५९॥  
 पेच्छंताण सरुभं पुह्णंसरिनाहकुलगिरिसुहाण ।  
 गरुभत्तं पडिहायह तद् कलिण कह णु लहुभत्तं ॥६०॥  
 लोभ पसिहीए कए गरुभत्तं पलहुए वि प[23]यडेह ।  
 भारे कह तं सि पुणो गरुभं लहुभं हु पायडसि ॥६१॥  
 एभाए गरुभत्तं तुम्हेहिं कुम्भ पयडिणं एत्थ ।  
 खम्भत्तोलिष्ठाए पेच्छह रे गौरवमिमीए ॥६२॥

५०. Read एण्हिं. सप्पसरा=सप्पसरा.

५१. Read °ताड °बाड.

५२. लडहं=रत्तं, Délin. 7, 17.

५४. Read पसूहि.

५६. The Anusvāra in दिक् is not certain. Read पसूहि and twice °अहिष्ठा, and compare note on B. 47.

६१. लोभ must be taken as Nominative according to Gr. § 364. The Anusvāra in गरुभं is not quite certain. Read णु instead of इ. पायडसि Gr. § 77, 491.

६२. Read गौरव°.

केत्तिअमेत्ते भारे कण्ह तए पोरिसं पमोत्तूण ।  
 रुअसयाइं कयाइं लोए लहुवाविओ अप्पा ॥६३॥  
 पुहइं चेलयसरिसा कुलगिरि[24]पमुहा तहेअ पडिआणं ।  
 तोलिअइ गहअत्तं भुएण एअं तुमं कुअसि ॥६४॥  
 भारअ वहअकअ पट्टी सीसं इइं कयं विहिआ ।  
 मअिवलओ व्व धरिअइ भारो एसो नवा वडा ॥६५॥  
 अं अं गहअं अं अं च दुअइं अं च अं च अणसअं ।  
 तं तं कुअंतएअं कण्हो लहुवाविओ भोअ ॥६६॥  
 इमिणा [25] गहअत्तेणं पुहइ तए गहइमा इमा लहा ।  
 पेअेसु पलहुअत्तं असिणा अप्पअ तुलिआए ॥६७॥  
 मा मअउ अलमअो मा सरिनाहा मिलंतु गोत्तअ ।  
 इअ तं दयाए धरणिं लोअअ इमअ उअइसि ॥६८॥  
 धरणी धरंगअसमा ककरसरिसा तहेअ कुलगिरिणी ।  
 [26] . . . . . हीभारे कलिए तए भोअ ॥६९॥  
 सरिनाहपुहइपमुहा कडा गहअत्तणेअ इइ लोए ।  
 गहआणं लहुवणे किं हु फलं तुअ सिअइ ॥७०॥  
 आरोविअवउत्ते भारे अप्पअ गारवं लोआ ।  
 देन्ति तुमं पुण साअसु विवरीअं ताण ववइरसि ॥७१॥  
 लहुइं करेसु अ [27] . . . . . कुअसु अअं पि ।  
 तइ सा तहा वि रत्ता सयलं लडइं तुइं गणइ ॥७२॥  
 काअणं लहुअत्तं भोअं अप्पं तुइं पयासंती ।  
 धरणी करगहकए अप्पं तुइ भोअ ओपेइ ॥७३॥  
 धरणीए लहुअत्तं तं इइ निअवसु कुअसु अं महिअं ।  
 तुइ सत्तीए इमीए अअं गहअत्तं च . . . ॥७४॥  
 [28] . . . . गोरविअं लहुअं विअलं महिं धरंतेण ।  
 कइ सु तए अइओअं अओ शिअ गारओ दिओ ॥७५॥

६३. Read कण्ह and सयाइं.

६५. वडा = वरमा; see note on A. 64.

६७. Between सि and आ of असिणा a kind of symbol is inserted.

७०. Read सु instead of हु.

७३. पयासंती = प्रकाशयन्ती, Gr. § 553. ओपेइ, Gr. § 104.

७४. निअवसु, Gr. § 553. महिअं = काङ्क्षितं; compare note on Hc. 4, 129. च . . . probably = अहिअं. compare B. 7, 9.

७५. अइओअं = अलहुतम् or अवाच्यम्, Pāyā. 165; Dēśn. 3, 14.

६४. पडिआणं = पतितानी belongs to गहअत्तं.

६६. अणसअं = अणसम्. Read कण्हो.



मा मन्त्रसु धरणि तुमं मट्टिभारो हु जं महं गरुषी ।  
 भोएण तं सि धरिषा एसो भारो तुहं गरुषी ॥७६॥  
 गरुषत्तं तं मन्त्रसि धरणि इहं जं पसुहिं तुह दिव ।  
 तुह ग [29] . . . . . तुमं धरिषा ॥७७॥  
 जलनिहिणो थाहविषा लहुअविषा कुलगिरी तहा धरणी ।  
 अज्ज वि तं किं काहिसि न याणिमी भोअ मह कहसु ॥७८॥  
 पट्टीए वहइ कुम्भो सेसो सीलेण तह रणण किरी ।  
 पअं तं वहु मन्त्रसु इअ भीषो जं करे धरइ ॥७९॥  
 अइभारिषा मए कि [30] . . . . . [क]मठ मा गज्ज ।  
 उव्वहसु पेच्छ धरिषा भोएणं कह इमा अज्ज ॥८०॥  
 मा कमठ वहसु गव्वं मा तं इह सेस उत्तुणो होसु ।  
 धरणिभरो केत्तुलओ गरुषाहिम्वि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥८१॥  
 कलिअं भोएण महिं दइणं मा हु सुणह लहुअ त्ति ।  
 कुम्भसुहा गरुषत्तं एआए तु [31] . . . . . [॥८२॥] ।  
 लहुअविउं गउरविउं भोअ तुमं चेअ एत्थ जाणेसि ।  
 लहुअविआ सा वि मही वहुविआ सा वि भत्तीए ॥८३॥  
 धरणि पसुहिं दिवं गरुषत्तं तुह विहाइ केरिसयं ।  
 लहुअन्तेणं दिवं भोएणं तं पि केरिसयं ॥८४॥  
 हरिज्जणं पसुहत्था भोएणं धरणि जं तुमं धरिषा ।  
 ह . . [32] . . . . . सह सअं तं तुहं दाउं ॥८५॥  
 दुहत्तं न य विरयसि जंपसि न य किं पि कुणसि नं विहं ।  
 मउणेण वि गरुषत्तं गरुषाणं काह तुमं हरसि ॥८६॥  
 लहुअविआ हु धरणीकुलगिरिणो सायरा वि थाहविआ ।  
 एत्तुलएण कएणं किं विहिअं होइ मह कहसु ॥८७॥  
 ह . . [33] . . . . . काज्ज कुलगिरिप्यसुहो ।  
 भोअ तए पठमं चिअ जह इअ वहसु तह एहिं ॥८८॥  
 कमठकडाहठिआए गरुषत्तं तुम्ह पुहइ केरिसयं ।  
 सोहिअभोअभुआए केरिसयं तं पि मह कहसु ॥८९॥

७७. Read पसुहि.

७८. For थाहविआ see note on B. 2. ७९. एत्थसुहण. Read वहु.

८१. उत्तुणी=दुतः, Défin. 1, 99; *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 18, 1. Read गरुषाहिं वि and see note on B. 18.

८३. वहुविआ=वह्नापिता from वही=महान्, Défin. 7, 29, which has been retranslated into Sanskrit by वहु.

८८. Read एहिं.

धरणी ता लहुवविषा कुलगिरिणी सायरा इमं नय[णं] ।

[34] . . . . . तुह हिषयं कह व न हु धाह ॥८०॥

वहुत्तं पसुदिन्नं अवहरिज्जं महीए भोएण ।

अन्नं चिन्नं गरुत्तं दिन्नं जं माह न हु हिषए ॥८१॥

केरिसयं पसुदिन्नं दिन्नं पुरिसिहिं केरिसं होइ ।

गरुत्तं धरणि तुमं साहसु कह केण गौरविन्नं ॥८२॥

धरणिमुहा लहुव[35][विष्ठा] . . . . . ए[?] वि सयला वि ।

पच्छा भारो वूढो नरिन्द सच्चं नरेन्दो सि ॥८३॥

गरुत्तं गरुत्तं हरिज्जं रोविन्नं हु तं अप्पे ।

परगरुत्तमाए गरुत्तो अप्पा भण केरिसो होइ ॥८४॥

जो अप्पस्य सयासा भारो गरुत्तो हु वुत्तए सो हु ।

धरणिवहणेण भूवइ को तुक्क [36] . . . . . ॥८५॥

कुम्भकिरिसेसदिग्गयपसुहे जिषिज्जं भोष सयलपसू ।

कं पोरिसं विट्ठं पसुजिणणे होइ मह कहसु ॥८६॥

कुलगिरिसायरपुहईपसुहे लहुववसि को निवारइ ।

परलाहवकरणेणं अप्पे भण को गुणो चडइ ॥८७॥

कह कह वि मर [37] . . . . . एत्थ जाव सुहा ।

लहुवाविज्जं सा कह वलयस्य तए समुवूढा ॥८८॥

अज्जावहि गरुत्तं लोए जाणं सुदूरमारुटं ।

ताण वि कह लहुत्तं केहूरं पेच्छ आरुटं ॥८९॥

लहुवावसु तं धरणिं पिट्ठसु दण्णेण कुणसु अन्नं पि ।

जं रुद्धं तं विरयसु तइ र [38] . . . . . णि ॥९०॥

कमठकडाहं फई किरिणी दाढा गया हु सयसाहं ।

जोए भरेण महीए खमागगे धरसि कह तं पि ॥९१॥

गरुत्तं गरुत्तं अवहरिज्जं नेष कह व फिट्ठइ ।

तन्नास्य जिष लहुत्तं इभराण पुणो तइ जेष ॥९२॥

८१. Read पुरिसिहिं and नीरविन्नं.

८४. Read सु instead of हु.

८६. विट्ठं Gr. § 223, 236, 565. जिष is derived from the stem of the present जिष्-, Gr. § 473.

८७. For चडइ compare note on B. 7.

८८. Read कहसं व.

८९. केहूरं, Gr. § 149.

९०. For पिट्ठसु see Weber on Hāla, 171.

१०१. फई = फणं, Dēśin. 6, 96, = कर्पणं कर्पणरीरं कर्पण. दाढा, Gr. § 76. नया सयसाहं = नया : सयसाहं, 'they grieve at their fate; compare Dēśin. 1, 6.

१०२. फिट्ठइ, Hā. 4, 177. Read तं तस्य.

तद् धरिषो धरणिभरो लङ्घो वलय[39]श्च तुह भुए सह्र ।  
 कुम्भपमुहेहिं सो वि हु चडिषो भारो व्व पडिहाइ ॥१०३॥  
 धरणी सहावगरुषा भोएणं धारिष त्ति अइगरुषा ।  
 एन्हिं इमीए समुहं को पेच्छह पेच्छिउत्तरइ ॥१०४॥  
 अणिमालहिमाइगुणे तुह आयत्ते मए हु विवायं ।  
 लङ्घाविषा वि धरणी क[40]ह सु तए सा वि गौरविषा ॥१०५॥  
 लङ्घाविषा हु धरणी लङ्घविषं मन्नए न अप्पाणं ।  
 तद् लङ्घइष त्ति एसा गरुषं अत्ताणयं सुवइ ॥१०६॥  
 दिवो वि हु कनेणं इमीए इह गारुषो हु खोषोए ।  
 पडिहाइ नेष गरुषो लङ्घत्तं तद् कयं गरुषं ॥१०७॥  
 मिलवि [41] पसुहिं धरिषा संकिषवित्तासकंपिरो थका ।  
 धरणी कपुम्मुक्का अज्जपरं भोष संपत्ता ॥१०८॥  
 कुलगिरिषो भूमिहरा सयलां वि हु लङ्घइषा इहं जेष ।  
 तेण सयं निम्माविषं एषं सिरिभोअराएण ॥१०९॥ ॥

#### No. 26.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELBORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 36 dates of Chôla kings. The most important of them is No. 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr. Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parāntaka I. and, together with my date No. 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. Of the other dates, one (No. 102) is of the reign of Rājendra-Chôla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Rājārāja II.; 3 dates (Nos. 103-105) belong to Vikrama-Chôla, 8 (Nos. 107-114) to Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. (Virarājendra-Chôladēva, Tribhuvanaviradēva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Rājārāja III., and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Rājendra-Chôla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained; at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Rājendra-Chôla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March<sup>1</sup> and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Rājārāja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1146; Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. between (approximately) the 6th<sup>3</sup> and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Rājārāja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.<sup>4</sup>

१०३. Read वलय व. सह्र, Hc. 4, 100. Read °हेहिं.

१०४. Read एहिं phih समुहं=समुहं. Read पेच्छहं तरइ and compare note on A. 50.

१०५. Read गौर°.

१०६. Read कएहिं.

<sup>1</sup> See No. 102.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 106.

१०८. मिलवि, Gr. § 588. For वक्ता see note on A. 40.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 106.

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. 129 and 119.

B.

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गमोतुंमृति  
हमदपिआं  
कुआकिलप  
पुदंउपग  
निमित्तस  
वपिआमि  
पुतामुण  
पु४॥नदु  
लदुआपु  
मादकुनगि  
तिसापक  
मानवोवडा  
आंउतं  
आपोविम  
ताअउपा  
फुलासा  
एतदंउकु  
आदिमि  
तांउकपि  
ताविआ  
मांमादि  
मंमंमृदि  
उअपा  
मयपुदं  
दुअताक  
दपिअंन  
कापच  
ताविदु  
तिममं



Mr. Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the king Parāntaka I., which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. and Rājādhirāja II., because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr. Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

#### A.—PARANTAKA I.

##### 101.—In the Śivalōkanātha temple at Grāmam.<sup>1</sup>

16 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kali[y\*]uga-va[r\*]sham nālayirattu nār[pa]-  
 17 ttu nālu Madirakonḍa kō=Pparakēsaripaṇmaṅ-  
 18 ku yāṇḍu 36āvadu Kali[y\*]u . . . [ṇṇa] nā!  
 19 paṇḍāṅgu-nūṛā[y\*]irattu eḷu[ba] . . . . . [i]rattu  
 20 muppattu ēlu . . . . .  
 22 . . . . . i[v]v-āṭṭai Ma-  
 23 [gara-nā]yaṅṅu=Chchani-kkilamai perṇa <sup>3</sup>Iravadi-n[ā].

“(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 36th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madirai,—on the fourteen-hundred-thousand, seven[ty] . . . [thousand] thirty-seventh day . . . . . Kaliyuga . . . . . on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Ma[kara] in this year.”

For the current year 4044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, which by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which [the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha ended 18 h. 21 m., while] the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-samkrānti, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, had taken place 8 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A.D. 942, when the *ahargana*, calculated by Warren's Table, was 1477014d. 8 h. 33 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 1477015th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943, the 1477037th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol. VII. p. 1, I have stated that between A.D. 900 and 985 the Chōla date No. 55, which is of the 40th year of the reign of Parāntaka I., must correspond to either the 24th July A.D. 919 or the 25th July A.D. 946. The present date No. 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A.D. 943, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No. 55. And the two dates together prove that Parāntaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chōla date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No. 6 of Ś. 1030, and No. 16 of Ś. 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarājendra, which does not admit of verification.

#### B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

##### 102.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.<sup>2</sup>

1 Sva[sti] śrī [||\*] Tiru maṇṇ[i] vaḷara . . . . . kō-  
 [Ppa][ra\*]kēsaripa[nma]r-āṇa śrī-Rājēnta(ndra)-Chōladēvaṅku [yāṇḍu 5āvadu]

<sup>1</sup> No. 785 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Iravadi*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

2 . . . . . ivv-āpdu Mēsha-nā[ya\*]rū Śev[vā][y\*]-kkiḷamai  
perṛa Śadaiya-ttīr[unā]!.<sup>1</sup>

"In [the 5th year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarma *alias* the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,— on the auspicious(?) day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year."

According to the result previously<sup>2</sup> found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I., this date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1016 or A.D. 1017. In A.D. 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday on which the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitra ended 21 h. 33 m., while] the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system from 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m. to 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 6 h. 34 m. to 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.— I can give no special reason why the day should be described as 'the auspicious day of Śatabhishaj.'

The date would prove that the reign of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D. 1012.

#### C.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

##### 103.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī ||\*] Pū-mālai miḍaindu . . . . .
- 5 . . . . . kō-Pparakēsaripanmar-āṇa Tribhu[va\*]nachakravattiga! śrī-Vikrama-  
Śōḷadēvar[k\*]ku y[ā]pdu
- 6 nālāvadu Isha[bha-n]āyarru [p]ū[rvva]-pakshattu tri[tī]yayum [Bu]dan-[ki]ḷamai-  
yu[m\*] perṛa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarma *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishṭha) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h. 29 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.

##### 104.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Pū-mādu pu[ṇa]ra . . . . .
- 2 . . . . . kō-Pparakēsaripan[ma]r-āṇa Tiribuvanachchakravattiga! [Vi]kkirama-  
[Ś]ōḷadēvarkku yā-
- 3 nḍu [n]ālāvadu Rishabha-nāyar[ru] a[para-pakshat]tu [trit]i[yayum Budha]n-kiḷamai-  
yam perṛa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarma *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,— on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

There can be no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the reading in line 3 of the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Venkayya the reading to all appearance is as given above, but he adds that *śrī* and *ad* may be intended.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

105.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śr[i] [||\*] Pū-mādu puṇara . . . . .  
 2 . . . . . kō=Pparakēsaripanmar-āna Tribhuvanaoh[cha]k[ka]rava[tti]ga!  
 Vi[k]kīrama-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu Sāvadu Śīnga-nāyaṅṅu [a]pa[ra-ra]kkattu<sup>2</sup>  
 tītiyaiyum Śevvāy-kkīlāmaiyeum peṇṇa Rēvatī-nā[!].

“In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the third *tīthi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Simha*.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125, which was the 22nd day of the month of *Simha*, and on which the 3rd *tīthi* of the dark half (of *Bhādrapada*) commenced 0 h. 34 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī from<sup>3</sup> 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

## D.— RAJARAJA II.

106.— In the Kapardīśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅṅuḷi.<sup>4</sup>

1 || Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādu[m] . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . kō=Pparakē[śa]ripa[nma]r-āna T[iri]buvana[śa]kkaṇavattiga!  
 śrī-Rājarājadēva[r\*]kku yāṇḍu padin[ā]ṅava[di]-  
 6 [ṇ e]dirām-āṇḍu Kaṅka[da]ga-nā[ya]ṅṅu [apa]rapaksha]-tuvāḍ[e]ṣiyum Budan-  
 ki[la]maiyeum peṇṇa Pu[ṇa]rpūṣattu nā[!].

“In the year opposite the sixteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of *Punarvasu*, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the twelfth *tīthi* [of the second fortnight] of the month of *Karkāṭaka*.”

According to the result previously<sup>5</sup> found for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja II., this date would be expected to fall in either A.D. 1162 or A.D. 1163. For A.D. 1163 my calculation has yielded no result that could be at all acceptable. Nor can a perfectly correct result be obtained for A.D. 1162; but in this year the choice would clearly lie between Wednesday, the 11th July, and Thursday, the 12th July, as may be seen from the following details:—

Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, was the 15th day of the month of *Karkāṭaka*. The 12th *tīthi* of the dark half (of *Āṣāḍha*) ended on this day 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; but the *nakṣatra* was *Ādrā* (by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 8 h. 32 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise), followed by *Punarvasu*. On the other hand—

Thursday, the 12th July A.D. 1162, was the 16th day of the month of *Karkāṭaka*. On this day the *nakṣatra* was *Punarvasu*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 59 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 22 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise; but the *tīthi* which ended on it, 1 h. 0 m. after mean sunrise, was the 13th, not the 12th, *tīthi* of the dark half (of *Āṣāḍha*).

Obliged to choose between the two, I would decide in favour of Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162, and assume that in the original date the *nakṣatra* *Punarvasu* has been erroneously quoted instead of the immediately preceding *nakṣatra* *Ādrā*.

<sup>1</sup> No. 556 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Read -*pakkattu*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare below, No. 121.

<sup>4</sup> No. 626 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 2.



I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1173 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1169, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Rājārāja II. be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146.

### E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

107.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Sva]sti śrī [||\*] T[i]r[i]buvāṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga-Śō]la-  
dēvar]kku yāṇḍu n[ā]-  
2 lāvaḍu Miṅga-nāyaṅgu [pū\*]rvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum V[i]yāla-kkiḷamai-  
yum peṟ[ra\*]  
3 [U]rōśaṇi-nā].

“In the fourth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra<sup>2</sup>) ended 9 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī for 20 h. 21 m. or 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

108.—In the Vāllīśvara temple at Rāmagiri.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tir[i]buvāṇach[cha][kka\*]ravattiga! śrī-[Vi]rarāśē[ṇḍa]ra-  
Śō[la]dēvar[k]ku yāṇḍu ā[ra]vadu Kaṟkaḍaga-nāyaṅgu apara-pakkshat[ta\*]  
dū]vādaṣiyum [Vi]yāla-kkiḷamaiyum peṟra Urōśa[ṇi]-nā[li].

“In the sixth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkaṭaka.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkaṭaka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī the whole day. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 18 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, was the 11th, *not* the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha).—The result shows that in the original the 12th *tithi* has been wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.

The result would also show that the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vāllīśvara temple at Rāmagiri.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvāṇachchakkarava[r]ttiga! śrī-[Vi]rarāśēṇḍ[i]ra-Śō[la]-  
pakkshattu [du]vā[da]śa(śi)y[u]m Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum peṟra Urōśa[ṇi]-nā[li].

<sup>1</sup> No. 415 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> This *tithi* is a *Kalpādi*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 644 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-pakkshattu dvā*.

<sup>5</sup> No. 651 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>6</sup> The engraver has corrected *ni* into *śi*.

"In the sixth [year] (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōla[dēva],—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.—In the Chandramaulīśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai.<sup>1</sup>

1 . . . . . k[o]ṇḍ-arul[i]ṇa śrī-Kul[ō]ttuṅga-  
Śōladēvaṅku iy[ā]ṇḍu lēvadu Magara-nāyya(ya)ṅṅu irubattunālan=  
diyadiyum Tiṅgal-[ki]lamaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakshattu navamiyum peṅṅa  
Aṇḷattu nāḷ.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of . . . . . the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take . . . . . ,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-samkrānti took place 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 19 h. 8 m., while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 40 m., and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>2</sup>

1 [Sva]sti śrī [||\*] Tribh[u]vanachchakkaravat[ti]gaḷ Madurai[yum] Iḷamum  
Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalai[yum]  
2 k[o]ṇḍ-aruliya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu i[ru]ba[d]āvadu Ishaba-nāyaṅṅu  
3 apara-pakkattu ākāda[ai]yum [N]āyaṅ[ru-kki]lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa U[t]tirāda[t\*]ti=nāḷ.

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttarāśādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatra* on this day was Uttara-Bhādrapadā, for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.—The result shows that in the original U[t]tirāda[t\*]ti= is an error for Uttirāḍḍi.<sup>3</sup>

112.—In the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kallā-Perumbūr.<sup>4</sup>

1 [Ha]ra Svast[i] śr[ī] [||\*] T[i]r[i]buvāṇa[chcha]kkaravatt[i]gaḷ Ma]-  
2 durai[yum] Iḷa[mu]m Pāṇḍiyan m[u]ḍi-ttalaiy[u]n=  
3 [Garu\*]vā[ru\*]n-gonḍ-aruliya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku  
4 . . ḍu yāṇḍu 23vadu Vṛiśchika-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu tray[ō]-  
5 daḷ[iyum] Tiṅ[ga]t-k[i]lamai[yum] [p]eṅṅa Viśā[ga]tu [nāḷ].

<sup>1</sup> No. 192 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> No. 480 of the same collection.

<sup>3</sup> In the month of Rishabha an 11th *tithi* of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttarāśādhā (Uttirāḍḍam).

<sup>4</sup> No. 685 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and Karuvūr,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 1 h. 58 m., according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.— In the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kaḷḷa-Perumbūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Ha]ra Svasti śri [||\*] Tiribuvana[ch]chakkaravattigaḷ Madu[r]ai[yu\*]-
- 2 [m\*] [I]lamum Pāṇḍiyaṇ muḍi-talaiyu[m\*] koṇḍu aruḷi-
- 3 [ya] śri-Kulō[t]tuṅga-Śōladēvaṛkku yāṇḍu 25-
- 4 vadu Kaḷkadaga-nāyaṛ[ru\*] [pū]rvva-paksha[t\*]tu pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum Budaṇ-kiḷa-  
[m]ai pe[ṛra\*]
- 5 Utt[i]ra[ttu pā].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 23th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th, not the 5th, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa<sup>2</sup>).— Accordingly, we should have expected *chaturthiyum* in the original instead of pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum.

114.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||\*] T[i]r[i]buvana[ch]chakkaravartigaḷ Madurai[y]u[m]  
Ka[ru]vūrum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ muḍ[i]-
- 2 ttalaiyuṇ-gonḍu virar abishēgamum viśaiyar abishēgamum panniy-a[ru]ḷina Tiri-
- 3 buvaṇaviradēvaṛkku yāṇḍu 3[2]vadu Daṇu-nāyaṛru apara-pakshattu na[va]mi-  
yum Ti-
- 4 ngat-ki[ḷa]maiyum peṛra Śittirai-nāḷ.

"In the 3[2]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Pauṣa).— Accordingly, we should have expected *aṣṭamiyum* in the original instead of na[va]miyum.

<sup>1</sup> No. 584 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the *Gaṇḍā-chaturthi*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 427 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

## F.—RAJARAJA III.

115.—In the Agastyésvara temple at Agattiyāppalli.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiriba(bu)va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]rt[ti]gaḥ śrī-Rājarājadēva[k]ku  
yāṇḍu iran[ḍ]āvadu Kumba-nāyaṇṇu=ppūrva-pakkasha(paksha)-dudigaiyum<sup>2</sup>  
Tiṅgaḥ-kilamaiyum peṇṇa Śadaiyattu nāḥ.

“In the second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.—In the Āmalakésvara temple at Tirunellikkāval.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvāṇa[ḥ]chakkaravattigaḥ śrī[ḥ]-Irāja[r]ājadēva[r]kku yāṇḍu  
eṭṭāvaḍiṇṇu edirām=āṇḍu Kumma(mba)-nāyaṇṇu[ru] pūrva-pakshattu chaturdeśiyum  
Nāyaṇṇu-kkila-  
2 maiyum<sup>4</sup> peṇṇa Pūrat[tu nāḥ].

“In the year opposite the eighth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.<sup>5</sup>

117.—In the Akshayaṅgésvara temple at Kivāḷūr.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] Tiribu[va]ṇachchakkara[va]ttigaḥ [śrī-Rāja\*?]rājadēvaṇṇu  
yāṇḍu pa[t]tāvadu Mēsha-nāyaṇṇu apara-pakshattu chatutthiyum Velli-  
kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Mūlattu nāḥ.

“In the tenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, [the glorious Rāja]rājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Dudigai* is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *dvitīyā*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 523 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> The *ai* of *mai* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>5</sup> The Mīna-samkrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225.

<sup>6</sup> No. 517 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

118.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalañjuḷi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . . Tiribuvapaśa[k]karava[t]tigaḷ śiri-[Rāja\*]rā[ja\*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu  
 12ā[va]du Śinṇa-nā[ya]ṟṟu apara-pakkashat[t]u<sup>2</sup> [śa]dutti[yu]m Tiṅgaḷ-  
 [k]iḷamaiyum peṟṟa Utti . . . . .

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rāja]rā[ja]dēva,— [on the day of] Utta . . . . ., which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Simha*."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227, which was the 6th day of the month of *Simha*, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 17 h. 13 m., while the *nakṣatra* was *Uttara-Bhadrapadā* for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.— The result shows that the last words of the original date must have been *Uttiraṭṭādi-ndi*.

119.— In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Sva]sti śrī [||\*] Tiri[b]uvapaṇchcha[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-Irājairājadēvarkku yāṇḍu  
 pad[i]ṇṇāṇṇadu Karkadaga-nāyaṟṟu padipālān=d[i]-  
 2 yadiy-āṇṇa Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamiy[u]m Aṇ[i]lamum-āṇṇav-  
 aṇṇu.

"In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of *Anurādhā*, which was the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Thursday, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of *Karkāṭaka*."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231. In A.D. 1231 the *Karkāṭa-samkrānti* took place 9 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of *Karkāṭaka*; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was Thursday, the 10th July. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 15 h. 48 m., while the *nakṣatra* was *Anurādhā*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājarāja III. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1216.

120.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tir[i]bu[va]ṇachchakkara[va]ttigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadē[vakku] yāṇḍu  
 16vadu Iṣapa(ba)-nāyaṟṟu iru[ba]ttettān=diyadiyum Śaṇ[i]-k[ki]ḷamaiyum peṟṟa  
 Mirugaś[i]rishattu nāḷ.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of *Mṛigaśīras*, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of *Rishabha*."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232. In A.D. 1232 the *Rishabha-samkrānti* took place 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day of the month of *Rishabha* therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the *nakṣatra* was *Mṛigaśīras*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Read -*pakshattu*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 485 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

121.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] T[i]r[i]buvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Irājairājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu  
 18vaḍu Kārttigai-mādam piṇḍa paṇḍē[āṇ(n)=diyadi[y]-āṇa Nāyaṅgu-  
 kk[i]lāmaiyum Rēvatiyum daśamiyum [p]eṅga

2 iṅgu.

“In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on this day, which corresponds to the tenth *tithi*, to (*the day of*) Rēvati and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kārttigai.”

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vṛischika-samkrānti took place 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vṛischika or Kārttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 13th November. On this day the 10th *tithi* (of the bright half of Mārgaśīra) ended 2 h. 16 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvati from<sup>2</sup> 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

122.— In the Akshayaṅgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Om svasti śrī [||\*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]gal śrī- Rājārājadēvaṅku  
 yāṇḍu pad[i]ṇ-[e]tṭāva[du Dha]nu-[n]āyaṅgu apara-pakshattu aṣṭamiyum  
 Nāya-

2 ṅgu-kk[i]lāmaiyum peṅga Atta[t\*]tu nā.

“In the eighteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanu (and the day of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti that took place 15 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausha) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

123.— In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . [ṇa]chcha[k]karavatt[i]ga[l] śrī-Rājārājadēva[r]ku y[ā]ṇḍu 19[āvaḍu]  
 Mi[du]ṇa-nāyaṅgu=pp[ū]rva-pakshattu tiraiyōḍesiyum Nāyaṅgu-kk[i]lāmaiyum  
 peṅga Kēṭ[t]ai-nā.

“In the 19th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Jyēsthā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āshāḍha) ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Jyēsthā, by the equal space system the whole day,

<sup>1</sup> No. 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the *nakshatra* (Uttara-Bhadrapadā) at the commencement of the day, but with the *nakshatra* (Rēvati) which only commenced 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos. 102, 106 and 112.

<sup>3</sup> No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 496 of the same collection.

by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.—By the result previously<sup>1</sup> found for the commencement of Rājārāja's reign this day fell in the 18th, not the 19th, year of the king's reign.

124.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tiṭṭagudi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Rāja-
- 2 rājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattu-onbadāvadu Vṛich-
- 3 chiga-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum
- 4 Nāyaṅgu-kiḷamaiyum [peṅga Aśva]ti-nā].

“In the nineteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 8 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

125.—In the Vighnēśvara temple at Apbil.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . Ti[r]i[bu]vāṇach[cha]kka[ravattiga[1]
- 16 śrī-Rājārājādēvaṅku yāṇḍu pat-
- 17 \*to[ṇ]badāvadu Kumbha-nā[ya]ṅgu pū-
- 18 [r\*]va-pakshattu pañjam[i]yum Viyāla-[k]ki-
- 19 lamaiyu[m] peṅga Rēvati-nā].

“In the nineteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 6 h. 44 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

126.—In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttenḡūr.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tribhuvāṇachchakkara[vat\*]-
- 2 tiga! śrī-Rājārājādēvaṅ[ku\*]
- 3 yāṇḍu 24 edirām-aṇḍu [Ma\*]-
- 4 gara-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu [ohatu\*]-
- 5 rddāśiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyum [pe\*]-
- 6 ṅga Uttirāḍattu nā].

“In the year opposite the 24th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) ended 15 h. 22 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>3</sup> No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Part of the *o* of *to* is entered at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>5</sup> No. 532 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

127.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvana<sup>2</sup>chakkaravattiga! śrī-Irājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 27vadu  
 Simha-  
 2 nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamai[y]um [B]udan-kiḷamaiyum peṅga Magattu  
 nāḷ.

“In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tīthi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st *tīthi* of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

128.— In the Védāraṇyēśvara temple at Védāraṇyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||\*] Tiribuvana<sup>2</sup>chakkaravattiga! śrī-Rāja[rā]jadē[va]ṅku [yā]ṇḍu  
 27[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-[n]āyaṅgu [u] [apa\*]-  
 2 [ra]-pakshattu pañjadesayum Tiṅga-kiḷamai[yum] peṅga Pūśattu nā[ḷ].

“In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth *tīthi* of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara.”

In the month of Makara a fifteenth *tīthi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king's reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D. 1243.

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign.<sup>3</sup> For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth *tīthi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h. 11 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.— It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D. 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.— In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tir[i]buvana[cbcha]kkara[va]ttiga! śrī-Irājarāja-  
 2 dēvaṅku<sup>5</sup> yāṇḍu [2]9[va]ḍu Miduna-ñ[ā\*]yaṅgu muppattiraṇḍ[ā]-  
 3 n=diyadiy-āṇa Tiṅga-kiḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshat-  
 4 tu pradamaiyum Pū[śa]mum āṇa aṅgu.

“In the [2]9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first *tīthi* of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna.”

<sup>1</sup> No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>2</sup> No. 495 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes *dēvaṅku*. On the other hand, he states that *apara-pakshattu* probably is the actual reading.

<sup>4</sup> No. 656 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>5</sup> The *ś* of *dś* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.



This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to **Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245**. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June.<sup>1</sup> On this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Āshāḍha) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] [Ti]ribuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irājarājadēvar[k\*]ku  
yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇu-nāyaṟṟu apara-paksha[t]tu trayō[daśi]yum  
2 Anilamum peṟṟa Nāyaṟṟu-kkilamai-nāḷ.

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

The date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra).—The word *trayōdasiyum* of the original therefore would be a mistake for *tuvaḍḍasiyum*.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sva[sti] śrī [||\*] Tirubuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Irāśēndira-Śōḷadēvaṟṟku  
yāṇḍu  
2 nālāvadu Magara-nāyaṟṟu-ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Budan-kilamai-  
3 yum peṟṟa Tiruvōṇattu nāḷ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śrāvaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śrāvaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.—In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [Ti]r[i]buvanachchakkaravatti[ga]! śrī-Rāśēnd[i]ra-Śōḷadē[va]ṟku [y]āṇḍu [o]ṇ-  
2 badāvadu Magara-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-[pa]kshattu dvitīyaiyum Śev[vā-kki]lamai pe-  
3 ṟṟa Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

<sup>1</sup> The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana-samkrānti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.

<sup>2</sup> No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> No. 423 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 418 of the same collection.

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h. 21 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

183.— In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tirutteṅgūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Tribhu[va\*]nachchakravattigaḥ śrī-Rājendra-Śōladē[va\*]ḥ[ku]  
yāṇḍu llvadiṇ edirām=āṇḍu Kaṇkaḍaga-nā[yax]ru apara-pakshattu T[i]-  
2 ṅgaṭ-kiḷa[m]aiyum Urōṣaniyum peṇṇa nā[ḷ].

"In the year opposite the 11th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight<sup>2</sup> of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which [the 11th *tithi*] of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) ended 10 h. 59 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

184.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī ॐ Tri[bhuva]nachchakkaravatt[igaḥ] śr[ī-Rājē]ndira-Śō[ḷa]dēvarkku  
y[āṇ]-  
2 ḍu 16[āvadu] Rishaba-nā[yax]ru [p]ū[rva]-pakshattu ēkādas[i]yu[m] Tiṅgaṭ-  
kiḷamaiyum peṇ[ṇa]  
3 Uttirattu nā[ḷ].

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rājē]ndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h. 0 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.— By the result previously<sup>4</sup> found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

185.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tir[ibuva]nachcho[kka]ravattigaḥ śrī-°[Rā]śēṇḍ[i]ra-  
Sō[ḷa]dē[va]rkku [y]āṇḍu 1[8āvadu] Maga[ra]-[n]āyaxru [a]pa[ra]-pakshattu  
[ḍu]di[yaiy]um Budaṇ-k[i]lamai[y]um peṇṇa T[i]ruvō[ṇat]tu [nā[ḷ]].

<sup>1</sup> No. 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> The *tithi* is omitted in the original.

<sup>3</sup> No. 460 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> No. 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>6</sup> The *rd* of *rdē* seems to have been written twice in the original.

"In the 1[8th] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Maka]ra."

In the month of Makara a second *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 0 h. 51 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.—Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

136.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrīḥ 6. Tiribuvanachchakkaravarttigal śrī-Rājendra-Śōladēvarkku yāṇḍu  
20[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaṣiyum Budhaṇ-  
kilamaiyum [p]eṟṟa Punarpūṣattu nāḷ.

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha<sup>2</sup>) ended 19 h. 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise.

No. 27.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 17.)

Of the nineteen new Pāṇḍya dates here published, Nos. 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I., and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I., which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-saṃvat 1229,<sup>3</sup> has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401; and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāṇḍya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered.

No. 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> This *tithi* is a *Kalpdi*.

<sup>3</sup> This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāṇḍya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, coupled with the Śaka year 792.

## A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchupai.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Tir[ibu]va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]tt[i]ga! śrī-Kulaśēgaradē[vaṅku yā]ṇḍu 13 edir  
14va-  
2 du <sup>2</sup>Mē[la-n]āyaṅ[ṛu a]para-pakkattu pañjamiyum Budan-k[i]la[m]aiyum  
peṅra Mu(mā)lattu  
3 [n]ā.

"In the 14th opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date— 'the 14th opposite the 13th year'— in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara of whom I have examined two dates, 'of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,' and of 'the year opposite to the thirteenth,' i.e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.<sup>3</sup> If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i.e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara,<sup>4</sup> the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 20th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchupai.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 o|| Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvānāchchakkaravattiga! śrī(śrī)-Kulai(la)[śēgara]dēva[ṛ]ku i-  
2 y[ā]ṇḍu padinm[ū]ṅga(ṅṛā)vadu Tulā-nāyaṅ[ṛu] . . . -[pakshat]tu asṭami-  
3 yum Viyāla-kkiḷama(mai)yum peṅra Pūṣattu nā!

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the . . . fortnight of the month of Tulā."

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Kulaśēkharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśēkhara is identical with Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara. A date of that king's 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, *not* of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

<sup>1</sup> No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>2</sup> The *la* of *Mēla* is entered below the *m* of *mē*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. VI. pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> In the Pāṇḍya date No. 14, above Vol. VI. p. 307, Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is simply called the *Tribhuvānāchchakravartin* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva.

<sup>5</sup> No. 132 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th *tithi* of the [dark] half (of Kārttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*, not the 8th.

### B.— MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

#### 46.— In the Sundarēśvara temple at Madura.<sup>1</sup>

120 . . . . . śrī-kō Mā<sup>2</sup>  
 121 rapaṇmar=āpa <sup>3</sup>Trabhuvaṇa-  
 122 chohakkaravattigaḷ Śōṇā-  
 123 ḍu koṇḍu Muḍigo[n]-  
 124 ḍaśōḷapurattu virar=ava-  
 125 <sup>4</sup>bhishēgamum vijaiya[r-a-  
 126 <sup>4</sup>va]bhishēgamum pa[n]ṇi-  
 127 [y-a]ruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-  
 128 yadē[vaṅku] yāṇḍu 1-  
 129 5vadu Dhanu-nāyaṅgu a-  
 130 para-pakshattu trayōda-  
 131 śiyum Śevvāy-kkiḷa-  
 132 maiyum perra [Vi]śā-  
 133 gattu [n]ā[ḷ].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māraṇvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who took the Chōḷa country and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷapuram,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

I have previously<sup>5</sup> found that Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanuṣ, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśira) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

### C.— MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

#### 47.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>6</sup>

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||\*] [Kō Mā]rapaṇ[mar Tirubu]vaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-  
 Kulasegaradē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu 40vadu Mīna-nāyaṅgu apa[ra]-pakshattu  
 daśamiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kkiḷa[m]aiyum perra Tiruvōṇattu nāḷ  
 2 . . . . . i-ṇṇāḷvadu Śakādbi(tā)tam 1229.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māraṇvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna . . . . . this day (*i.e.* year) corresponds to Śaka 1229 expired."

<sup>1</sup> No. 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> The *d* of *Mā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Trabhu*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *abhiśēga*.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

<sup>6</sup> No. 551 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

Above, Vol. VI. p. 310, No. 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara I. corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308 (in Śaka-saṃvat 1229). This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-saṃvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 11 h. 29 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmin temple at Tiruppullāpi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . . k[ō] Māṇapaṇ[ma]r=ā[ṇa] Tribhu[ṇa] . . . . .  
     ga[ḷ] [e]mmaṇḍalamum koṇḍ-aru[ḷ]i[ya] śr[ī]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku yāṇḍu  
     [2]2vadu Kaṇkaḍaga-nāyaṅgu mudal tiyaḍ[i]yum  
 2 . . . . . [ttu] a[śṣṭam]i[ya]m [Ti]ṅga[ḷ]-ki[ḷ]amaiyum Śi[ttirai]yum peṇṇa  
     nāḷ.

"In the [2]2nd year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman [*alias* the emperor of the three worlds], the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day which corresponded to (the day of) [Chi]trā, to a Monday, to the eighth *tithi* of the . . . . . [fortnight], and to the first solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭaka,<sup>2</sup> and on which the 8th *tithi* of the [bright] half (of Āshāḍha) ended 19 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Ādivarāḥa-Perumāḷ temple at Śiṅgavaram.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . . . kō Māṇapaṇmar Tribhuvāṇa-  
     chchakkaravatt[iga]ḷ [śrī]-Kulaśēgara[d]ēvaṅku yā-  
 2 ṇḍu 30āvadu Simha-nāyaṅgu=ppūrvva-pakṣhattu ēkādaśa(śi)yum peṇṇa  
     Mu(mū)lattu nāṭ=.

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A.D. 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 18 h. 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Āpaikāṭṭa-Perumāḷ temple at Kaḷappāḷ.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ — [K]ō [M]āṇapaṇ[mar] Tiri[ḷ]buvāṇachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ śr[ī]-Kulaśēgara-  
     dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 3[4]vadu Kaṇkaḍaga-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakṣa[t]tu tr[i]t[i]-  
     yaiyum Śaṇ[i]-kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Magattu nāḷ.

"In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

<sup>1</sup> No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>2</sup> The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana-saṃkrānti took place 9 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>3</sup> No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 661 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

The date apparently corresponds to **Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301**, which was the 12th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the *nakṣatra* was **Maghā**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 13 h. 47 m., according to **Garga** for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, *tithi* of the bright half (of **Śrāvana**).—Accordingly, the word *tr[ī]t[ī]yāyiyum* of the original seems to be a mistake for *dvitīyāyiyum*.

51.—In the **Paśupatiśvara** temple at **Allūr**.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō [M]ārapanmar-āṇa
- 2 Tiribuvāṇa[ch]chakkaravattiga-
- 3 1 śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku y[ā]-
- 4 ṇḍu 29vaḍu Kaṅkaḍa-
- 5 ga-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu tra-
- 6 2yōdeśiyum Śaṇi-k[i]lamaiyum pe-
- 7 ṅga Puṇapūśattu nāḷ.

“In the 29th year (of the reign) of king **Māṇavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulaśēkharadēva**,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

For the 29th year of **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.**<sup>3</sup> this date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1296 or A.D. 1297; but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 39th year of the king's reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to **Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306**, which was the 12th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āshāḍha**) ended 8 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** the whole day, according to **Garga** from 2 h. 38 m., and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos. 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I.** must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

D.—**JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.**<sup>4</sup>

52.—In the **Dēvanāyaka-Perumāḷ** temple at **Tiruvēndipuram**.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 ௨ Svasti śrī [||\*] Kōṅ=Chchadai[pa]ṇmar Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-  
Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 10[āvaḍu] pattā[va]ḍu Kaṅkaḍaga-nāyaṅṅu
- 2 apara-pakshattu paṇjamiyum Tīṅgaḷ-kīlamaiyum peṅga Rēvati-nāḷ.

“In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king **Jatāvarman** (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva**,—on the day of **Rēvati**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

For **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.**, whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276,<sup>6</sup> this date corresponds to **Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285**, which was the 27th day of the month of

<sup>1</sup> No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Part of the 6 of yō is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>3</sup> For **Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II.** the date would be incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> No. 56 may be a date of **Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.**

<sup>5</sup> No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Karkāṭaka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 9 h. 4 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be incorrect.

53.— In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[i] [||\*] Kôṛ=[Ch]chadaipaṇma[r]=āṇa [Tiribuva]ṇachohakkaravatt[i]gaḷ  
 2 śrī-Śundira-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛkku yāṇḍu l[1]vadu Mṛichchiya-<sup>2</sup>nā-  
 3 [ya]ṛru apara-pakṣattu shasṭi(shṭhi)yum [Buda]ṇ-kiḷamaiyum peṛra Pā-  
 4 ṣattu nā].

“In the 1[1]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vṛiśchika,<sup>3</sup> and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h. 52 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise. But by the previously<sup>4</sup> found result this day would fall in the 12th, *not* the 11th, year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.<sup>5</sup>

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

54.— In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālaiyārkōvil.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 . . . . . [śrī]-kô=Chchadaipa[ṇ]mar=āṇa stri(tri)[bhuvā]ṇa-  
 chohakka[rava]ttigaḷ [śrī]-Śundara-Pāṇḍi-  
 2 yadēvaṛku iyāṇḍu 12vadu Simṇa(mha)-nāyayṛu [3]l tēdi<sup>7</sup> [apa]ra-[pa]kṣa[t]tu  
 tri[tī]yai[yu]m Buda-  
 3 ṇ-kiḷa[m]aiyu[m] peṛra Irēba(va)di-nā].

“In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simha.”

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287, when the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h. 22 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rēvatī for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the 30th, *not* the 31st, day of the month of Simha, the Simha-samkrānti having taken place

<sup>1</sup> No. 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Vṛiśchika*.

<sup>3</sup> The Vṛiśchika-samkrānti took place 17 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A.D. 1287.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9. And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A.D. 1294, which was the 14th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h. 17 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise. Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. it would be incorrect.

<sup>6</sup> No. 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>7</sup> The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.



8 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshéśvara temple at Achoharapākkam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kōṭ=Chatapannmar Tiri[buvana]chchakaravatti śrī-Śu[n]dara-  
[Pān]ḍiyadēva[r][k\*]ku yā[n\*]ḍu 13ku edir [2āva]du Kaṇ-  
2 ṇi-nāyarṇu apara-[pa\*]kshattu Tiṅgaṭ-kila[m]aiyu[m\*] saptamiyum perṇa  
Rō[śa]ṇi-nā[!].

"In the [2nd] opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.<sup>2</sup>

For Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dārukāvanéśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] K[ô= Chchad]aipannmar-ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanaachchakkaravattigal  
śrī-Śundira-[P]āṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu  
2 9[āva]du oṇ[ba]dāvaḍu [M]ēsha-[nā]yarṇu pā[rva]-pakshattu tṛiti(tti)yaiyum  
Vellī-kkilamaiyum perṇa Kāṭṭa(tti)gai-nā-  
3 [!].

"In the 9th—ninth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. According to the previously obtained result,<sup>4</sup> the 9th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1259; but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date *would* be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakshatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, *not* the 9th, year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

If the date were one of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It *would* be correct for

<sup>1</sup> No. 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The Kanyā-samkrānti took place 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.

<sup>3</sup> No. 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>4</sup> The *ā* of *nā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286, which was the 4th day of the month of *Mēsha*, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first *Vaiśākha*) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was *Kṛittikā* exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of *Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.*

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of *Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.*, or the 10th (or 11th) year of *Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.*

### E.—KONERANMAIKONDAN<sup>1</sup> VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57.—In the *Vṛiddhapuriśvara* temple at *Tiruppuṇavāśal*.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||\*] Śakābdam
- 2 1339ṇ mēl śrī-
- 3 Kōṇēraṇmaiko[ṇ]-
- 4 ḍān=Tribhuvāṇachchakravatti
- 5 śrī-Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēvar
- 6 [2āvadu e]dir 15 Makara-nāyaṇṇu
- 7 pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum
- 8 Budha-v[ā\*]ramum peṇṇa Uttarā(ra)-
- 9 tṭ[ādi]-nāḷ.

"In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (of the reign) (of) the glorious Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, (which was current) after the Śaka year 1339,—on the day of *Uttara-Bhadrpadā*, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Makara*."

For Śaka-samvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418, which was the 17th day of the month of *Makara*, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Māgha*) ended 11 h. 12 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Uttara-Bhadrpadā* for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

58.—In the *Virattānēśvara* temple at *Kiḷūr*.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||\*] Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ Tribhu[va]ṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śr[i]-  
Vikk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku
- 2 yāṇḍu 8āvadu Kaṇkaḍaga-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu pañjamiyum Vēḷḷi-  
kk[i]lamiyum [p]eṇṇa
- 3 Attattu nāḷ.

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of *Hasta*, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Karkāṭaka*."

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A.D. 1408, and it actually corresponds to Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408, which was the 30th day of the month of *Karkāṭaka*, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Śrāvapa*) ended 18 h. 16 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Hasta*, by the equal space system and according to *Garga* for 9 h. 51 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ or Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ.

<sup>2</sup> No. 612 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> No. 287 of the same collection.

59.—In the Śivāṅkuréśvara temple at Tirthanagari.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [—] . . . . . Kōṇér[i]-  
 2 mēlkoṇḍ[ā]ṇ Tiribuvagachchakkaravattigaḷ  
 3 śrī-Vikkira[ma\*]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu nā-  
 4 l[ā]vadu Kumba-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu triti(tī)yaikum  
 5 N[āya]ṅṅu-kkilamaiy[u]m peṅṅa Uttirattu nāḷ.

“In the fourth year (*of the reign*) of Kōṇérimeḷkoṇḍāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikra[ma]-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a *tithi* of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī; and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalgunī instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadā. For the month of Kumbha<sup>2</sup> of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405.

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third *tithi* instead of the second (*dvitīyaikum*).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṇérimeḷkoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

## F.—MAHAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

60.—In the Viśvanātha temple at Teṅkāśi.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māṇavarmanmar-āna Tribhuvanaścha(cha)kravattigaḷ śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu iraṇḍāvaḍiṇ edir pad[i]ṇṇāṇvadu Karkkaṭaka-nāyaṅṅu muppadān=diyadiyum pū[rṇ]aiyum Sōma-vāramum peṅṅa Tiruvō[ṇa]ttu nāḷ.

“In the eleventh opposite the second year (*of the reign*) of king Māṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon *tithi* and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkkaṭaka.”

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkkaṭa-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkkaṭaka. The 30th day of the same month

<sup>1</sup> No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> For the month of Makara and the 3rd *tithi* of the *dark* half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalgunī.

<sup>3</sup> No. 196 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

therefore was Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455, and on this day the full moon *tithi* (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 21 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śrāvaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

61.—In the Kāḷiśvara temple at Kāḷaiyārkōvil.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||<sup>•</sup>] Kō [M]āra[pa]ṇmar-āṇa [Tri]bhuvā[na]śa[kra]vatti[ga] śrī-  
[Vi][ra<sup>•</sup>]-Pā[n]ḍiyadē[va]ṅku [y]āṇ[du] 14va[du] Ma[gara]-nā[ya<sup>•</sup>]ṅku  
[a]para-pakshattu=[ppaṇ]jam[i]yum Nā[ya]ṅku-kkīlamai[yum] perṛa Attattu  
2 nā].

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vi[ra]-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

If the day given under No. 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1456. And the date would actually be correct for Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457, which was the 21st day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

62.—In the Virattāpēśvara temple at Tiruvadi.

- 2 [K]ō M[āra]paṇmar T[irib]uvāṇa-  
3 chchakkaravattiga] śrī-V[i]ra-Pā-<sup>3</sup>  
4 ṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇ-  
5 du padipālāvadu Mīṇa-nāyaṅ-  
6 ku apara-pakshattu prathamai-  
7 [yu]m Śaṇi-kk[ī]la]mai[y]um<sup>4</sup> [per]ṛa Attattu nā].

“In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1456 or 1457; and the date would actually be correct for Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457, which was the 16th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h. 21 m., while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

The results set forth under Nos. 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 18th March and the 28th July A.D. 1448.

I may state here that I have a date,<sup>5</sup> which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, i.e. the 19th year, and of Śaka-saṁvat 1361, of a king Māravarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Tirunelvēli-Perumāl, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva. This king would have commenced to reign about A.D. 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya of Nos. 60-62.

<sup>1</sup> No. 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>2</sup> No. 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1908.

<sup>3</sup> The secondary *d* is repeated at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The word Śaṇi-kk[ī]la]mai[y]um is entered above the line.

<sup>5</sup> No. 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895. Compare also Mr. Venkayya's *Report* for 1904-05, p. 56.

No. 28.—BETUL PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA;  
THE GUPTA YEAR 199.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER; NAGPUR.

These plates were found by me in the possession of Sahib Lal Singh, Malguzar of Betul in the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, in March 1905. Sahib Lal Singh, though belonging to an old respectable family, is a Kurmi—a prominent cultivating caste of Northern India, who of course are not entitled to accept any charitable gifts. The plates clearly do not belong to his family, and Sahib Lal Singh is unable to explain how it came by them. His forefathers belonged to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and came to Betul five generations ago. They left their native place in the Unao district in Oudh about 180 years ago and are believed to have lived in the Hoshangābād, Narsinghpur and Nāgpur districts. Apparently they brought the plates with them, having obtained them somewhere in Narsinghpur which adjoins Jabalpur.

These are two copper-plates, with a hole ( $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter) in each for the ring or seal, which is lost. The first plate measures  $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $5\frac{1}{8}$ " and the second  $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", the weight of each being 12 ozs. 6 drs. and 13 ozs. 17 grs. respectively. Both the plates are quite smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on one side only, and some of the letters show through on the backs of them; and but for a fault in the second plate, which has caused a hole  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter in the last line, obliterating portions of the numerical symbols of the year (which has been fortunately stated in words in the beginning), the inscription throughout is very legible. I have deciphered the text from the original plates, an impression of which was very kindly made for me by Mr. H. Cousens. At Prof. Hultzsch's instance Mr. H. Krishna Sastri prepared fresh impressions, which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The letters are smaller—about  $\frac{1}{8}$ "—at the beginning of each plate. They gradually grow bigger, attaining the highest size—about  $\frac{1}{4}$ "—at the end.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 13, 17, 25, and of *t* in ll. 21 and 25. Orthographical peculiarities are the use of *ś* before *śa* in ll. 12 and 14, and of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara* (ll. 2, 3 (twice), 29) and *paribrājaka* (l. 5). The letter *t* is doubled in *gōttra* (l. 5, but not in l. 15), *puttra* (ll. 6, 16, 28), *pauttra* (l. 16) and *°pittrôr=* (l. 12). The last line contains the numerical symbols for 100, 10, 90 and 9, the two last of which, as stated before, are partially obliterated. The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting four benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in ll. 21-27.

The inscription is one of the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* and is dated in the year 199 of the Gupta era (A.D. 518-19), in the *Mahāmārgaśīrsha-samvatsara*, on the tenth tithi of the month *Kārttika*, without specifying the fortnight and the week-day. Another grant of the same king, which was found near Khōh by General Cunningham in 1879 and is dated in the Gupta year 209 (A.D. 528-29), was republished by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 112 ff. The text of both inscriptions is very similar, and both were written by the same *Īśvaradāsa*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of half of the village *Prastaravṣṭaka* and a quarter of *Dvāravatikā* in the province of *Tripurī* by the *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* to the *Brāhmaṇ Bhānusaṁvāmin* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. The value of the inscription chiefly lies in the mention of geographical names, as, with regard to the history of the donor himself, it adds nothing new to what is given in the Khōh plates. The genealogy of the *Mahārāja Samkshōbha* in both

is the same, and in both he is stated to be ruling the *Ḍabhālā-rājya*, which had come to him by inheritance together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. The present inscription goes to show that Tripurī was a province of the *Ḍabhālā* kingdom. We know Tripurī well.<sup>1</sup> It was the name of the capital of the Haihayas or Kalachuri kings— the present Tewar, six miles from Jabalpur,— and it apparently also gave its name to the surrounding province. If this be correct, as is very probable, the Kalachuri domination in the country about Jabalpur disappears at least between A.D. 475 and 528, when the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* ruled the country, as proved by their inscriptions actually found. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur may have been dominant at that time in Mahākōsala, but not in the northern country about Tripurī. Dr. Fleet says that “in *Ḍabhālā* we have undoubtedly the older form of *Ḍāhala*, *Ḍāhāla*, *Ḍahāla* or *Ḍahalā*, which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripura near Jabalpur, whose original capital was *Kālīñjar*.”<sup>2</sup> This gives a clue to the identification of *Prastaravātaka* and *Dvāravatikā*, which I take to be the present *Patparā* and *Dwārā* near Bilahrī, 9 miles from Murwārā town and about 60 miles from Tewar— the old Tripurī. *Prastaravātaka* probably was corrupted into *Pattharvātaka* or *Pattharwārā*, which finally became *Patparā*, conveying the same meaning in the local patois as its Sanskrit equivalent, viz. ‘a stony tableland,’ and *Patparā* is a stony tableland up to this day. On the site of this *Patparā*, which had the palace of *Kāmkaṇḍalā*, there appears to have been formerly a village, as foundations of numerous buildings are still found. *Patparā* is only a mile off from Bilahrī, and the ruins of temples and buildings commence at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the present Bilahrī village. That names of villages ending in *vātaka* or *pātaka*, which may have been corrupted into *vārā* or *wārā*, were common on the Bilahrī side, may be inferred from the Bilahrī inscription,<sup>3</sup> which mentions *Khailapātaka*, *Dhaṅgaṭapātaka*, *Ambipātaka*, etc. One of these, *Khailapātaka*, General Cunningham identified with the present *Khailwārā* or *Kailwārā*, 6 miles from Bilahrī, and I think *Dhaṅgaṭapātaka* is perhaps represented by the present village *Thanaurā*, about 4 miles from Bilahrī, the name having been corrupted into *Dhanwārā*, *Thanwārā*, and finally *Thanaurā*. Within a radius of 20 miles from Bilahrī, one may find such villages as *Gulwārā*, *Murwārā*, *Kailwārā*, *Nanhwārā*, *Kanhwārā*, *Bharwārā*, etc., the *wārā* of which is apparently a corruption of the old *vātaka*. The village *Dwārā* stands on the same tableland as *Patparā*, being 5 miles east from the *Kāmkaṇḍalā* buildings and between 3 and 4 miles from the Bilahrī village. The *Malgunzar* of this village is still a *Brāhmaṇ* and has held it for several generations. He does not however belong to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*. He is a *Garga* and may have been engrafted when the male line of *Bhānuśvāmin* became extinct, the village going to a female heir and consequently by her marriage to a different *gōtra*, or it may have changed hands since. *Dvāravatikā* may therefore be confidently identified with this *Dwārā*. The six inscriptions of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* were found either at *Khōh*, *Majhgawān* or *Bhumarā*, which places are all quite close to *Uchchakalpa* or the present *Uchahrā*, the capital of the Nagode State, where another family, that of the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa*, closely connected with the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* both chronologically and territorially, ruled. *Uchahrā* is about 60 miles from Bilahrī, and we know from the *Bhumarā* pillar inscription, edited by Dr. Fleet<sup>4</sup>, that that village formed the boundary between the two territories. This would show that the *Ḍabhālā* country was almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the present Jabalpur district to the north and extended to about 120 miles from Tripurī town, the villages granted in the present inscription being situated midway between Tripurī town and the boundary of the *Ḍabhālā* kingdom in the north. This will clearly show that the present inscription does not really belong to Betul. As Dr. Fleet remarks (*loc. cit.*), “copper-plates, being small and portable, are

<sup>1</sup> See General Cunningham's *Report*, Vol. IX. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Gupta Inscr.* p. 113 f. In the *Vikramādityavacharita* (XVIII. 98 and 95) *Ḍāhāla* and *Ḍāhala* occur almost side by side, indicating that the two forms were indifferently used.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 251 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Gupta Inscr.* p. 111.

always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified."

One knotty problem however remains yet to be solved. What were the eighteen forest kingdoms included in the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas'* dominions? These must have been contiguous to Dabhāla, and as such the choice seems to lie between the ancient Gaur country, latterly known as Gōndwāna, on the one hand and the Baghelkhand and Chutiā Nāgpur country together with Chhattisgarh on the other. All this country formed part of the Gupta empire. "The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himālayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, and the free tribes of Rājputāna and Mālwa, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might."<sup>1</sup> With regard to the conquest of South Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and the forest tribes Mr. Smith (*op. cit.* p. 248) narrates the details thus: "The invader (Samudragupta), marching due south through Chutiā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kōsala in the valley of the Mahānadī, and overthrew its king, Mahendra. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces." Now these backward parts originally constituted what were known as *Aṭhārāgarh*, i.e. the eighteen forts or forest kingdoms, to wit, Sakti, Sārangarh, Raigarh, Bāmra, Rairākhola, Sonpur, Patnā, Bargarh, Phuljhar, Borā Sāmbhar, Khariār, Bindrā Nawāgarh, Sambalpur, Chandrapur, Band, Athmalik, Gāngpur and Bonai. Of these the first eight are still feudatory states, the next four *zamindāris*, and the next two Government *khālsā*, all attached to the Central Provinces.<sup>2</sup> On the abolition of the south frontier agency in 1837 Baud and Athmalik were transferred to the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Gāngpur and Bonai were attached to Chutiā Nāgpur. Bargarh, being confiscated for rebellion, was given over to the Raja of Raigarh. Again, among the Orissa tributary states there are eighteen *garhmāls*, though they are somewhat too far away from the Dāhal country. Chhattisgarh, i.e. the thirty-six forts, included twice eighteen forts, *vis.* eighteen *garhs* in one group subordinate to the senior branch of the Haihayas ruling at Ratanpur, and the same number in the second group held by the junior branch living at Raipur. So the grouping of states or estates into eighteen would appear to be customary and traditional towards Chhattisgarh. As regards the western Gaur country, which included the present districts of Betul, Chhindwārā, Seoni and Mandlā,<sup>3</sup> there is no record or tradition of its ever having been divided into eighteen forest kingdoms. It therefore seems very probable that the eighteen forest kingdoms of the inscription lay somewhere in the direction of Chhattisgarh, which was subdued by Samudragupta as mentioned before. As the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* owed allegiance to the Gupta kings, it seems within the range of probability that those kingdoms were handed over to them, unless they formed part of the Parivrājakas' dominions before Samudragupta's conquest. It is with the greatest diffidence that I hazard this conjecture, and I am not at present prepared to localise exactly the eighteen forest kingdoms. I however hope that the information, which I have partly acquired from my personal acquaintance with the country, may perhaps prove of some use to an antiquarian willing to solve the question.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 250 f.

<sup>2</sup> Since I wrote the above, Bāmra, Rairākhola, Sonpur, Patnā, Borā Sāmbhar and Sambalpur have been transferred to Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 150.

१ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 २ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ५ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ७ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ९ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ११ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 १३ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 १४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

E. HULTZSCH.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR. H. KRISHNA SASTRI.



[illegible]

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> namō [bha]gavatē Nārāyaṇāya [I\*] Svasti [I\*] Śrīmati pravarddhamāna-  
vijaya-  
2 rājya(jyē) sambatsara-<sup>3</sup>śatē navanavaty-uttarē Gupta-na(nṛi)pa-rājya-bhuktau  
Mahā-  
3 mārggaśirsha-sambatsarē<sup>4</sup> Kārttika-māsa-daśamyām<sup>5</sup> asyām sambatsara-<sup>6</sup>māsa-  
4 divasa-pūrvvāyā[m\*] chaturdāsa-vidyāsthāna-vidita-paramārthasya Kapilasy-ēva  
5 maharshēḥ sarvva-tatva(ttva)-jñāsyā Bharadvāja-sagōttrasya nṛipatiparibrā(vrā)jaka-  
6 Suśarmmaṇaḥ kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-Dēvāḍhya-puttra-pranaptrā mahā-  
7 rāja-śrī-Prabhāñjana-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-Dāmōdara-naptrā gō-sahasra-  
8 hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēka-bhūma(mi)-pradasya gurn-pitri-mātri-pūja(jā)-tatparasy-ānēka-  
9 samara-śata-vijayinaḥ s-āṣṭādaś-āṭavi-rājy-ābhyanantaraṁ [Pa]bhālā-rājyam sama-  
10 nupālayi[shpō]r=anēka-guṇa-vikhyāta-yaśasaḥ śrī-mahārāja-Hastinaḥ sutēna  
11 varṇa-āśrama-dharmma-sthāpan-ābhiratēna parama-bhāgavatēn-ātyanta-pitri-bhaktēna  
12 sva-vaśā-mōda-7karēṇa mahārāja-śrī-Samkshōbhēna(pa) mātāpittrōr-ātmanas-cha  
pūny-ā-  
13 bhividdhy-artham Tripuri-vishayē Prastaravāṭaka-grāmasya<sup>8</sup> arddham Dvāravati-  
14 kāyās-cha chaturthō=ūśaḥ<sup>9</sup> ēvam-ētau pūrvv-āghāṭa-parichchhēda-maryyā-

## Second Plate.

- 15 dayā Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Mādhyandina-Vāji(ja)sanēya-sabra[hma]-  
16 chāripē brāhmaṇa-Bhānusaḥminā putra-pauttr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyau<sup>10</sup> ētau  
17 s-ōdraṅgau s-ōparikarau<sup>11</sup> a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvaśyau<sup>12</sup> chōra-drōhaka-varjjam<sup>13</sup> tāmra-  
18 śāsanēna<sup>14</sup> āgrāhārau atisṛishṭau [I\*] Tad=asmat-kul-ōtthair=mmat-pādapiṇḍ-ōpa  
19 jivibhir=vvā kālāntarēshv=api na vyāghāṭaḥ karaṇiyah [I\*] Ēvam=ājñā(jñā)pt[ē] yō=  
20 nyathā kuryāt=tam=aham dēhāntara-gatō=pi mahat=āvadhyānēna nirddahēyam [I\*]  
Uktañ=cha  
21 bhagavatā paramarshipā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [I\*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō  
yatnāt<sup>15</sup>  
22 raksha Yudhishtīra [I\*] mahi(hi)m=mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=  
nupālanaṁ [I\*] Bahubhiḥ<sup>16</sup>  
23 vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih<sup>17</sup> tasya  
24 tasya tadā phalaṁ [I\*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāpi svargga(rggē) mōdati bhūmi-  
dāḥ [I\*] āchchhētā  
25 ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [I\*] Bhūmi-pradānān=na param  
pradānam<sup>18</sup>  
26 dānād=viśishṭam paripālana=tu [I\*] sarvvē=tiśishṭam paripālya bhūmim nṛipā  
27 Nṛig-ādyāḥ<sup>19</sup> tridivam prapannā iti [I\*] Likha(khi)tañ=cha Jivita-naptrā Bhujāṅga-  
28 dāsa-puttrēna vyāpāraṇayā<sup>20</sup> īśvaradāsēna [I\*] Dūtakaḥ Puna-  
29 rvvasuḥ [I\*] Sambatsara<sup>21</sup> 100 [90 9] Mahālmargga-varshē<sup>22</sup> Kārttika di  
10 [I\*]

<sup>1</sup> From the original copper-plates.<sup>2</sup> Read -samvatsarē.<sup>3</sup> Read sva-vāśā-mōda.<sup>4</sup> Read -bhōgyau.<sup>5</sup> Read =varjjam.<sup>6</sup> Read Bahubhir.<sup>7</sup> Read -ādyā.<sup>8</sup> Read Mahālmargga[śirsha\*]-varshē.<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>10</sup> Read -daśamyām.<sup>11</sup> Read -grāmasy-drddham.<sup>12</sup> Read -kardam.<sup>13</sup> Read śāsanēn-dgrahārāv.<sup>14</sup> Read bhūmis.<sup>15</sup> Read -pay=Īvara.<sup>16</sup> Read samvatsara-.<sup>17</sup> Read samvatsara-.<sup>18</sup> Read -māsa.<sup>19</sup> Read -prācītyan.<sup>20</sup> Read yatnāt.<sup>21</sup> Read pradānam.<sup>22</sup> Read Samvatsarē.

TRANSLATION.<sup>1</sup>

(Line 1.) *Om*. Reverence to the divine Nārāyaṇa! Hail! In the glorious, augmenting and victorious reign, in a century of years increased by ninety-nine, in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the Mahāmārgaśirsha-samvatsara, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika,—on this (*tithi*, specified) as above by the *samvatsara*, month and day,—by the Mahārāja, the illustrious Saṁkshōbha, who is born in the family of the kingly ascetic Suśarman, who had learnt the whole truth of the fourteen receptacles of science,<sup>2</sup> who, like the great sage Kapila, knew all the first principles,<sup>3</sup> (and) who was of the Bharadvāja gōtra;—who is the great-grandson of the son of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dēvādhyā;—who is the great-grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Prabhañjana;—who is the grandson of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dāmōdara;—who is the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastin, who was the giver of thousands of cows, of elephants, horses, gold and many lands, who was earnest in paying respect to (*his*) spiritual preceptor and (*his*) father and mother, who was victorious in many hundreds of battles, who sought to govern properly the kingdom (*rājya*) of Pabhāla together with (*all the country*) included in the eighteen forest kingdoms, (and) whose fame was renowned through many good qualities;—who is intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and the different periods of life, who is a most devout Bhāgavata, who is extremely devoted to (*his*) ancestors,<sup>4</sup> (and) who causes the happiness of his own race;—(by him)—for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself—half of the village Prastaravātaka and a quarter of Dvāravatikā in the province (*viśhaya*) of Tripuri,—in accordance with the usage of the specification of (*their*) ancient boundaries,—are granted by a copper charter as *agrahāras* to the Brāhmaṇ Bhānusvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, a student of the Mādhyandina-Vājasaneyā (*śākhā*),—to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, sons' sons and (*further*) descendants, with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that they are) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with the exception of (*the right to fines imposed on*) thieves and mischief-doers.

(L. 18.) Therefore even in future times no obstacle (*to the enjoyment of this grant*) is to be caused by those who are born in Our family, or by My feudatories. This injunction having been given, he who behaves otherwise,—him I will consume with a great contempt, even when I have passed into another body.

(L. 20.) And it has been said by the venerable supreme sage Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—

[Here follow four of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) And (*this charter*) has been written by virtue of (*his*) office by Īśvaradāsa, the grandson of Jīvita (and) the son of Bhujangadāsa. The Dātaka (is) Punarvasu. In the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 9, in the year Mahāmārgaśirsha, on the 10th day of Kārttika.

## POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The date of the above record, being of the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199, would be expected to fall in A.D. 518, and I shall be able to prove that it did fall in that year. But its exact European equivalent cannot be given with absolute certainty.

<sup>1</sup> Since the text is almost identical with that of the Khōh copper-plates of the Gupta year 209, I have adopted, *mutatis mutandis*, Dr. Fleet's translation as given in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 115 f.

<sup>2</sup> [See Yājñavalkya, I. 2:—*Purāṇa-nyāya-mīmāṃsā-dharmaiśāstr-āṅga-misṛitāḥ | rddāḥ sthānāni vidyānāḥ dharmasya cha chaturdaśa* ||.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> [This reference to the (twenty-five) *tattoos* of the Sāṁkhya doctrine and to its founder Kapila deserves to be noted.—E. H.]

<sup>4</sup> [With the epithet *atyanta-pitṛi-bhaktina* compare *pitṛi-bhaktāḥ*, the legend on the seals of the copper-plate grants of the two Kalinga kings Nandaprabhañjanavarman and Chaṇḍavarman; above, Vol. IV. p. 143.—E. H.]

In the Gupta year 199, corresponding to the expired year 3619 of the Kaliyuga, a month by the rules of mean intercalation would have had to be intercalated before the month Kārttika. Judging from other dates, I consider it highly probable that in the period to which our date belongs the rules of mean intercalation were observed, and that moreover a month, by those rules intercalated before the proper Kārttika, would have received its name from the preceding month Āsvina. Assuming this to have been actually the case, the Gupta year 199 would have contained only one month called Kārttika, and the month Kārttika which is put down in the date would be the ordinary Kārttika of our Tables. But the possibility is not excluded that the intercalated month might have been called Kārttika too, and in that case the term Kārttika of the date might be taken to denote either the *first* Kārttika (which would be the month Āsvina of our Tables) or the *second* Kārttika (i.e. the ordinary Kārttika of the Tables).

At first sight, another difficulty is presented by the circumstance that in line 3 of our record the *tithi* of the date is simply described as 'the tenth *tithi* of the month Kārttika' (*Kārttika-māsa-dāsamī*), without any indication as to which lunar fortnight the *tithi* must have belonged to. But this difficulty, in my opinion, is removed by the fact that at the end of the record, where the date is repeated in figures, the same *tithi* is described by the expression *Kārttika-di 10*. In the Khôh plates of Samkshôbha of the Gupta year 209 (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 114) we find the *tithi* described, in lines 2 and 3, as *Chaitramāsa-suklapaksha-trayôdasi*, and in line 24 as *Chaitra-di 28*; and in the Majhgawâm plates of Hastin of the Gupta year 191 (*ibid.* p. 107), in line 2 as *Māghamāsa-bahulapaksha-tritīyā*, and in line 20 as *Māgha-di 3*. The manner in which the Khôh plates are dated has been taken to prove that the month Chaitra of those plates was the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra; and the dates of both records indicate that it was the custom to quote, when a date was repeated in figures, the number of *tithis* elapsed since the commencement of the month, irrespectively of the lunar fortnights. Applying this to the date under discussion, we conclude from the statement *Kārttika-di 10* that since the commencement of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika there had elapsed 10 *tithis*, or, in other words, that the tenth *tithi* of the month Kārttika, quoted in line 3, was the 10th *tithi* of the first or *dark half* of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika (the *Kārttikamāsa-bahulapaksha-dāsamī*).

From what has been stated above, it follows that the *tithi* of our date is the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of, probably, the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of our Tables, but that possibly it may be the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āsvina of the Tables. On the first alternative the date would correspond to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika ended 8 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; on the second alternative to Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āsvina (i.e., possibly, the first *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) ended 13 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise. It will be shown now that, in either case, the Jupiter's year in which the date fell was a Mahā-Mārgasīrsha year, as required by the wording of the original date.

The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit has fully explained that a Mahā-Mārgasīrsha<sup>1</sup> year occurs when Jupiter at his heliacal rising (i.e. his first appearance in the morning after his conjunction with the sun) is in either of the *nakshatras* Mṛigasīras and Ārdrā, i.e., when at his heliacal rising his true geocentric place (or true longitude), according to the equal space system, is between 53° 20' and 80°, according to the Brahma-siddhānta between 52° 42' 20" and 72° 28' 12.5", and according to Garga between 53° 20' and 73° 20'. Now in the time immediately preceding the 15th September (and the 15th October) A.D. 518 Jupiter was in conjunction with the sun at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518, when his own true longitude was 51° 3', and that of the

<sup>1</sup> For the similar years, which have been hitherto found in five inscriptions, see especially the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, Introduction, p. 105.

sun  $51^{\circ} 2' 52''$ .<sup>1</sup> And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May,<sup>2</sup> when his true longitude was  $54^{\circ} 21'$  (while that of the sun was  $64^{\circ} 23' 35''$ ), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was  $54^{\circ} 35'$  (while that of the sun was  $65^{\circ} 20' 31''$ ). Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A.D. 518 Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than  $53^{\circ} 20'$ —by all three systems of the *nakshatras* rose heliacally in the *nakshatra* *Mṛgaśīras*, and that therefore the year which then commenced was a *Mahā-Mārgaśīra* year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A.D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place sometime before sunrise of the 17th June A.D. 519,<sup>3</sup> and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A.D. 519,<sup>4</sup> when a *Mahā-Pauṣa* year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshat's calculations, a *Mahā-Māgha* year commenced on the 3rd August A.D. 520, and a *Mahā-Phālguna* year on the 4th September A.D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A.D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, but may possibly correspond to Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518.

#### No. 29.—TRIPLICANE INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By V. VENKATYA, M.A.

Madras was "a mere fishing village up to the year 1639 A.D., when the English became possessed of it by a grant from the puppet sovereign Srīraṅga of Vijayanagara, then at Chandragiri."<sup>5</sup> Some of the suburbs of Madras are, however, very ancient. Leaving aside St. Thomé connected with the St. Thomas legends,<sup>6</sup> Maīlapur (or Mayilāppūr) and Tiruvāmūr (Tiruvāṇmiyūr) are mentioned in the Tamil poem *Dēvāram* composed in the 7th century A.D.<sup>7</sup> The former is also believed to have been the residence of the immortal Tiruvalluvar,<sup>8</sup> a couplet of whose is quoted in the ancient Tamil work *Maṇimēgalai*.<sup>9</sup> Tiruvallikkāni (the modern Triplicane) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaishnavas known as *Nālāyiraprabandham* by the saints Pēyālvār,<sup>10</sup> Tirumaliśai-Ālvār<sup>11</sup> and Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, the last of whom informs us that the (Pārthasārathisvāmin) temple was founded by an unnamed king of the Tondaiyar, i.e. by a Pallava king.<sup>12</sup> Egmore (Elumbūr in Tamil) is mentioned in records of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. and was apparently the headquarters of a subdivision (*nādu*)

<sup>1</sup> The calculations which have yielded the above results have all been made according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. By the *Ārya-siddhānta*, at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was  $51^{\circ} 43'$ , and that of the sun  $51^{\circ} 4' 18''$ ; and at mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was  $51^{\circ} 57'$ , and that of the sun  $52^{\circ} 1' 36''$ . This shows that, according to the *Ārya-siddhānta*, the conjunction would have taken place between one and two hours before mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518.

<sup>2</sup> At mean sunrise of the preceding day, the 24th May A.D. 518, the true longitude of Jupiter was  $54^{\circ} 3'$ , and that of the sun  $63^{\circ} 26' 38''$ .

<sup>3</sup> At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was  $85^{\circ} 33'$ , and that of the sun  $85^{\circ} 58' 38''$ .

<sup>4</sup> At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was  $88^{\circ} 45'$ , and that of the sun  $99^{\circ} 18' 3''$ .

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> The Roman Catholic Church at St. Thomé is believed to be built over the grave of St. Thomas; *ibid.* p. 176. Rāmāya of Vijayanagara is said to have led an expedition against the place in A.D. 1558; Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> The saint Tiruñānasambandar is reported to have revived at Mayilāppūr a dead girl, whose bones had been preserved by her father in a pot. The temple is called Kapālīchcharam (i.e. Kapālēsvara) in the hymn composed by the saint. Jāṭras and Buddhists seem to have lived at that time in the vicinity of Mayilāppūr.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 221.

<sup>9</sup> *Essay on Tamil literature* by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri of Madras, No. I. p. 28 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Iyarpā*, III. 16.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* IV. 35.

<sup>12</sup> *Periyatikramoḷi*, vers. 190.

in the district called Puliyūr-kōttam.<sup>1</sup> Nuṅgambākkam occurs in a copper-plate inscription belonging to the time of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I.<sup>2</sup> The Tamil *Dévāram* contains a hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr composed by Tiruñānasambandar.<sup>3</sup>

The Pārthasārathisvāmīn temple at Triplicane contains (1) the subjoined Pallava inscription;<sup>4</sup> (2) a number of fragments of Chōla records built into the floor in various parts of the temple;<sup>5</sup> (3) a mutilated epigraph of the Pāṇḍya king [Māra]varman Kulasēkhara;<sup>6</sup> and (4) a few Vijayanagara inscriptions. Some of the Chōla fragments belong to the time of Kulōttuṅga III. and Rājārāja III.<sup>7</sup> The Pāṇḍya epigraph mentions Tirumayilāppūr (i.e. Mailapur) in Puliyūr-kōttam<sup>8</sup> and (the temple of) Teḷḷiyāsiṅga-Nāyanār in Elumūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam.<sup>9</sup> The Vijayanagara records belong to the time of Sadāśiva, Raṅga and Venkaṭapati.<sup>10</sup> Two of the suburbs, viz. Puḍuppākkam and Vēppēri, and three of the outlying villages, viz. Sēmbiyam, Nāḍumbarai and Veysarpādi,<sup>11</sup> were granted to the Triplicane temple during the Vijayanagara period, while a pious Vaishṇava made some additions to it in or before A.D. 1564-5 during the reign of Sadāśiva.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone built into the floor close to the entrance into the *garbhagrāha* of the temple. As people walk on it very frequently, the stone has become much worn, and the writing has suffered considerable damage. Very few *aksharas* are, however, really doubtful, though some are broken.

The alphabet is Tamil, with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha characters. The following is a list of the latter:—*svasti śrī, Pallavakulatilā*<sup>12</sup> (line 1); *Bhāradvāja-gōtr-ālaṁkārapatiy-āḷiya* (l. 1 f.); *śrī-Dantivarma-Mahārāja* (l. 2 f.); *varshavarddhana* (l. 3); *mri* of *tiruvamrideu* (ll. 7 and 14 f.); *śarma* (l. 11 f. and twice in l. 12); *svāmibhōga* (l. 14); *°dharma* (l. 15); *ha* of *lōha*, *tshi* of *ratshi*<sup>13</sup> (l. 17); *°ndharma*<sup>14</sup> (l. 18); *ratshi*<sup>15</sup> (l. 18 f.); *svasti* (l. 19).—The *puḷḷi* (or *airāma*) is marked in a large number of cases and is denoted by a short vertical line added at the top of the letter. One graphic peculiarity deserves notice. When lingual; and rough *r* are doubled, the symbol for the secondary *i* or *u*, which is now placed over the second letter or by its side, is, in this inscription, added, in most cases, so as to include the first as well. In other words, the two letters are treated as a group. In line 9, double *kki* is written similarly as a group. Two forms of *n* occur, one with the central loop

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription has recently been discovered at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu near Arkonam and will be published in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. Part III.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> No. 234 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25.

<sup>6</sup> No. 238 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903. It is dated in the 4[9]th year of the king's reign and may perhaps belong to the "Kales Dewar" of the Muḥammadan historians; see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, paragraph 13.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 241 and 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903 are two of them. In some of them Tiruvāṅmiyūr (the modern Tiruvāmūr) is said to have been in Kōttūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-vaṇaṇḍu.

<sup>8</sup> Called after Puliyūr, which is close to Madras; above, Vol. IV. p. 8, note 1. According to an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I., Tiruvorriyūr, 6 miles north of Fort St. George, belonged to Puḷal-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puḷarkōttam, which was called after Puḷal near Madras on the road to Nellore; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 132.

<sup>9</sup> Mention is also made of Ayanapuram in Tuḍarmuppi-nāḍu, a subdivision of Puḷarkōttam *alias* Vikrama-Chōla-vaṇaṇḍu. Ayanapuram is the name of a shrotriem village to the west of Madras (No. 72 on the Sydapet taluk map).

<sup>10</sup> *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25. The inscription of Raṅga is in Telugu, while the rest are all in Tamil.

<sup>11</sup> Called Veshārupādi in the inscription. The modern name connects the village with the sage Vyāsa or some person called after him. Vēḷṣārū, which occurs in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I. at Tiruvorriyūr, is perhaps an older form of Veshārupādi; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 134.

fully developed and the other without it. The former is more common, while the latter occurs at least twice.<sup>1</sup> The vowel *u* is added to the consonant *t* in two different ways: one, as in modern Tamil, with a vertical stroke going upwards, and the other without it. The latter is perhaps meant to be Grantha, though it is used in Tamil words also. The *akshara lu*, which occurs twice (ll. 8 and 16), differs from the modern form of it in the vertical stroke of the *u*-symbol being omitted as in *tu*.

The inscription consists of 19 lines of Tamil prose and is dated during the reign of king **Dantivarma-Mahārāja**, who was "the ornament of the Pallava family" and belonged to the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**. There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. The only other record of Dantivarma-Mahārāja hitherto known is mutilated,<sup>2</sup> and the description of the king which we find in the Triplicane inscription is there missing. It is therefore uncertain if the two kings were the same. In any case, as the name Dantivarman does not occur in the hitherto known genealogies of the Pallavas, and as the alphabet of the Triplicane inscription does not look very ancient, it may be concluded that the Dantivarma-Mahārāja of the subjoined record was later than the Pallava king **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**, who fought against the **Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II.** (A.D. 733-34 and 746-47).<sup>3</sup>

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the Pallavas of **Conjeeveram**, who probably ceased to be a ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> The **Gaṅga-Pallavas** appear to have taken their place, though the exact period when this happened is not yet known. Leaving out **Vijaya-Narasimhavarman**<sup>5</sup> and **Vijaya-Īśvaravarman**,<sup>6</sup> whose relationship to the main line is not yet ascertained, four Gaṅga-Pallava kings<sup>7</sup> are known, *viz.* **Danti(vikrama)varman**, **Nandi(vikrama)varman**, **Nṛipatuṅga(vikrama)varman** and **Kampa(vikrama)varman**. The last was probably a brother of the third<sup>8</sup> and might have been his co-regent in a portion of the Pallava dominions; but he is not mentioned in the **Bâhūr** plates of **Nṛipatuṅga**.<sup>9</sup> Adding together the latest known years of the other three (**Dantivikramavarman** 51 years,<sup>10</sup> **Nandivikramavarman** 62 years,<sup>11</sup> and **Nṛipatuṅga-vikramavarman** 26 years<sup>12</sup>), we get 139 years. The **Chōḷa** king **Parāntaka I.** was actually ruling over the dominions of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and therefore it may be supposed that the overthrow of the latter by the Chōḷas took place during the reign of his predecessor **Āditya I.** Accordingly, the event may be placed roughly in A.D. 900.<sup>13</sup> Deducting the total duration of the reigns of the Gaṅga-Pallava kings, we obtain roughly A.D. 760 as the date of the accession to power of the first king **Dantivikramavarman**. This event cannot be placed earlier, because the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III.** is reported to have levied tribute from **Dantiga**, the ruler of **Kāñchi**, about A.D. 804, and this **Dantiga** has been identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king **Dantivikrama-**

<sup>1</sup> Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 344, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV. pp. 178 and 360, and Vol. VII. p. 22 f. Dr. Fleet thinks that **Vijaya-Narasimhavarman** was the earliest of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that his initial date must be placed somewhere about A.D. 760 to 770; above, Vol. V. p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 23 f.

<sup>7</sup> **Skandasiṃhyavikramavarman** of the **Rāyakōṭa** plates was also a Gaṅga-Pallava. He is said to have belonged to the family of another **Skandasiṃha**, who was the son of the **Mahābhārata** hero **Śiśupālman** by a **Nāga** woman; above, Vol. V. p. 52. We have however no clue as to the time when **Skandasiṃhyavikramavarman** lived. Neither are we told what relationship he bore to the main line.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> Extracts from this inscription were given by Prof. Hultzsch; above, Vol. IV. p. 190 f.

<sup>10</sup> No. 263 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>11</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

<sup>13</sup> See the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 10.

varman.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears extremely doubtful if there could have been any interval between the date of Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>2</sup> and the accession of Dantivikramavarman.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Gaṅga-Pallavas annexed the entire dominions of the ancient Pallavas already during the reign of the first king Dantivikrama. It looks as if the expansion of the former was gradual and reached its highest point during the reign of the last king Nṛpatuṅga.<sup>3</sup> We may therefore conclude that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined inscription, who could not be a Gaṅga-Pallava, belonged to the family of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who seem to have continued in some form or other down to a very late period,<sup>4</sup> and that he reigned as an independent king in a portion of the ancient Pallava dominions before they were completely occupied by the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

At Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district are two inscriptions, one dated in the 7th year of the reign of Dantivarman,<sup>5</sup> and the other in the 9th year of Dantippōttaraśar.<sup>6</sup> The former records that a certain Brāhmaṇa purchased land for building a tank, and the latter registers an endowment for the removal of silt in the tank called Vayiramēga-taṭāka at Uttaramallūr. It is just possible that Dantivarman is only the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar, and that the tank referred to in both of these inscriptions is the same. Even if this surmise should not prove correct, the fact that the earliest Uttaramallūr inscription mentioning the Vayiramēga-taṭāka belongs to the time of the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar may be taken—at least provisionally—to show that the tank probably came into existence during his time, and that its name was derived from Vayiramēga,<sup>7</sup> one of his *birudas*.

If the foregoing inferences are confirmed by future researches, they would establish that the Pallava king Dantippōttaraśar (or Dantivarman) bore the title Vayiramēga. We have at present no materials to decide if this Dantippōttaraśar is identical with the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription, though the similarity of the names and the undisputed Pallava origin of both are in favour of the identity. The Vaishnava saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār refers to a king of the Toṇḍaiyar (i.e. a Pallava king) named Vayiramēga.<sup>8</sup> Another unnamed Pallava king is mentioned by the same saint as the founder of the Triplicane temple, as I have already pointed out.<sup>9</sup> In the hymn dedicated to Paramēśvara-Viṇṇagaram (i.e. the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple) at Conjeeveram,<sup>10</sup> reference is made by the same saint to several battles fought by an unnamed Pallava king. These three Pallava kings appear to be distinct.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 181, and Vol. V. p. 159. I think the possibility of Dantiga being the same as the Dantivarman of our inscription is not altogether excluded.

<sup>2</sup> The latest known record of his reign is dated in his 50th year; above, Vol. IV. p. 137, and Vol. V. p. 157, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> This may be concluded from the fact that Nṛpatuṅga's inscriptions are found over a larger extent of country than those of the other two; see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-04, paragraph 13.

<sup>4</sup> We hear of a queen named Mārambāvai of a certain Nandippōttaraiyan, who belonged to the Pallavatilaka family. This queen appears to have been living at the time of the early Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman; *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1900-01, paragraph 10, and above, Vol. VI. p. 321. An inscription of Dantivarman, "born in the Pallavatilaka family which rose from the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*," has recently been discovered at Tiruvellārai in the Trichinopoly district (No. 541 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905). Thus, along with the Gaṅga-Pallavas, the regular Pallavas seem to have continued in the Tamil country down to the Chōḷa conquest. The exact relationship which the latter bore to the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram is not known. Perhaps the descendants or successors of the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription (who bore the title *Pallavakulatilaka*) spoke of themselves as belonging to "the family of Pallavatilaka" in order to distinguish themselves from the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

<sup>5</sup> No. 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898.

<sup>6</sup> No. 74 of the same collection.

<sup>7</sup> *Periyatirumōḷi*, verse 180.

<sup>8</sup> This is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Vajramēgha.

<sup>9</sup> See page 290 above.

<sup>10</sup> Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 344, note 3.

<sup>11</sup> In verse 479 of the *Periyatirumōḷi*, the same saint refers to a *Toṇḍai-maṇṇavan*, i.e. a Pallava king, who might be one of these three.



The first, Vayiramēgaṇ, was apparently the saint's contemporary, while the builder of the Triplicane temple must have lived prior to him. The military exploits of the third seem to have been fresh in the saint's mind, and if this impression of mine be correct, the former might have lived a short time before the latter.

It is not impossible that Vayiramēgaṇ,<sup>1</sup> the Pallava contemporary of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, is identical with Dantipgōttaraśar, during whose reign the Vayiramēga-taṭṭaka at Uttaramallūr appears to have been built. If the battle of Mannai mentioned in verse 3 of the Paramēśvara-Viṅṅagaram hymn<sup>2</sup> be the same as that fought at Mannaikudi by the Pallava general Udayachandra against the Pāṇḍyas according to the Udayāndiram plates,<sup>3</sup> it may be concluded that the saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār must have lived soon after the reign of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla. If this surmise prove correct, Vayiramēgaṇ, the contemporary of the saint, must have been one of the immediate successors of Nandivarman.

The facts and inferences above set forth would yield the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. for the period of the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār and of his Pallava contemporary Vayiramēgaṇ. The same would be the approximate date of the construction of the Vayiramēga-taṭṭaka at Uttaramallūr, and probably also of the subjoined inscription. It is sufficient to note that palaeographical considerations do not militate against this conclusion.

Against this date of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār may be urged the Vaishṇava tradition that he was later than the saint Nammālvār.<sup>4</sup> And the latter would appear to have lived subsequent to the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna, whose accession took place in A.D. 862-63,<sup>5</sup> as mention is made in the existing text of the *Tiruvāymoli* of the village Varagunamaṅgai,<sup>6</sup> called evidently after Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. This argument would bring Nammālvār down to the 10th century A.D. and make the interval between him and Rāmānuja (11th century A.D.) very short. Vaishṇava tradition asserts that this period was occupied by Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār and several *dōhāryas*, the earliest of whom must have lived long after Tirumaṅgai.<sup>7</sup> Apart from this objection, there is some reason to suppose that the *Tiruvāymoli* known to Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār is different from what has come down to us. The *dōhārya* Nādamunigaḷ, who probably lived in the 11th century A.D.,<sup>8</sup> was informed by Vaishṇavas<sup>9</sup> both at Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore district and at Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birth-place of Nammālvār, that they had only heard of the name *Tiruvāymoli*. It had disappeared somehow, and no copy of the work existed at the time. At

<sup>1</sup> From the Kaṇḍa plates of Prabhūtavarma (above, Vol. IV. p. 386) it may be concluded that Vairamēga was a surname of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga (A.D. 754). It is claimed for this king that he subjugated the ruler of Kāñchi. The genuineness of the Kaṇḍa plates is, however, open to question (*ibid.* p. 333), and we must have indisputable evidence of the occupation of the Pallava country by Dantidurga before we admit that the tank at Uttaramallūr could be called after him, or that reference could be made to his prowess in a Tamil hymn.

<sup>2</sup> In certain copies of the *Nāḍiyiraprabandham* the place is called *Manneyil*, which makes its identification with Mannaikudi less probable.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II. p. 372.

<sup>4</sup> The *Tiruvāymoli* composed by Nammālvār had to be recited in the Śrīraṅgam temple according to certain arrangements made by Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6*, Part II., paragraph 25.

<sup>6</sup> Verse 897. Śrīvaramaṅgai or Śrīvaramaṅgalaṃ mentioned in the same poem (verses 509 to 519) is probably identical with the village of the same name founded by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman (called Neḍuñjaḍaiyar in the Tamil portion) according to the Madras Museum plates; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> This is clear from the fact stated later on that the *Tiruvāymoli*, which had been known to Tirumaṅgai, disappeared during the time of the first *dōhārya* Nādamunigaḷ, who was informed that it had been lost 'a long time ago.' The mere name and a single hymn of the poem were all that remained of it at the time.

<sup>8</sup> Nādamunigaḷ is said to have visited Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram founded by Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (A.D. 1011-12 to at least 1033).

<sup>9</sup> Nādamunigaḷ was led to make this enquiry on hearing a hymn of the *Tiruvāymoli* (beginning with *Aravamudē*, the 48th decade of the existing text) recited in the Viṣṇu temple at his native place by certain Vaishṇavas from Ālvār-Tirunagari.

Ālvār-Tirunagari Nādamunigaḷ was directed to recite twelve thousand times, with his mind concentrated on Nammālvār, a poem (beginning with *Kaṇṇimū śruttāmbu*) composed by Maḍurakavi Ālvār, Nammālvār's elder contemporary and disciple. He was told that Nammālvār would then appear to him in a vision and grant what was required. Accordingly, Nādamunigaḷ's 'eye of knowledge' was opened, and he was initiated into the *Tiruvāymoḷi* and other 'mysteries' by Nammālvār. No reference is, however, made to the recovery of any manuscript of the poem. If this tradition be true, the only conclusion warranted by historical criticism is that Nādamunigaḷ himself composed almost the whole of the existing text of the *Tiruvāymoḷi*.<sup>1</sup> I would, however, consider this surmise as purely provisional until the date of Nammālvār is established from independent sources. At any rate, the tentative period of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār obtained in this paper need not be altered in the light of any conclusions based on the existing text of the *Tiruvāymoḷi*.

The object of the subjoined inscription is to record that the priests<sup>2</sup> (*kulaṅgiḷḍar*) of the Triplicane temple had mortgaged a field, belonging apparently to the temple, and that, in consequence, the equivalent of the interest on forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy fell short in the rice offerings presented to the god. A certain Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyaraiaṇ gave thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṅju*s of gold and redeemed the mortgaged field. Thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷaṅju*s of gold were therefore equal to forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy. Thus paddy was sold at the rate of three *kāḍis* for one *kaḷaṅju* of gold. We do not know at present how much a *kāḍi* contained. It is mentioned in a Gaṅga-Pāḷlava inscription at Ukkal, in a Chōḷa copper-plate grant preserved in the Madras Museum, and in two stone inscriptions at Conjeeveram.<sup>3</sup> The interest on forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy apparently amounted to 5 *nāḷis* every day or 18½ *kalams* per year. The five *nāḷis* of paddy were converted into two *nāḷis* of rice to be offered to the god at night. If this failed, the master's share (*svāmi-bhōga*) in certain other fields was to be utilized for the offering.

A lamp-stand, cup and pot are particularly mentioned as deserving to be taken care of, probably because they were special gifts of the donor Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyaraiaṇ.

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pa[ṭṭ]aya-kula-tilada<sup>4</sup> [Bh]āra-
- 2 dvāja-gōṭṭr-āṣaṁkāra-patīy-ākiya<sup>5</sup> śrī-
- 3 Dantiva[rm]ma-mahārāja[r]ku varaha-varddhana-
- 4 m [vā]ṇḍu paṭṭipiraṇḍāvad[u] T[iruvalli]-
- 5 kkeṇi kulaṅgi[ḷ]ḍaḷ [Ka]ṭṭumārachchēri-ppula[m]
- 6 or[ṭ]i-iṭṭu nāṭpatt[ai]n-g[ā]ḍi n[al] po[ḷi]-ūt[ta] Tiru-
- 7 vaḍigaṭku tiruvampidu muṭṭa-Ppugaḷttunai-Viś[ai]-

<sup>1</sup> Internal evidence in support of this surmise is not altogether wanting. Unlike other hymns, each decade of the *Tiruvāymoḷi* consists, not of ten verses, but of eleven, the last of which declares it to be ten out of the thousand composed by Nammālvār. In the *Śaiva Dēvārnam* the last verse of each hymn furnishes the name of the composer, while each hymn of the other Vaiṣṇava *āṇḍars* contains generally ten verses. At any rate, none of them had determined beforehand the total number of verses which he should compose. It is worthy of note that in the poem, which Nādamunigaḷ was required to recite twelve thousand times, the number of verses composed by Nammālvār is given as one thousand. In verse 578 of the *Tiruvāymoḷi* occurs the following:—*niṅṅ-ilāṅṅu-maḍiyindī* = irubattōr-kāl = araṅgaḷai kaṭṭa *veṅṅi-niṅ-maḷuvā*, etc. The portion in roman type occurs in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. These two points do not prove anything by themselves. But taken with the surmise based on tradition they are not altogether meaningless.

<sup>2</sup> The word *kulaṅgiḷḍar* occurs also in No. 168 of 1904 in connection with a Śiva temple at Tiruvakkaraḷ. It means literally 'temple proprietor' and may denote either the temple authorities or the temple priests.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 8 and note 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Tilada* is a *tadāhava* of the Sanskrit *tilaka*.

<sup>5</sup> The *ki* of *ākiya* is written in Grantha.

8 yarayan muppadiṇ kādī nallum añ-kaḷañju<sup>1</sup>  
 9 poṇṇuṇ-guḍuttu miṭṭu=ttanad=ākki nāṇpa[t]-  
 10 t[ai]h-gāḍiyun=niṣadi aññāḷi nallāḷ=irunnā-  
 11 ḷi<sup>2</sup> tū-kkuttal-ariṣi[y]āl=irā-ppōṇagañ=[Ja]ṇga[śa]-  
 12 rmmaṇuñ=Jaṭṭiśarmmaṇum Iḷaiya-Śaṭṭiśarmmaṇuṇ-gā-  
 13 ṭṭuvāraṇā[r\*]ga[l][l\*] muṭṭil[l=Av]ippulattun=Dattan-pula-  
 14 ttuṇ=Gā[rai]kiḷā[ṇ-pu]la[t]tum svāmi-bhōgattu=ṭṭiruva-  
 15 [m]riḍu kāṭṭuvōmāṇōm [l\*] i-ddharmmat-ullā[r] yāva-  
 16 rēṇuṇ=gō=chchēvadu śeyidu śeluttav=ōṭṭi kuḍut-  
 17 tōm [l\*] [lā]-vīlakkum vāṭṭi[l\*] lō[ha]-ppāṇaiyum ratahippa-<sup>3</sup>  
 18 du [l\*] Pugaḷttunai-Viṣ[ai]yaraiaṇ \*ndharmmam idu [l\*] idaṇai ra-  
 19 tshittār=ādī irapḍum eṇ muḍi-mēliṇa [l\*] svasti ||—

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the twelfth year of the increasing years of the glorious Dantivarman-Mahārāja, who was the ornament of the Pallava family (and) the lord adorning the Bhāradvāja-gōtra,— the priests of the Tiruvallikkēṇi (temple) having mortgaged the field in Karumārach-chēri, the offering for the god accruing from(?) the interest of forty-five *kāḍis* of paddy fell short. Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyaraiaṇ gave thirty *kāḍis* of paddy and five *kaḷañjus* of gold, redeemed (the field), and made (it) his own. With two *nāḷis* of clean pounded rice (made) from five *nāḷis* of paddy, (the interest on)<sup>4</sup> forty-five *kāḍis* (of paddy) per day, Śaṅgaśarman, Śaṭṭiśarman and the younger Śaṭṭiśarman shall present the night offering. If (this) fails, we shall present the offering out of the master's share in Avippulam,<sup>5</sup> Dattan's field and Kāraikiḷāṇ's field. Having agreed that any one concerned in this charity might do what the king could and carry it out, we gave (it). The *lā*-lamp,<sup>7</sup> the cup (and) the metal pot have to be taken care of.

This (is) Pugaḷttunai-Viṣaiyaraiaṇ's charity. The two feet of those who protect this (charity) shall be on my head. Hail !

## No. 30.— TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D. ; ROSTOCK.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years. Whoever has had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity and penetration of scholars like Bühler, Senart and others. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single Kharoṣṭhī inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every detail. Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined inscription. It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its first purely mechanical reproduction.

<sup>1</sup> Read *aiṇ-gaḷañju*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *rakṣi*.

<sup>3</sup> The word *kāḍiyuṇ* in l. 10 appears to be used in the sense of *kāḍiyu*.

<sup>4</sup> *Avippulam* means literally "oblation field." The produce from this field was evidently used for oblations.

<sup>5</sup> For the explanation of this term see above, Vol. VII. p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Read *iru-nāḷi*.

<sup>7</sup> Cancel the letter *a*.





The inscription is engraved round a steatite vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Peshawar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stūpas near Shāhpur; but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. p. 24, and Plate iii. fig. 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXII. p. 151, and added a correction *ibid.* p. 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, *ibid.* p. 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II. p. 125, and Plate lix. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr. Vogel, by Mr. Ram Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

#### TEXT.

Sihileṇa Siharachhiteṇa cha bhratarehi Takhaśilāe ayaṁ thuvo pratithavito savabudhana puyae.

#### TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihila (Simhila) and Siharachhita (Simharakshita) this Stūpa was erected at Takhaśilā (Takshaśilā) in honour of all the Buddhas.

#### REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from  $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", take an intermediate position between those of the Aśoka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Aśoka characters are less numerous and less marked; but the *la* with its hook bent down and rounded and the *sa* with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transliteration of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read *Sihileṇa*, *Siharachhiteṇa* and *savabudhana*; but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between *na* and *ṇa*, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual *ṇa*. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of *ṇ* instead of Sanskrit *n* in the word *Sakamuṇisa* (l. 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one *n*-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, p. 453, Mr. Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of five *mātrās* with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run:—

Sihilēṇa Siharachchhitēṇa cha  
ayaṁ thūvō pratithāvitō

bhrātārēhi Takkaśilāā |  
savvabuddhāna pūyāā ||

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings *Gihileṇa* and *bhatarehi*. The correct readings *Sihileṇa*, which can only stand for *Sihilēṇa*, and *bhratarehi* would imply that

2 q

the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six *mātrās*, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial *bhr* was removed by the cæsura standing between *cha* and *bhratarehi*. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr. Thomas' suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No. 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1308.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; MADRAS.

These plates were discovered at *Soraiikkāvūr* near *Kuttālam*, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr. O. N. Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long, 4" broad, and  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring is 1" in diameter, and the whole set weighs  $16\frac{1}{2}$  ozs. with the ring, which alone weighs  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamil numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and barring slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation; nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskrit verses which give the genealogy of prince *Virūpāksha*, a passage in Tamil prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the shares of land granted among the donees, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in Sanskrit, once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god *Śrī-Harihara* and is in Kanarese characters, the alphabet of the Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamil characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamil inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between *r* and the secondary form of *ḍ*; the secondary *ḍ*, *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on; e.g. *syḍ* in line 23, *bḥḍ* in line 115, *hyḍ* in line 116, *vḍ* in line 132, *mḍ* in line 138, *bḍ* in line 146; *dḍ* in line 15, *nḍ* in line 28; *ko* in line 129; *rai* in line 53, *kai* in line 128; *dhau* in line 18, *dau* in line 164. In line 70 the *lu* of *padinālukku* is engraved below the line; in line 57 the letter *ku* is corrected into the symbol of the secondary *ḍ*; and in line 26 *vḍarḍ* is written as *pḍarḍ*. The Grantha letter *ṭ* is used for the Tamil *ṭ* in the words *utpaṭa* and *Āṭi* occurring in lines 68, 121 and 138.

The inscription belongs to the time of *Virūpāksha* (v. 5) or *Vīra-Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar* (l. 43 f.), the son of *Harihara* (II.) (v. 4) or *Vīra-Hariharaṣya* (l. 42) of the first *Vijayanagara* dynasty, and records the grant of the village of *Śiraiikkāvūr* (v. 10, ll. 53 f. and 60 f.) together with  $10\frac{1}{2}$  *velis*<sup>1</sup> of land adjoining it, under the name of *Vijayasudarśanapuram*, to

<sup>1</sup> In the Tamil portion this is given as  $10\frac{1}{2}$  *velis* (ll. 52 f. and 67 f.).

fourteen Brāhmanas of various *gōtras*. This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in Śaka 1308, the Kshaya-samvatsara,—i.e. two years later than his Ālampūṇḍi grant.<sup>1</sup> Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8 f. and ll. 45-49):—

“The date, for Śaka-samvat 1308 expired, which was the year Kshaya, regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387. On this day the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna and the *karana* Nāga ended 7 h. 35 m., the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 19 h. 3 m., and the *yōga* Vaidhriti from 6 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month Paṅguni (Chaitra).”

Both the Ālampūṇḍi and Śoraikkāvūr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with Saṅgama, the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virūpāksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again Kāmākshi, the wife of Saṅgama, and Mallādēvi, the wife of Harihara II., are referred to. While in the Ālampūṇḍi grant Mallādēvi is spoken of simply as belonging to ‘the family of Rāmadēva,’ in the present record she is described as his ‘grand-daughter’ (son’s daughter) in the beginning (v. 5); but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama *Nārāyaṇīvilāsa* by Virūpāksha,<sup>2</sup> makes Mallādēvi the daughter of king Rāma. In a supplementary note on the Ālampūṇḍi grant,<sup>3</sup> Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallādēvi may have been the daughter of the Yādava king Rāmachandra. Adverting to this Mr. R. Sewell writes as follows:<sup>4</sup>—

“The plate in question asserts that Mallādēvi belonged to ‘the race of Rāmadēva,’ while the drama (*Nārāyaṇīvilāsa*) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Rāma, calling Virūpāksha the ‘daughter’s son of king Rāma;’ and from this Mr. Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Rāmachandra of the family of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Rāmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Rāmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallādēvi, or Mallāmbikā, though she may have been ‘of the race of,’ was not the daughter of, king Rāma,—if Rāma was identical with Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri.”

The present plates add a further relationship, viz. that Virūpāksha was the son of the son’s daughter (*pautri*) of Rāmadēva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,<sup>5</sup> we may conclude that Virūpāksha was the great-grandson of king Rāmachandra.

In the present record Virūpāksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father; for the Śaka year 1308 falls in the reign of Harihara II.<sup>6</sup> From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 224 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts* by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No. I. p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V., Add. and Corr., p. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri (the Rāmadēva of verse 5) may have had an (otherwise unknown) son named Rāmahādpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallādēvi, the mother of Virūpāksha.—E.H.]

<sup>6</sup> In the Tiruvijimilalai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II., and in which his son Virūpāksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Mupaiyadaraiyan made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvijimilalai is only a mile distant from Tiruppāmburam mentioned in our record.



month Bhādrapada of the year Tārana (Śaka 1326).<sup>1</sup> The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Śravapa-Belgoḷa.<sup>2</sup> Another record from the Shimoga district states that in the month Kārttika of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Tārana, Bukka II. was on the throne.<sup>3</sup> This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Harihara's death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>4</sup> It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II. Again we learn that the coronation of Dēvarāya I. took place in Śaka 1328, in the month Kārttika of the year Vyaya.<sup>5</sup> Evidently therefore Bukka's reign must have come to a close at this time. But it must also be noted that in the month Mārgaśira of the year Tārana, Śaka 1327, Virūpāksha is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara.<sup>6</sup> This reign overlaps that of Bukka II. Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virūpāksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virūpāksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II., ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of Bukka II. This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I. Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harihara II. there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus:—Bukka II., Virūpāksha, Bukka II. once again, and Dēvarāya I. Virūpāksha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time.

Besides calling Virūpāksha the lord of the Tuṇḍira, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries (v. 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Ālampūṇḍi grant. He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Rāmanātha (at Rāmēśvaram). He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Brāhmanical faith (*vēda-mārga*, v. 7).<sup>7</sup> He is stated to have gilded (the *vīmāna* of the temple at) Śrīrangam and the 'Golden Hall' (at Chidambaram), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chōḷas.

As regards the donees, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaishṇava names; and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrīvaishṇava *Achārya-purushas*.<sup>8</sup>

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, Śīraikkāvūr, the village granted, is the same as the modern Śōraikkāvūr where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttālam Railway Station. Tiruppāmpuram (v. 10, ll. 49 f. and 65) is now known as Tiruppāmbāpuram and is about 9 miles west of the Nannilam station, also in the Tanjore district. I am unable to identify Elumuri in Elumuri-parru (ll. 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskrit as *Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit*<sup>9</sup> (v. 9), while Uyyakkonḍa-vaṇaṇḍu (ll. 59 and 63 f.), a district of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam (l. 58 f.), is Sanskritized as Ujjivana (v. 9).

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (ll. 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tīrthahallī tāluca, No. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* Vol. II. No. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tīrthahallī tāluca, No. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 3.—[Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 329 f.—E. H.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Hassan tāluca, No. 133, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Tīrthahallī tāluca, No. 196.

<sup>7</sup> Compare above, Vol. III. p. 118 and note 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Viz.* Vēdagōmapurattār (ll. 75 and 79), Gōmatattār (l. 82 f.), Vaṅgippurattār (l. 90 f.), Uṇṇuputtār (l. 97), Soṭṭaiyār (l. 111), and Kārambichcheṭṭu (l. 104).

[For *nivṛit*, 'a division,' see verse 9 of the Ālampūṇḍi plate.—E. H.]

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>*First Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 [Śubham=a]stu [||\*] Ōmkār-ām̐kura-dam[ah̐r]-
- 2 [āya sa]kal-ām̐nāya-ghōshinē [||\*]
- 3 ā[dyāy=ā]s[tu na]mas=tasmai Varā-
- 4 hāya [ma]hanjasē || [1 ||\*] Ādhāra-śa-
- 5 ktim=ambhōdhi-mēkhalām ratna-ga-
- 6 rbhinim [||] Hara-mūrttim Harēh kântā-
- 7 m Bhūtadhātīm=upās[ma]hē || [2 ||\*] Ās[||]-
- 8 t Sōm-ānva[y]-ō[ttamsah̐] Kāmā-
- 9 kshī-Saṅgam-ātmajaḥ | B[u]k[ka-bhū]pa i-
- 10 ti khyātō rājā Raghur=i[v=āparah̐] || [3 ||\*]
- 11 Asti rājādhīrāj[ō=sya putrō]
- 12 Harihar-ēśvaraḥ | yash=shōḍa[śa-ma]-
- 13 hādāna-sukṛit-ām̐rita-sā[garah̐] [|| 4 ||\*] Sa
- 14 pauryām̐ Rāmādēvasya [Mall]ā-
- 15 dēvyā[m̐\*]<sup>2</sup> mahāśayam |(l) Virūp[ā]ksha-ma-
- 16 hī[p]ālam labdhavān=ātma[sam]mbha-
- 17 vam [|| 5 ||\*] Sa Kuntal-ēndus-Tup̐[īra-Chō]-
- 18 [||a]-Pāṇḍya-kshītīśvaraḥ | san[nidhanu]<sup>3</sup>
- 19 [Rāma]nāthasya tulām=ārū[ḍhavā]-
- 20 n=dhanaiḥ [|| 6 ||\*] Sa gō-saha[sra-dō]
- 21 vēda-mā[rgga]-sthāpana-[tatparah̐] [||\*] Śri-
- 22 raṁga-Kāñchanasabhā-puna[r-ut]bhā.<sup>4</sup>
- 23 [sana]-kshamaḥ [|| 7 ||\*] Dānaśīlā[gh]yē [śa]kasy-
- 24 ā[bdē] Kshaya-samvatsarē [śu]bhē [||]

*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 Pā(phā)lgunē māsy-amāvāsy[ām]
- 26 tiṭhan Saumyasya pā(vā)[sa]ré || [8 ||\*]
- 27 Vaidhṛiti-sprīśi Rēvatyām̐ [ka]ra-
- 28 nē<sup>5</sup> Nāga-nāmni sah̐ | Chō[śeshu]
- 29 Śaptakhaṇḍ-ākhyā-nivṛity-Ujjiva-
- 30 n-āhvayē [|| 9 ||\*] Chīraik[kā]vūr=iti
- 31 gr[ā]man=Tirupp[ā]mpura-s[ī]mani | [pā]-
- 32 d-ōn-aikādaśa-vṛiti-kshētra-[sa]-
- 33 m[gha]tit-āntikam [|| 10 ||\*] Kṛita-prasastim [Vi]-
- 34 ja[ya]suda[r]śana[pu]r-ākhyayā [||] chatu-
- 35 [r]ddasābhyō viprēbhyah̐ prādā[d=u]-
- 36 daka-pūrvvakam [|| 11 ||\*] Samast-ōpā[dhi]-
- 37 rahitas=sarvvamānyatayā sthiraḥ | [va]-
- 38 rddhatā[m]=agrahārō=yam=ā-cha[ndra]-ravi-
- 39 tārakam || [12 ||\*] Svasti śrī-vijay-āt̐bhu.<sup>6</sup>
- 40 daya-śrīman-mahāmaṇḍaliśvaran r[ā]-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates.<sup>2</sup> The ś of dś is at the end of l. 14.<sup>3</sup> The third member of the syllable dhan is at the beginning of l. 19.<sup>4</sup> Read -udbhā-<sup>5</sup> The ś of nē is at the end of l. 27.<sup>6</sup> Read -dbbhu-

- 41 jādhirājan rājaparamēśvaran  
 42 śrī-Vira-Harihararāya-kumāra-śrīma-  
 43 [n-ma]hāmaṇḍaliśvaran śrī-Vira-Vi-  
 44 ruppanna-Uḍaiyar pri[thvi]-rājya-  
 45 m panni-y=aruḷāniṇṇa Sak-ābda[m]  
 46 1308ṇ mēl-chchellāniṇ-  
 47 ṇa Kshaya-samvatssaram<sup>1</sup> Paṅguni-mā-  
 48 sam amā[vā\*]syaiyum Budhan-ki[le]-  
 49 maiyum peṇṇa Rēvati-nāḷ Tiru[p]-  
 50 pāmpurat[til vaḍa]-vayalil Puḷudi-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 51 vaṇa-Pperumāḷ jivitan=tirandu  
 52 iluvaiyāl vēli patt-a-  
 53 raiyē<sup>2</sup> araikkāl kūḍiya Śīraikkā-  
 54 vūr-āṇa Vijayasudarśanapurattu nā-  
 55 nā-gōtrigaḷ āṇa<sup>3</sup> bhāṭṭagaḷukku [u]-  
 56 daka-pūrvvam=āka<sup>4</sup> sarvvamānya-agra[bā]-  
 57 ram=ā[ga\*] [Rā]hu-śānty-arttham=āka<sup>5</sup> dharmma-[śā]-  
 58 sanam (p)panni=kkuḍutta Śō[la-ma]-  
 59 ṇ[dala]m Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷa[nāḍu]  
 60 Eḷumuri-pparṇu kīl-kūṇu agaram [Śi]-  
 61 raikkāvūr nāṅg-ellai[kk=ut]-  
 62 ppaṭṭa<sup>7</sup> nāṇjai puṇjai nattaṅga[!]  
 63 sakala-prāptigaḷum Uyyakko-  
 64 ṇḍa-vaḷanāḍu Eḷumuri-pparṇu-kkīl-  
 65 kūṇu Tiruppāmpuram vaḍa-vayalil [Śi]-  
 66 raikkāvūr ellaiy=uḍaṇ kū[dina]  
 67 nilam patt-araiyē araikkāl  
 68 vēliyum utpaṭa<sup>8</sup> [nā]nā-<sup>9</sup>gōtrigaḷ āṇa  
 69 bhāṭṭagaḷukku<sup>10</sup> nichchayitta bhāgam 1[4] [||\*]  
 70 Inda bhāgam padināḷukku<sup>11</sup> vagai [!]  
 71 trē-<sup>12</sup>gōtrattu Āpastamba-[sūtra]-  
 72 ttu Uḍāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]tra-  
 73 n [N]ārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Ā-  
 74 trē-<sup>13</sup>gōtrattu Āpastamba-sū-  
 75 trattu Vēdagōmpurattu Tiruva-  
 76 raṅga-Nārāyaṇa-[bhaṭṭa]ṇ putraṇ  
 77 Gōvinda-<sup>13</sup>bha[ttaṇ bhāgam]—l—Ātrē-<sup>13</sup>

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 78 gōtrattu Āpastamba-sūtrat-  
 79 tu Vēdagōm[pu]rattu Lakshmaṇa-

<sup>1</sup> Read -samvatssaram.<sup>2</sup> Read -dga.<sup>3</sup> Read -utpaṭṭa.<sup>4</sup> Read bhāṭṭagaḷukku.<sup>5</sup> Read Ātrēya-.<sup>6</sup> The ai of rai is at the end of l. 52.<sup>7</sup> The d of rd is corrected from ku.<sup>8</sup> Read utpaḍa.<sup>9</sup> The syllable lu is engraved below the line.<sup>10</sup> The first member of the syllable gē is at the end of l. 76.<sup>11</sup> Read dga bhāṭṭagaḷukku.<sup>12</sup> Read -dga.<sup>13</sup> Read ndad-.

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E. HULTZSCH.

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SCALE TWO-THIRDS.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

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W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

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- 80 bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa-  
 81 ṇ bhāgam—l—Kaṇḍinnya-gōtra-  
 82 ttu Āpastamba-sūtrattu Gō-  
 83 maṭṭhattu Karuṇākara-bhaṭṭaṇ [pu]traṇ  
 84 Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—  
 85 Parāśara-gōtrattu Ā[pa]stamba-  
 86 sūtrattu I[ru]maḷapō[śaṇ] Āk-  
 87 <sup>1</sup>koṇṭavilli-sōma[yā]ji-<sup>2</sup>[pu]-  
 88 traṇ Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakshyamāna-  
 89 r bhāgam—l—Vatsa-<sup>3</sup>gō[tra]ttu Ā-  
 90 pastamba-sūtrattu Vaṅgippu[ra]-  
 91 ttu Bhagavān-bha[ṭ]ṭaṇ putraṇ Śrīra-  
 92 ṅgarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Vat-  
 93 ssa-<sup>3</sup>gōtrattu Āpa[sta]mba-sū-  
 94 trattu Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa-  
 95 [ṇ] putraṇ Yajñamūrtti-bhaṭṭaṇ bh[ā]-  
 96 gam—l—Vatsa-<sup>3</sup>gōtrattu Ā[pa]-  
 97 stamba-sūtrattu Uruppuṭṭūr [Nā]-  
 98 rāyapa-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Dāmō[dara]-  
 99 bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Bhāradvāja-g[ō]-  
 100 trattu Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Ku-  
 101 rōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ [Śrī]-  
 102 raṁ[ga<sup>\*</sup>]nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—[Bhāradvā]-  
 103 ja-[gō]trattu Āpasta[m]ba-sū[tr]attu  
 104 Kārambiḥcheṭṭu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭaṇ  
 105 putraṇ Yajñātma-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 106 Saṁkṛiti-gōtrattu Āpastamba-  
 107 sūtrattu Iruṅgaṇṭi<sup>4</sup> Dēvarā-  
 108 ja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrī-Narasimha-bha-  
 109 ṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Śata(ṭha)ma[r]śhapa-gōtrat-  
 110 tu Bōdhā[ya]na-sūtrattu Irāyūr  
 111 Sōṭṭai <sup>5</sup>Nṛīttarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śr[ī]-  
 112 raṁga[nātha]-bhaṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Viśvā-  
 113 mitra-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana-sūtrat-  
 114 tu [Ś]ēṇalūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇ putra[ṇ]  
 115 <sup>6</sup>Maṇṭalapuruṣa-sōmayājiyār bh-  
 116 āgam—l—Sāva[rṇi]-gōtrattu Drāhy-  
 117 āya[ṇa]-sūtrattu Gaṁgōji [S]ōma-  
 118 nātha-bhaṭṭaṇ putraṇ Śrīparvata[nātha]-bha-  
 119 ṭṭaṇ bhāgam—l—Āga bhāgam—l<sup>4</sup>—[In]-  
 120 da bhāgam paḍiṇālu pērkkuṁ Pra[bhava]-  
 121 varuṣam Āṭi-<sup>7</sup>māsam pūrvva-pakṣa[tt]u pra-  
 122 thamai mudal-āga suṅgam [ubhaya]-mārggam<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *koṇḍa*°.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Vatsa*°.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Nṛītta*°.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Āḍi*°.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *y* is entered below the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read *°gaṇḍi*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Maṇḍala*°.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 81, l. 5a.

- 123 idaitturai puramb-āga [sa]kala-su-  
 124 varṇ-ādāyam sakala-bha[k]t-ā[d]āyam  
 125 śekku-kkaḍamai ve[t̪i]-vari kaṭṭi-  
 126 gai avasaram vāsāl<sup>1</sup> oṭṭu ō[lai] e-  
 127 [lu]ttu rājasam paṭṭaya-kāṇik-  
 128 kai<sup>2</sup> t[ō]raṇa-kāṇik[kai] [śem]bo-  
 129 ṇ-var[i āśu]podu ma[kka]l pērā<sup>3</sup>l ko-  
 130 [lu[m] vilaiyāśeru araśu-pē[ru]  
 131 pāḍi-kā[va\*]l ariśi-kāṇam araimaṇai-  
 132 y-ū[li]yam [maga]mai talaiyārikkam v-  
 133 āśal-ppa[ṇam] pul-vari aḍai[ppu]-ttā-  
 134 [vu u]lavaṇ sōḍi kār-aḍai mā-v-a-  
 135 ḍai<sup>4</sup> kuḷav-aḍai o[u[kku-nīr-nilai-nīr]-p-  
 136 pāṭṭam ta[ri]-kkaḍamai [ka]ṭṭ-āyam [ti]-  
 137 rigaiy-ā[yam] sōḷaku . . [ṇavāvi]-

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 138 ruttup[padi] Āṭi-Kāṭṭigai.<sup>5</sup>[ppachchai] m-  
 139 āṇāvi-ttēvai Pi[laiyā][r\*] nō-  
 140 ṇbi tiruvilakk-eṇ[ṇai]-ttē-  
 141 vai paṭṭi-tteṇ[ḍa]m kuṇṇa-tteṇ-  
 142 ḍam āl-amaṇji āṇ-aḍai-p-udaiyar k-  
 143 āṇikkai maṇṇum eppēr paṭṭa variga-  
 144 [um nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāṇā-  
 145 m<sup>6</sup> akshaṇi-āgāmi-siddha-[sā]ddhyam p[ū]-  
 146 rvv-āyam apū[rvv-āya]m utpaṭṭa sarvva-b-  
 147 ādhā-parih[āram-āga] ā-cha[ndr-ārka-sthāyi]-  
 148 y-āka<sup>7</sup> sa[rvva]m[ānnya-agra]hāram-āga [kuḍu]-  
 149 ttōm [||\*] [Sukha]mā bhujittu-kko[-  
 150 lavum [||\*] Sā[rvva]mānyam pūrvva-mariyādā [||\*]  
 151 Dāna-pā[lanā]yōr-mmaddhyē dānāt<sup>8</sup>  
 152 śrē[yō-nupā]lanam | dā[nā]t-[sva]-  
 153 rggam-avā[pnōti pā]lanād-ach[yu]tam [pa]-  
 154 dam—[13 ||\*] S[va-dattām para]-dattām vā yō [ha]-  
 155 rēta va[sundharām] [!\*] shash[t̪i]m var[sha]-sa[ha]-  
 156 srāṇi [viśthāyā]n=jāyatē kṛimih [|| 14 ||\*] Ē[k=ai]-  
 157 va [bha]gint lōkē sarvvēshām=ēva bhūbhujā-  
 158 [m] | na bhōgyā na kara-[ggrā]hyā vipra-datt-  
 159 ā vasundharā—[15 ||\*] Sāmā[nyō]=yan=dharma-sēt[u]<sup>9</sup>  
 160 nripāpām kālē kālē [pā]lan[i]yō  
 161 bhavatbhiḥ<sup>10</sup> | sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pā-  
 162 rtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-  
 163 mabhadraḥ [|| 16 ||\*] Pantrō B[u]kka-[na]rēndrasya  
 164 dauhitrō<sup>11</sup> R[āma]-bhūpatēḥ | vidyatē hi [Vi]-

<sup>1</sup> *Vāṭal* is corrected from *vachchal*.

<sup>2</sup> The *ai* of *kai* is at the end of l. 127.

<sup>3</sup> The third member of the syllable *ko* is at the beginning of l. 130.

<sup>4</sup> The *ai* of *dai* is at the end of l. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Āḍi-Kāṭṭigai*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-pāshāṇam*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-āga*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *dānāch=chhāryō*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-sētur*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *bhavadbhiḥ*.

<sup>11</sup> The first member of the syllable *dau* is at the end of l. 163.

165 [rū]pākshō rājā Harihar-ātmajaḥ [|| 17 ||\*] Śubham-a-  
 166 s[tu]—  
 167 Śrī-Harihara [|| \*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v. 2 the goddess of the Earth.

(V. 3.) There was a king called **Bukka**, who was the son of **Kāmākshī** and **Samgama**, and an ornament of the race of the **Moon**.

(V. 4.) His son is the **Rājādhirāja Harihara**, who performed the sixteen great gifts.

(V. 5.) He had by **Mallādēvi**, the son's daughter of **Rāmadēva**, a son named **Virūpāksha**.

(V. 6.) He, the moon of the **Kuntalas** and the lord of the **Tuṇḍira**, **Chōḷa** and **Pāṇḍya** countries, had, in the presence of (*the god*) **Rāmanātha**, weighed himself against gold.

(Vv. 7-12.) In the **Śaka year** (*expressed by the chronogram*) **dānaślāghya** (i.e. 1308), in the auspicious **Kṣhaya-samvatsara**, in the month **Phālguna**, on the new-moon *tithi*, on a **Wednesday**, while (the *nakṣatra*) was **Rēvatī**, (the *yōga*) **Vaidhṛiti** (and) the *karana* **Nāga**,—he, the donor of a thousand cows, the establisher of the Brāhmaṇical faith (*vēda-mārga*), who was able to regild (the *vimāna* at) **Śrīraṅgam** and the **Golden Hall** (at **Chidambaram**),—gave, with libations of water, as a *survamānya* (and) an *agrahāra*, to fourteen Brāhmaṇas the village of **Vijayasudarśanapuram**,<sup>1</sup> (*which was made up of*) **Chīraikkāvūr** in **Saptakhaṇḍa-nivṛit**, (*a subdivision*) of **Ujjivana** in the **Chōḷa** (*country*), and of a field of ten and three quarters *ṛṛiti*<sup>2</sup> on the outskirts of **Tiruppāmpuram**.

(Ll. 39-53.) On the day of (the *nakṣatra*) **Rēvatī**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the new-moon (*tithi* in the solar) month **Paṅguni** (*of*) the **Kṣhaya-samvatsara** which was current after the **Śaka year 1308** (*had passed*),—while the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vira-Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar**, the son of the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Vira-Harihararāya**, was pleased to rule the earth,—(*he*) gave, with libations of water, as a *survamānya-agrahāra*, in order to propitiate (*the bad influence of*) **Rāhu**, by a religious edict, (*the following land*) to the **Bhaṭṭas** of various *gōtras* (living) in **Śīraikkāvūr** *alias* **Vijayasudarśanapuram** which included ten and five-eighths *vēḷis* (*of land*) in the northern fields of **Tiruppāmpuram**,—excluding the possessions of (*the god*) **Puḷudivāṇa-Perumāḷ** :—

(Ll. 58-69.) The wet land, dry land and house sites, with all acquisitions, enclosed within the four boundaries of **Śīraikkāvūr**, a village (*belonging to*) the eastern group (*of*) **Eḷumūrī-parṛu**, (*a subdivision of*) **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanāḍu** (*in*) **Śōḷa-maṇḍalam**, together with ten and five-eighths *vēḷis* of land bordering on **Śīraikkāvūr** (*and situated*) in the northern fields (*of*) **Tiruppāmpuram** (*in*) the eastern group of **Eḷumūrī-parṛu**, (*a subdivision of*) **Uyyakkonḍa-vaḷanāḍu**, were assigned in 14 shares to **Bhaṭṭas** of various *gōtras*.

<sup>1</sup> [Professor Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions Sudarśanāchārya who wrote the *Āpastamba-grihyasūtratīkā* and the *Śrutaprakāśikā*. The *Vaḍagalai-Guruparamparāprabhāva* records that the latter work consists of notes taken by Sudarśanabhaṭṭa, the grandson of Parāśarabhaṭṭa, from the discourses of the Vaiṣṇava teacher Ambāḷāchārya on the *Śrībhāṣya*. According to the Vaḍagalai tradition Sudarśanabhaṭṭa was an elder contemporary of the great Vēdāntadēśika, who is believed to have been a friend of the Vēdic scholar Vidyāranya, and who is said to have composed a verse in praise of the Vijayanagara officer Gōpaṇa (above, Vol. VI. p. 322). It thus appears that, in case the author of the *Śrutaprakāśikā* was not living at the time of the Śīraikkāvūr grant, his memory must have been quite fresh in the minds of Vaiṣṇavas. And as most of the donees of the grant are Vaiṣṇavas, it is not unlikely that the granted village was called Vijayasudarśanapuram after the *Āchārya*, provided Vijayasudarśana was not a surname either of Virūpāksha or of his father Harihara II.—V. V.]

<sup>2</sup> [For *ṛṛiti* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *vēḷi* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 364, note 3.—E. H.]



(Ll. 70-119.) The recipients of these fourteen shares were :—

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Sātra.
1	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	Uḍāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭa .	Ātrēya . .	Āpastamba.
2	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vēdagōmpuṇṇattu Tiruvarāṅga-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa.	Do. . .	Do.
3	Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vēdagōmpuṇṇattu Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa.	Do. . .	Do.
4	Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhaṭṭa . . .	Gōmaṭhattu Karuṇākara-bhaṭṭa.	Kauṇḍinya .	Do.
5	Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa-yakṣyamāṇa .	Iruṇḍaḷapō[ṣaṇ] Ākkoṇḍa-villi-sōmayājīn.	Parāśara . .	Do.
6	Śrīraṅgarāja-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vaṅgippuṇṇattu Bhagavān-bhaṭṭa.	Vaṭsa . .	Do.
7	Yajñamūrti-bhaṭṭa . . .	Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Do. . .	Do.
8	Dāmōdara-bhaṭṭa . . .	Uruppuṇṇṭūr Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Do. . .	Do.
9	Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Bhāradvāja .	Āśvalāyana.
10	Yajñātma-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kārambicheṭṭu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa.	Do. . .	Āpastamba.
11	Śrī-Narasimha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Iruṇḍaṇḍi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Saṁkṛiti . .	Do.
12	Śrīraṅganātha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Irāyūr Śōṭṭai Nṛittarāja-bhaṭṭa.	Śāthamarṣaṇa .	Bōdhāyana.
13	Maṇḍalapuruṣa-sōmayājīn . .	Śēṇālūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Viśvāmitra .	Do.
14	Śrīparvatānātha-bhaṭṭa . . .	Gaṅgōḷi Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭa .	Sāvarni . .	Drāhyāyaṇa.

(Ll. 119-149.) We (*vis.* Virūpākṣha) gave these shares to (*these*) fourteen persons as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, including all taxes,<sup>1</sup> (*and including*) hidden treasure, deposits, water, stones, permanent profits, future profits, established income, feasible income, old taxes and new taxes, (*to have effect*) from the first (*tīthi*) of the first fortnight (*of the solar*) month Āṣi (*in*) the Prabhava year.<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 13-16 contain the usual imprecations and benedictions.

(V. 17.) There exists king Virūpākṣha, the son of Harihara, the son's son of king Bukka, (*and*) the daughter's son of king Rāma.

#### No. 32.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF SRIGIRIBHUPALA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1346.

By M. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR, B.A., B.L., HIGH COURT VAKIL, MADRAS.

The finding-place of these plates is not known. But from Mr. Sewell's description of them<sup>3</sup> it appears that they were preserved in the office of the Head Assistant Collector of North Arcot.

<sup>1</sup> These taxes (ll. 122-143) are left untranslated.

<sup>2</sup> Prabhava is the name of the cyclic year immediately following Kṣhaya, in which the grant was made see ll. 24 and 47 of the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 12.

Hence it is likely that they were found in the North Arcot district. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum, and I edit the inscription on them from two ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr. Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, with the permission of Government.

The copper-plates are three in number. The inscription is engraved on both sides of each of them. The second and third plates are marked at the left top corner of their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 3 respectively. The first two plates measure 9" by 4½", while the dimensions of the third and last plate are 8½" by 4½". The ring, if any, on which the plates were strung, is lost; and they are now kept together by a string passed through the ring-hole, about ½" in diameter, bored on the top of each plate.

The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved is Grantha; but in the following cases Tamil letters have been used:—*ṣ*, *g*, *ḍ* and *nā* of the word *Vēṅgaḍaṇḍha* in line 102; *tiru* of *Tiruvēṅkaḍa* in l. 108; *Pillai* in l. 112; *peru* of *Perumkai* in ll. 115 and 121 f.; nearly the whole of the phrase *Kuppan=ulḷiṭṭārukku* in l. 123; and *r* of *Nāyinār* in l. 130. The colophon *Śrī-Triyambaka* is written in Kannaḍa characters. A few peculiarities of the alphabet are worth noting. The secondary *ā*-symbol is added near the bottom of the consonant in a few cases; compare *jā* and *nā* in the word *prajānām* in l. 34, *nā* of *nāthasya* in l. 40, *nānā* in l. 44, and *samastānām* in l. 46. The guttural *ṣ* of *Śārṅgiṇōḥ* in l. 65 resembles *ndya*. The subscript consonant in conjunct letters is in some cases added by the side of the first instead of at the bottom as in modern Grantha; compare *bḍē* in *Sakasy=ābḍē* in l. 56, *bḍa* of *pratyabḍa* in ll. 67 and 81, *ṣgi* of *Śārṅgiṇōḥ* in l. 65, and *stā* of *samastānām* in l. 46. Final *m* is in some cases not distinguished from *ma*; but, in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily, the distinction has been introduced into the text; compare e.g. *m* in *Lakṣmīm* (l. 3), *sambhātām* (l. 5), *vaiḍbhavam* (l. 5 f.) and *bhūṣhaṇam* (l. 7) with *m* in *°paham* (l. 4), *sampa°* (l. 19), *°ratīm* (l. 38) and *grāmam* (l. 51). The group *ṛṇṇa* is written somewhat like *ṛṇṇa*; compare *sampārṇṇa* in l. 59 and *viṣṭirṇṇam* in l. 54. The letter *ḍi* of *Divākara* in l. 113 resembles the Tamil vowel *i* of the 12th century A.D. The conjunct *ryga* is also peculiarly shaped; see *Bhārggava* in ll. 108, 112 and 124. The difference between the vowel *ri* and the secondary consonant *r* is marked by making the *r*-symbol end in a loop in the former case; compare *prithivīm* in l. 37, *nīvrīd* in l. 49, *Bhṛigu* in l. 57, *vṛittair* in l. 72, and *vyāvṛittair* in l. 72 f. with *samprāptē* in l. 56 f., *grāmam* in line 62 f., and *pratyāḥam* in l. 76, etc. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the hard dental *t* is used for the soft *d* in *Patma°* (l. 17), *vidvatbhīr* (l. 45), *Chitambarā°* (l. 77 f.), *Utbāhu°* (l. 120) and *bhavatbhīḥ* (l. 146). The form *ranna* is used for *ratna* in l. 27, and the lingual *ḷ* for the dental *l* in *bhūpālō* in the same line. Both these forms are probably due to the influence of Kanarese, which may also account for the change of *ḍ* into *ḷ* in *Paḷuvāt-kōṭṭa* (l. 48). *Bā* is substituted for *vā* in the word *Bādhāla* in l. 120. As a rule *n* is doubled when it occurs in conjunction with *d*; see *Gōvinnda* in . 89, *Utbāhusunndara* in l. 120 f., and *Skannnda* in l. 126.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Nearly one-half is in verse, and the other half, enumerating the donees and the shares which each of them received, is in prose. In only one place a Tamil phrase, *Kuppan=ulḷiṭṭārukku*, occurs (l. 123). The inscription uses abbreviated forms for the *gōtras* and *sūtras* of the donees, except in the case of the chief person, *Sampatkumāra-paṇḍita* (ll. 133-135).

The record begins by tracing the first Vijayanagara dynasty from the Moon, in whose lineage Yadu is said to have been born (v. 5). In the race of Yadu was born Saṅgama (I.), whose son was Bukka (I.) (v. 6). His son was Harihara (II.) (v. 7). His son was Dévarāya (I.), and his son Vijayabhūpati (v. 8) or Vijayabhūpāla<sup>1</sup> (v. 9), who had two sons:

<sup>1</sup> He is also called Vijayabhūhnuj (v. 16), Vijayarāj (v. 21) and Vijayarāya (v. 24).

Dēvarājendra (v. 10) or Dēvarāya (II.) (v. 11) and Śrīgirindra (v. 10), Śrīgirisvara (v. 12) or Śrīgiribhūpāla (v. 13). The former, being the elder, succeeded to the throne (v. 11), while the second went over to Maratakapuri and was ruling the country of which it was the capital (v. 12). He made the subjoined grant of land to Sampatkumāra-panḍita<sup>1</sup> and his relatives and other learned men with him, on a Friday coupled with the Rēvatī *nakshatra*, on the Utthāna-dvādaśī *tithi*, in the cyclic year Krōdhin corresponding to the Śaka year 1346. The Śaka date is expressed by the chronogram tattvālōka (v. 19), the same as that of the Satyamaṅgala plates of Dēvarāya II.,<sup>2</sup> which were issued in the month of Āshādhā. Our record belongs to the month of Kārttika; for the Utthāna-dvādaśī is the twelfth *tithi* in the bright half of the month of Kārttika, when Viṣṇu is said to rise from his four months' sleep. It is otherwise called *Prabōdhanī*. Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—

“On the *utthāna-dvādaśī-tithi* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 135. For this *tithi* of Śaka-saṃvat 1346 expired, which was the year Krōdhin, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 3rd November A.D. 1424, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī from 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise.”<sup>3</sup>

The chief donee, Sampatkumāra-panḍita, is described as a very learned medical man, whose father Gōvinda-panḍita (v. 14) was also well versed in the Āyurvēda and in the Vēdāṅgas. The village Nipataśaka (v. 17), the gift of which is recorded by the present inscription, had been given away to the same donee by (the donor's father) Vijayabhūbhuj (v. 16). So we may infer that by some means or other it had lapsed in the interval. It is said to have been watered by the Nāgakulyā channel (v. 18), a branch of the Kāvērīpāka channel (v. 17), and was situated in Kalavā-nivrit<sup>4</sup> (Kalavai-paṅgu in Tamil), a division of Paḷuvūt-kōṭṭa (Paḷuvūr-kōṭṭam). When the village was granted, its name was altered into Vijayarāyapura (v. 24) or Vijayarātpura (v. 21), evidently in honour of its original donor Vijayarāya.

As regards the name Śrīgiribhūpāla, a word of explanation is necessary. Śrīgiri is another form of Śrīparvata in the Kurnool district. The god of the temple at that place is called Mallikārjuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikārjuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet into its equivalent Śrīgiribhūpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him, makes it possible that Śrīgiribhūpāla was the same person as the Pratāpadēvarāya who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamaṅgala plates of Dēvarāya II. as the younger brother of the king. For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrīgirindra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpadēvarāya, he must be another brother of Dēvarāya II., not hitherto known. Śrīgiribhūpāla (*alias* Mallikārjuna ?) is of course distinct from Mallikārjuna *alias* Immaḍi-Dēvarāya, who was the son of Dēvarāya II.,<sup>5</sup> and whose dates range from Śaka 1370<sup>6</sup> to Śaka 1387.<sup>7</sup>

As regards the places mentioned in this grant, Maratakapuri is already known to us from the expression Maratakanagara-prānta occurring in the Satyamaṅgala plates of Dēvarāya II., and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has suggested that it may be identical with Viriñchipuram in

<sup>1</sup> See vv. 16, 21 and l. 135.—[*Sampatkumāra* is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil *Śelapillai*, the name of the god at Mēlukōṭe in the Mysore State. It seems therefore possible that the chief donee belonged originally to the Kanarese country, and his father's native place, Rambhāmayūranagarī (v. 18), may have to be looked for in the same country. One of the minor donees, Hampaṇa-bhaṭṭa (l. 93), was evidently called after the Paṃpāpati temple at Vijayanagara.—V. V.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> “For another date of exactly the same *tithi*, but with a wrong week-day, see *Southern List*, No. 488.”

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, p. 300, note 9.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Appendix II. p. 15, No. 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Seringapatam tāluks, No. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 321 f.

the North Arcot district.<sup>1</sup> *Kalavā-nivṛit* is derived from the town of *Kalavai* in the Arcot tāluka of the North Arcot district.<sup>2</sup> For *Paṇuvūr-kōṭṭam* see above, Vol. IV. pp. 82, 138, 180, 271; Vol. V. p. 50; Vol. VII. p. 192; and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89. The name of the village granted, *Nipataṭāka*, is evidently a Sanskrit translation of a Tamil name which should be *Kaḍappēri*.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact there is at present a village called *Kaḍappēri* in the *Wāḷājpēt* tāluka of the North Arcot district, which is situated five miles east of the anicut or masonry dam across the *Pālār* river, and two miles south-west of *Kāvēripāk* itself. It is situated on the *Kāvērippākkam* channel which at present takes off from the *Pālār* river on the southern side of the anicut, and is irrigated by a branch from it. It thus retains its ancient name, notwithstanding the attempt of a king to impose on it a new one.

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

*First Plate; First Side.*

- 1 भूवराहाय नमः ।
- 2 शुभंस्तु । विनायकाय नमः ।
- 3 लक्ष्मीम् पद्मळयत्वाद्यमन्त-
- 4 रायतमोपहम् । प्रथमद्वन्द्व-
- 5 सम्भूतम् प्रणयाद्देवै-
- 6 भवम् । [१\*] करुणामयवामांगं क-
- 7 ल्याणगुणभूषणम् । वन्दे चन्द्र-
- 8 कलाकल्पम् महस्त्रितयलोचनम् । [२\*]
- 9 भुवः प्रेमपरिषृंगपुष्पाङ्क-
- 10 तबाह्वे । नमो वराहवपु-
- 11 षे श्रीवैभवपुष्पे त्विषे । [३\*] व-
- 12 न्देनन्तफणाभूषां स्यन्दन-
- 13 'मोदधन्वनः । मेदिनीं हरिदोस्तम्-
- 14 'वमेघनादानुलासिनीम् । [४\*] आ-
- 15 सीत् सोमान्वये रम्ये यदुः पर-
- 16 मधार्मिकः । अंशावतीर्णो यद्व-
- 17 शे भगवान् 'पद्मलोचनः । [५\*] त-
- 18 त्कुले संगमो राजा समभूत्
- 19 सम्पदाविधिः । विक्रमैकरसस्त-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. Additions and Corrections, p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 271.

*Nipa* is the name of a tree, *Naucllea Cadamba*.—[An inscription of *Vira-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar* at *Kāvērip-pākkam* registers the sale of the village of *Kaḍappēri* in *Kalavai-parru*, a subdivision of *Paṇuvūr-kōṭṭam*; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, p. 34, No. 886 of 1905.—V.V.]

<sup>4</sup> From ink-impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The *ś* of *mmś* is at the end of l. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'लक्ष्मी'.

<sup>7</sup> Read पद्म.

- 20 स्व बुक्कभूपोभवत् सुतः । [६\*] श्री-  
 21 सर्व्वमंगलोपेतो राजा ह-  
 22 रिहरेश्वरः । सिद्धसारस्तत्त्वा-  
 23 चाहोकेयस्तत्तनूभवः । [७\*]  
 24 <sup>1</sup>देवरायमहाराजस्तत्त्वादजनि  
 25 पार्थिवः । यस्व पुत्रीभवद्दीमा-  
 26 न् राजा विजयभूपतिः । [८\*]

*First Plate; Second Side.*

- 27 सोयं विजयभूपाळो<sup>2</sup> रत्नसिं-  
 28 हासनम् भजन् । कटके भूभृताश्चक्रो  
 29 सिंहासनशुषो द्विषः । [९\*] श्रीदा-  
 30 र्थ्यैर्वैश्वीर्याणामावा-  
 31 सो<sup>3</sup> वासवोपमौ । अभूतान्दे-  
 32 वराजेन्द्रश्रीगिरीन्द्रौ तदात्मजौ । [१०\*]  
 33 देवरायो महाराजः पुरोजन्म-  
 34 तथा तयोः । प्रजानां सुकृतोन्मे-  
 35 षैः प्राप सिंहासनं परम् । [११\*] पु-  
 36 रोम् मरतकास्थान्तु सम्प्राप्य श्री-  
 37 गिरीश्वरः । शशास पृथिवीमेनां  
 38 सुचामेवामरावतीम् । [१२\*] सोयं श्री-  
 39 गिरिभूपाळोः<sup>4</sup> काश्चपान्वयज-  
 40 न्ननः । रम्भामयूरनगरीनाथस्व गु-  
 41 णशालिनः । [१३\*] सर्व्वायु[र्व्वेद]वेदां-  
 42 गसरस्वत्पारदृश्वनः । गोवि-  
 43 न्दपण्डिते[न्द्र]स्व तनूजाय यशस्वि-  
 44 ने । [१४\*] <sup>5</sup>नानान्वयायैर्व्विप्रेन्द्रै-  
 45 <sup>6</sup>र्व्विहत्भिर्ब[र्]न्धवैरपि<sup>7</sup> । समेता-  
 46 य समस्तानाम् भिषजामग्रयायि-  
 47 ने । [१५\*] दत्तम्<sup>8</sup> सम्पत्कुमाराय पूर्व्व

<sup>1</sup> The *ś* of *śś* is at the end of l. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The *ś* of *śau* is at the end of l. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>विहत्ति<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Read दत्तं.

<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>भूपाळी रत्न<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>भूपाळः काश्चपान्वय<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> The *ś* of *śśd* seems to have been added subsequently.

<sup>8</sup> Read नानान्वयायै<sup>०</sup>.

- 48 विजयभूभुजा । पकुवूत्कोड-  
 49 तिलकं कलवानीवृद्धतमम् । [१६\*] कावेरिपा-  
 50 ककुब्बाग्रप्राप्तकीवनवर्धितम् ।  
 51 या[म]म्<sup>१</sup> नीपतटाकाख्यम्<sup>२</sup> कांचणी-  
 52 यगुणान्वितम् । [१७\*] आम्नाख्यमान-

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 53 सखाख्यम्<sup>३</sup> नागकुब्बाप्रवा-  
 54 हतः । विस्तीर्णं सीमया बद्धम्  
 55 विविधोद्यानशोभितम् । [१८\*] तत्वा-  
 56 लोके शकस्वादे सम्प्रा-  
 57 ते क्रोधिवत्सरे । धगुवा-  
 58 सररेवत्वासुखान्नादशीति-  
 59 यी । [१९\*] हिरण्मयीदकसम्पूर्ण-  
 60 धारापूर्वकमादरात् । तमघ-  
 61 हारमाकख्यं सर्व्वमाश्रमदात्  
 62 पुनः । [२०\*] ततस्त्वम्पत्सुतो या-  
 63 मनेन विजयरा[ट]पुरम् । व[ट]पञ्चाश-  
 64 त्संख्यभागं कृत्वा तच्चै-<sup>४</sup>  
 65 शशाङ्किणीः । [२१\*] ह्यौ<sup>५</sup> भागौ<sup>६</sup>  
 66 विदधे किञ्च कामाक्षीधर्मम-  
 67 ऋषे । प्रत्यद्वन्द्वजभुक्त्यर्थ-  
 68 म् भागमेकमकल्पयत् । [२२\*] स्नात्य-  
 69 न्द्वारविंशतिम् 'भागान्निधाया-  
 70 ज्ञानयं सुधीः । सोदरेभ्यवा-<sup>७</sup>  
 71 वबन्धुभ्यो म[नी]पिभ्यश्च दत्तवा-  
 72 न् [२३\*] अभिजनविद्यावृत्तैर्भ्या-  
 73 ः<sup>८</sup> वृत्तैरेव भूषितो विप्रैः ।  
 74 आकल्पमग्रहारो जीयात्ता(म्)-

<sup>१</sup> Read चाम्.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'सखाख्यं.

<sup>३</sup> The secondary # of ax is omitted in the original.

<sup>४</sup> Read सोदरेभ्यस्त्ववन्धुभ्यो.

<sup>५</sup> The first three letters of this line are engraved upon an erasure.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'काख्यं.

<sup>७</sup> Read तचच्च.

<sup>८</sup> Cancel the # after भागौ.

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 75 क्वा<sup>1</sup> तु विजयरायपुरम् । [२४\*] अतः  
 76 परम् प्रत्येकम् भागनिर्णय<sup>2</sup> उच्य-  
 77 ते । ग्रामदैवतस्य श्रीचितम्ब-<sup>3</sup>  
 78 रनाथस्य शिवस्त्रीको भागः ।  
 79 गोविन्दनाथाख्यस्य विष्णोरे-  
 80 को भागः । कामाक्षीधर्ममण्ड-  
 81 पे प्रत्यन्द्विजभुक्तवर्त्यम् भा-  
 82 गम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः उमाप-  
 83 तिभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप य-  
 84 जुः चन्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य  
 85 आप यजुः पुण्डरीकाक्षभट्ट-  
 86 स्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः[:]<sup>4</sup> दे-  
 87 वराजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आ-  
 88 प यजुः लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य भागम् ।  
 89 काश्य आप यजुः 'गोविन्दभट्टस्य  
 90 भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप यजुः भास्कर-  
 91 भट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वा आप  
 92 त्रिवेदिवामनभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। आ-  
 93 च्येय आश्वल ऋक् हम्पणभट्टस्य  
 94 भागम् ।१। आच्येय आश्वल ऋक् विज-  
 95 येसरभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। कौशिक<sup>5</sup>  
 96 आप यजुः मार्त्तण्डभट्टस्य भाग-  
 97 म् ।१। 'षठम[र्ष] बो श्रीरिराजभट्टस्य  
 98 भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप यजुः लक्ष्म-  
 99 णभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 100 यजुः भास्करभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। क[†\*]श्य  
 101 आप यजुः 'एकान्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from क्वा.<sup>2</sup> Read 'निर्णय'.<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीचिदम्ब<sup>0</sup>.<sup>4</sup> The *visarga* seems to be an interlineation.<sup>5</sup> Read गोविन्द<sup>0</sup>.<sup>6</sup> The secondary *s* of *as* is omitted in the original.<sup>7</sup> Read षठ<sup>0</sup>.<sup>8</sup> Read एकान्द्र<sup>0</sup>.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.





- 102 भारद्वाज आप यज्ञः वेङ्गुडनाथ-<sup>1</sup>  
 103 दीक्षितस्य भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप  
 104 यज्ञः समरपुंगवभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।  
 105 वत्स आप यज्ञः यन्ननारायणभट्ट-  
 106 स्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आप यज्ञः का-  
 107 ऋक्षिनाथपावनाशयीर्भागम्<sup>2</sup> ।१।  
 108 भार्गव आप यज्ञः तिरुवैकटभट्टस्य<sup>3</sup>  
 109 भागम् ।१। वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् वरद-  
 110 राजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। भारद्वाज आ-  
 111 प यज्ञः पापनाथस्य भागम् ।०॥०।  
 112 भार्गव आप यज्ञः आण्डान्<sup>4</sup> पिळ्ळै  
 113 भागम् ।०॥०। बोधा यज्ञः दिवाकर-  
 114 न् पुचन् चन्द्रभट्टस्य भ[१\*]गम् ।०॥०। भार्ग-  
 115 व आप यज्ञः पेरुक्कै<sup>5</sup> देवरा-  
 116 जस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज आप यज्ञः  
 117 श्रीरुद्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०।०। काश्यप आ-  
 118 प यज्ञः श्रीरंगनाथस्य भागम् ।०।०।  
 119 वत्स आप यज्ञः त्रियम्बकस्य<sup>6</sup> भागम् [१\*]०॥०।  
 120 बाधूल<sup>7</sup> आप यज्ञः उत्ताडुसुन्द-<sup>8</sup>  
 121 रस्य भागम् ।०।०। भार्गव आप यज्ञः<sup>9</sup> पेरु-  
 122 क्कै वैकटस्य भागम् ।०।०। भारद्वाज  
 123 आप यज्ञः कुप्पनुळ्ळिट्टारुक्कु<sup>10</sup> भागम् १  
 124 भ[१\*]र्गव आप यज्ञः श्रीमूलपुचन् गु-  
 125 णीतुंगन् भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वाज आ-  
 126 प यज्ञः<sup>11</sup> स्कन्दकुमारस्य भागम् ।०॥०। निद्र-<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letters *Vēṅḡḇḇāṇḇ* are Tamil.

<sup>2</sup> पावनाथ is the vulgar Tamil form of the Sanskrit पापविनाश. The form पापनाथ occurs in line 111

<sup>3</sup> The letters *tiru* are Tamil.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Andāṇ*; the word *Piḷḷai* is written in Tamil.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *peru* are Tamil; read *Peruṅgai*.

<sup>6</sup> Read त्र्यम्बकस्य.

<sup>7</sup> Read बाधूल.

<sup>8</sup> Read उत्ताडुसुन्दरस्य.

<sup>9</sup> The *visarga* is engraved above the line. The letters *peru* are Tamil; read *Peruṅgai*.

<sup>10</sup> The whole of this name is written in Tamil, except the letter *ṇṣ* which is Grantha.

<sup>11</sup> The *ṣ* of *ṇṣ* is at the end of l. 124.

<sup>12</sup> Read स्कन्द°.

<sup>13</sup> [Read निद्रुक् and compare Apastamba's *Śrautasūtra* edited by Prof. Garbe, XXIV. 9, 14.—E. H.]

- 127 पकाश्च आप <sup>1</sup>श्रीरंगउपाध्यायस्य  
128 भागम् १०।०। वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् विष्णवे-

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 129 सप्तचवरदराजस्य भागम् १०।०। वा-  
130 सिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् नायिनार् पुत्रन्  
131 अनन्तनारायणस्य भागम् १०।१।  
132 वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् अनन्तनाराय-  
133 णभट्टस्य भागम् १०।१। काश्यप-  
134 गोत्रस्य आपस्त[म्\*]बसूत्रस्य यजुः(-)  
135 वेंदिनः सम्पत्कुमारपण्डितस्य  
136 भागम् १२२। काश्यप आप यजुः  
137 सम्पत्कुमारतनयस्य श्रीनिवा-  
138 सभट्टस्य भागम् १६। स्वदत्ताम् प-  
139 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरा[म्\*] ।  
140 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि <sup>३</sup>[वि]ष्टायाञ्चा-  
141 यते क्रिमिः । [२५\*] स्वदत्तात् <sup>४</sup>द्विगुणम् पु-  
142 ण्यम् परदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्ता-  
143 पचारेण स्वदत्तम् <sup>५</sup>निष्फलम् भ-  
144 वेत् । [२६\*] सामान्योयम् <sup>६</sup>धर्मसेतु-  
145 र्वृपाणां काले काले पालनी-  
146 यो भवत्भिः <sup>७</sup>। सर्वानेतान् भा-  
147 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो <sup>८</sup>  
148 याचते रामभद्रः । [२७\*]  
149 श्रीत्रियंबक <sup>९</sup> [११\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Salutation to Bhūvarāha! Let there be prosperity! Salutation to Vināyaka!

(Verse 1.) May that primal one (Vināyaka) increase (our) prosperity, who dispels the darkness of obstacles, who was born of the primal pair (Śiva and Pārvatī), and who is possessed of an unparalleled wealth of kindness (to his devotees)!

<sup>1</sup> Read श्रीरंगोपा°.

<sup>2</sup> The syllable [vi] is a subsequent addition.

<sup>3</sup> Read स्वदत्तं.

<sup>4</sup> The d of yd is at the beginning of l. 143.

<sup>5</sup> The r of Ndyindr is Tamil.

<sup>6</sup> Read स्वदत्तद.

<sup>7</sup> Read °न्योयं.

<sup>8</sup> in Kannada characters; read श्रीचं बक.

<sup>9</sup> Read भवतिः.

(V. 2.) I salute him (Śiva), the left half of whose body is the very embodiment of mercy (Pārvatī), who is adorned with good qualities, whose ornament is the moon's digit, and whose eyes are the three lights (*viz.* sun, moon and fire)!

(V. 3.) Salutation to that effulgence, whose form is that of a boar, whose arm bristled (*with pleasure*) at the loving embrace of the earth (*when he brought her up from the bottom of the sea*), and which increases (*our*) happiness and plenty!<sup>1</sup>

(V. 4.) Salutation to the earth which is an ornament on the (*expanded*) hood of Ananta, (*which served as*) a war-chariot to him (Śiva) who had the Mēru (*mountain*) for his bow (*at the time of burning Tripura*), and which is the pea-hen on the pillar of the arm of Hari (Viṣṇu)!

(V. 5.) In the beautiful race of the Moon was Yadu, of exceeding virtue, in whose lineage the lotus-eyed lord (Viṣṇu) was born as a partial incarnation (*viz.* Kṛishṇa).

(V. 6.) In his race arose king Saṅgama, who was a storehouse of all prosperity. His son was king Bukka, who was the very essence of valour.

(V. 7.) His son was king Hariharēśvara, who was endowed with fortune and with all auspicious things, who was fully accomplished in learning, and who was verily the lord of the world!<sup>2</sup>

(V. 8.) From him was born the king Dēvarāya-Mahārāja, whose son was the wise king Vijayabhūpati.

(V. 9.) This Vijayabhūpāla, being seated on the jewel-throne, caused (*his*) enemies to occupy the dens of lions on the sides of mountains.

(V. 10.) He had two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrigirindra, who resembled Vāsava (Indra) and were the abodes of generosity, fortitude and valour.

(V. 11 f.) The Mahārāja Dēvarāya, being the elder of these two, ascended the exalted throne owing to the fructification of the good deeds of (*his*) subjects; but Śrigiriśvara, having obtained the city called Marataka, ruled this earth just as Sutrāman (Indra) (*rules the city of*) Amarāvati.

(Vv. 13-20.) In the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) tattvālōka (*i.e.* 1346), in the year Krōdhin, on a Friday, under (the *nakshatra*) Rēvatī, on the *tithi* (called) Utthāna-dvādasi, this Śrigiribhūpāla again granted, out of respect, as *sartamānya*, by pouring out a full stream of water with gold, to endure till the end of the Kalpa, this *agrahāra*, (*viz.*) the village named Nipataṭāka, the front-ornament of the Paḷuvūt-kōṭṭa,<sup>3</sup> the best (*village*) in Kalavā-nivṛit, which is irrigated by the water obtained from a branch of the Kāvēripāka channel, which possesses desirable advantages, which is rich in crops flooded by the waters of the Nāgakulyā, which is of wide extent with vast boundaries, which is adorned with various gardens, and which had been granted before by Vijayabhūbhuj to Sampatkumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and relatives, who was the foremost among all physicians, and who was the renowned son of the great Gōvinda-papḍita, who was born in the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was the lord of the city of Rambhāmāyūra, who was possessed of (*good*) qualities, and who had seen the further shore of the ocean of the whole Āyurvēda and the Vēdāṅgas.

<sup>1</sup> There is a play upon the word *śrī*, suggesting that Viṣṇu in his boar-incarnation, while rescuing one of his consorts, *viz.* the Earth, was not inattentive to his other wife.

<sup>2</sup> There is a subtle suggestion in the use of the attribute *śrī-sarvamaṅgal-ōpātā*. The king's name (Harihara) being composed of that of Viṣṇu and Śiva, there is an appropriateness in his being said to be joined to Śrī (Viṣṇu's wife) and Sarvamaṅgalā (Pārvatī, Śiva's consort). So he is also 'verily the lord of the earth,' *viz.* Viṣṇu whose other consort is the Earth.

<sup>3</sup> This represents the Tamil Paḷuvūr-kōṭṭam.

(V. 21 f.) Afterwards Sampatsuta,<sup>1</sup> having divided this village Vijayarāyapura into fifty-six shares, gave thereof two shares to (*the temples of*) Śiva and Viṣṇu, and set apart one share for the yearly feeding of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāmakṣī-dharma-maṇḍapa*.

(V. 23.) This wise man reserved twenty-two shares for himself and gave the remaining ones to his brothers, relatives, and learned men.

(V. 24.) May this *agrahāra* named Vijayarāyapura prosper till the end of the Kalpa, adorned by holy Brāhmaṇas of good lineage, learning and virtuous conduct!

(L. 75.) Hereafter follows the assignment of the shares to each individual.

No.	Name of donee.	Gotra.	Sātra.	Śakṛd.	Share.
1	The temple of Śrī-Chidambaranātha Śiva in the village.	...	...	...	1
2	(The temple of) Gōvinda-nātha Viṣṇu	...	...	...	1
3	For feeding Brāhmaṇas yearly in the <i>Kāmakṣī-dharma-maṇḍapa</i> .	...	...	...	1
4	Umāpati-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
5	Chandra-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	†
6	Puṇḍarikākṣa-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
7	Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
8	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	[2*] <sup>2</sup>
9	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	†
10	Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	†
11	Trivēdi-Vāmana-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	...	1
12	Hampaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Ātrēya . . .	Āśvalāyana . . .	Rich . . .	1
13	Vijayēśvara-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
14	Mārtāṇḍa-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Kauṭika . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
15	Śaurirāja-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Śaṭhamarṣaṇa . . .	Bōdhāyana . . .	...	†
16	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Vādhūla . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	†
17	Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	2
18	Ēkāmra-bhaṭṭa . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	†
19	Vēṅgaḍanātha-dīkṣita . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	†
20	Samarapuṅgava-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Vādhūla . . .	" . . .	" . . .	†
21	Yajñanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . .	Vatṣa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	
22	Kālahastinātha and Pāvanāśa . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
				Carried over .	19½

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Sampatkumāra of v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The number of shares is missing; but, adding up the other shares and deducting them from the total 56 (v. 21), we arrive at the figure 2 for this donee.

No.	Name of donee.	Gô'ra.	Sôtra.	Śakha.	Share.
				Brought forward .	19½
23	Tiruvēṅkaṭa-bhaṭṭa . . .	Bhārgava . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
24	Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vāsishṭha . . .	Bôdhāyana . . .	Rich . . .	1
25	Pāpanāśa . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	½
26	Āṇḍāṇ Pīḷai . . . . .	Bhārgava . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
27	Chandra-bhaṭṭa, son of Divākara .	...	Bôlhāyana . . .	" . . .	½
28	Peruṅgai Dēvarāja . . . . .	Bhārgava . . .	Āpastamba . . .	" . . .	½
29	Śrī-Rudra-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
30	Śrīraṅganātha . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
31	Tryambaka . . . . .	Vata . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
32	Udbāhusundara . . . . .	Vādhūla . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
33	Peruṅgai Vēṅkaṭa . . . . .	Bhārgava . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
34	Kuppaṇ and partners <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
35	Guṇōttuṅga, son of Śrīmūla . . . .	Bhārgava . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
36	Skandakumāra . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
37	Śrīraṅgōpādhyāya . . . . .	Nidhruva-Kāśyapa . . .	" . . .	...	½
38	Varadarāja, son of Viśēshajña . . .	Vāsishṭha . . .	Bôdhāyana . . .	Rich . . .	½
39	Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Nāyinār . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
40	Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	½
41	Sampatkumāra-panḍita . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	22
42	Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, son of Sampat-kumāra .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	6
				TOTAL .	56

The inscription ends with three of the usual imprecatory verses (25-27) and the name of the god Śrī-Tryambaka (Śiva).

### No. 33.—TWO ANAIMALAI INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. VENKOBA RAO; OOTACAMUND.

The two subjoined inscriptions were discovered by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the Nṛsiṃha temple at the village of Nāraṅgaṅgam, 6 miles east of Madura. The central shrine of this temple is cut into the hill known as Āṇaimalai. In an inscription dated in the

<sup>1</sup> [For *uḷḷiṭṭār* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 64 and 71, and the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, s.v. :—"associés, participants, parties intéressées. Il se dit principalement des frères associés ou qui vivent sous le régime de la communauté; lorsque l'un d'eux fait un marché, les autres sont *uḷḷiṭṭār*." The *Sukṛti-bhṛdvaraṇ* of the Piprāvā inscription probably belonged to such an 'undivided family,' and this is the reason why only the name of Sukṛti, who must have been the head of the family, was quoted there.—E.H.]

33rd year of the reign of the Chôla king Parântaka I.<sup>1</sup> found in the temple, the hill is called Tiruvânaimalai. It is also referred to in his *Dēvāram* by Tiruñānasambandar, the great Śaiva saint, as a stronghold of the Jainas.<sup>2</sup> Tradition has it that Tiruñānasambandar drove out the Jainas from the vicinity of Madura after converting the then reigning Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ to the Śaiva faith.<sup>3</sup> There are still vestiges of Jaina dominancy on the hill. On a rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave there are a number of Tamil inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> one of which mentions Ajjanandi.<sup>5</sup> The cave is evidently one of those which the Jainas occupied in old times.

The first inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the central shrine. The letters are cut boldly and deeply, and, being in the interior, the record is in good preservation; at the end of lines 5 and 6 are a few damaged letters which can be easily supplied from the context. The alphabet is Grantha. The final *m* is represented by a smaller *m* with a vertical stroke on its top; see e.g. *-idam* in l. 3. The letter *ṇa* is of a more archaic type than that of the Gaṅga-Pallava period,<sup>6</sup> and *ya* is also slightly different from the common form of that time.

The record consists of three verses, of which the first mentions the son of Māra of the Vaidya family,<sup>7</sup> who was the minister (*mantrin*, v. 2) of the Pāṇḍya king Parântaka. He was apparently an expert in the art of composing poetry and hence is called Madhurakavi. His actual name, Māraṅgāri, occurs in the second inscription, where he also bears the title Mūvēdamāṅgalappēraraiyaṇ. He was a native of Karavandapura (v. 1) or, according to the second inscription, of Kaḷakkūḍi.<sup>8</sup> The third verse contains the date—a Sunday in the month of Kārttika of the year 3871 (expired) of the Kaliyuga era=A.D. 770. On this day an image of the god Viṣṇu was set up in the cave.

The second inscription, which, though well preserved, is not cut so deeply as the first, is a supplement to the latter and is engraved on the right side of the entrance. The characters of this record are an archaic form of Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Grantha. The latter is employed in some Sanskrit words that occur in the inscription, viz. *mantri* (l. 2), *Vaidyan* (l. 2 f.), *svargg-drôhaṇa* (l. 6 f.), *anujan* (l. 8) and *mantra-padam* (l. 9). The Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this inscription seems to be the same as that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman published by Mr. V. Venkayya;<sup>9</sup> compare *r*, *n*, *t*, *u* and particularly *k* (which has not yet assumed the shape peculiar

<sup>1</sup> No. 63 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *Āṇaimāmalaiy=ādiyaṇ=idaṅgaḷiṇ=paḷav=allaḷ-iṭṭ-r-iṇargaḷk=eliyṇ=alēṇ=Ṛiruvōḷavdy=ara=ṇirkavē*.—Tiruñānasambandar's *Tiruvōḷavdy Paḍigam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Śendami*, Vol. III. p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 67 to 74 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>5</sup> A Jaina teacher of this name is mentioned in the rock inscriptions at Vaḷḷimalai in the North Arcot district; above, Vol. IV. p. 141 f.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 320, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the word *vaidya* is derived from *vēda*, and the name seems to indicate that the members of the family were proficient in the sacred literature.

<sup>8</sup> In an inscription at Pirāṇmalai (No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903) Karavandapura is mentioned as another name of Kaḷakkūḍi in the district of Kaḷakkūḍi, and in a record at Śuchindram (above, Vol. V. p. 43) Karavandapuram is said to have been situated in the district of Kaḷakkūḍi. Kaḷakkūḍi is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kaḷakkūḍ in the Nāṅgunēri tāḷuka, which even to this day has a dilapidated fort (Mr. Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 314).

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 57. The village granted in this inscription is Vēlaṅḡuḍi renamed Śrīvaramaṅgalam after the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjādaiaṇ, one of whose birudas was apparently Śrīvara. In the *Tiruvōḷmōḷi* (verses 508 to 516) reference is made to Śrīvaramaṅgai or Śrīvaramaṅgalanagar, which is identified with Nāṅgunēri known to Viṣṇuvas under the names Vāṅasaṅmalai and Bōḍāḍri. It is not unlikely that the two Śrīvaramaṅgalams are identical.

to the later alphabet wherein it is hardly distinguishable from *ch*) with the corresponding letters of the plates. The secondary *i* is written more on the top than on the side of the consonant as it is in later forms. The *puḷḷi*<sup>1</sup> appears to be marked in a number of cases. The vowels *a* and *ā* are the same as those employed on the Kīl-Muttugūr stones.<sup>2</sup> Though the Vaṭṭeḷuttu of this inscription resembles to a certain extent the characters of the Madras Museum plates, yet as the Grantha alphabet used in the latter seems to be more developed than that of the Sanskrit portion of the subjoined records, it is safer to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the latter is earlier than the Jaṭilavarman of the Museum plates.

The king is here called Mārañjadaiyaṇ, i.e. Śaḍaiyaṇ, the son of Māraṇ (or Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māgarvarman in Sanskrit).<sup>3</sup> His minister Māraṅgāri,<sup>4</sup> mentioned above, excavated the cave at Ānaimalai, but died before its consecration.<sup>5</sup> His younger brother Māraṇ Eyinaṇ *alias* Pāṇḍimaṅgalaviśaiyaraiaṇ, who succeeded him as minister, subsequently built the *maṇḍapa* in front and performed the consecration ceremony.

From the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya<sup>6</sup> we learn that he was also surnamed Mārañjadaiyaṇ. But an inscription of his found at Uttamapālayam<sup>7</sup> in the Madura district couples Śaka 792 with his 8th year. His accession must therefore be placed about A.D. 862. The Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the Ānaimalai inscription was thus a predecessor of Varaguna and may have been his grandfather.

It is worthy of note that Madhurakavi was the name borne by one of the Vaishṇava Ālvārs, and the Madhurakavi of the subjoined inscriptions was also a Vaishṇava. Nammālvār, who, according to Vaishṇava tradition, was a contemporary of Madhurakavi Ālvār, was called Kārimāraṇ, i.e. Māraṇ, the son of Kāri. Is it possible that he was the son of the minister Māraṅgāri? If this be the case, it is not apparent why he has omitted to mention the shrine built by his father, while the Tirumōgūr temple, which is situated close to it, is the subject of a hymn<sup>8</sup> by Nammālvār.

#### TEXT OF No. I.<sup>9</sup>

1 <sup>10</sup>करवन्दपुरनिवासी श्रीमान्वैद्यः मित्रा-

2 गृहं विष्णोः [१\*] भक्त कृती मधुरकविर्भै-

<sup>1</sup> It occurs in *p* and *ṇ* of the word *maṅgalappēraraiaṇ* (l. 3 f.), in *n* of *Māraṅgāri* (l. 4 f.), in *y* and *ṇ* of *eyyda piṇṇai* (l. 7), in *n* of *anuṇ* (l. 8), in *y* of *eydiṇa* (l. 9), in *ṇ* of *Pāṇḍi* (l. 9), and in *ṇ* of *Māraṇ* (l. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> In the Madras Museum plates, the king (called Jaṭilavarman, the son of Māgarvarman, in the Sanskrit portion and Neḍuñjadaiyaṇ in the Tamil portion) bears the surname Parāntaka along with a number of other titles. This would lead us to identify the Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the subjoined records with the donor of the Madras Museum plates. But the alphabet of the latter seems to be more developed than that of the former. A *cragal* in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet (No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895) set up in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ. The writing seems to resemble that of the Museum plates, and the inscription refers to Viḷuṇam.

<sup>4</sup> Here again the minister is called Vaidyaṇ. The Madras Museum plates tell us that Mūrti Eyinaṇ *alias* Viramaṅgalappēraraiaṇ, who was the king's *Mahāśaṁṁṁ* in the 17th year of his reign, was a Vaidya. The inscription quoted in the paper on the Madras Museum plates refers to a fourth member of the same family, viz. Śāttāṅgapavadi *alias* Amṛitamāṅgalavaraiaṇ, who was a *Mahāśaṁṁṁ* in the 6th year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ. The last as well as the two brothers mentioned in the Ānaimalai inscriptions were natives of Karavandapuram.

<sup>5</sup> The Tamil word *nṛttaḷittal* (or more correctly *nṛttaḷittal*) is synonymous with the Sanskrit *samprḍānaśa*, which according to Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* means 'the act of sprinkling well over; consecration (of a temple, etc.).'

<sup>6</sup> No. 414 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>7</sup> No. 705 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>8</sup> Pāṭṭampattu, Mudal Tiruvāymoḷi beginning *tāḷa tāmarai-ttāḍamaṇi-eyyāl-Tirumōgūṭ*.

<sup>9</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopichandran Rao.

<sup>10</sup> The metre of this verse and of the next is Āryā.



- 3 धुरतरो मा[र]सुनुरिदम् ॥— [१\*] मन्त्री स ए-  
 4 व मतिमान्याष्यस्य परा[न्त]काभिधान-  
 5 स्त्र [१\*] अमितर्षिमयजेभ्यः [प्रादादि]म-  
 6 मयहारमपि ॥— [२\*] कलिः<sup>१</sup> [सहस्रत्रि]-  
 7 तयेद्गोचरे [ग]तेष्टय-  
 8 त्वामपि सैकसप्ततौ [१\*] कृतप्र-  
 9 तिष्ठो भगवानभूत्कामादिहै-  
 10 ष पौष्णेहनि मासि कार्तिके [॥ ३\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Pre-eminently charming (*in manners*), a resident of Karavandapura, the son of Māra, (*and a*) learned (*and*) illustrious (*member of the*) Vaidya (*family*),— Madhurakavi made this stone temple of Vishṇu.

(V. 2.) The same (*viz.* Madhurakavi), the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya (*king*) named Parāntaka, also gave away to the first-born (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) this immensely rich *agrahāra*.

(V. 3.) When three thousand and eight hundred and seventy-one years of Kali had passed<sup>२</sup>—on the day of the sun in the month of Kārttika, this (*image of the*) god was duly set up here.

TEXT OF No. II.<sup>३</sup>

- 1 Kō Mārañjadaiyaṅku u-  
 2 ttara-mantri Kaḷakkuḍi Vai-  
 3 dyan Mūvëndamaṅgalap-  
 4 pēraraiyaṅ āgiya Mārañ-<sup>४</sup>  
 5 [gā]ri i-kkaṇṇāli seydu  
 6 nīr[ttā]ḷiyādēy svargg-ārō-  
 7 ha[ṇṇā]=jeyda piṇṇai ava-  
 8 nukku anujan uttara-  
 9 mantra-padam-eydiṇa Pāṇḍi-  
 10 maṅgalaviśaiaraiyaṅ<sup>५</sup>  
 11 āgiya Māraṇṇ-Ei-<sup>६</sup>  
 12 ṇaṇ muga-maṇḍamañ=<sup>७</sup>je-  
 13 ydu nirttaḷittāṇ [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Māraṅgāri *alias* Vaidyan Mūvëndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṅ of Kaḷakkuḍi, the prime-minister (*uttara-mantrin*) of king Mārañjadaiyaṅ, made this stone temple and ascended heaven (*i.e.* died) without consecrating (*it*). Subsequently, his younger brother Māraṇ Eyiṇaṇ *alias*

<sup>१</sup> The metre of this verse is Vahśasṭha.

<sup>२</sup> Literally, "when a trial of thousands and eight hundred together with seventy-one had come within the range of the years of Kali."

<sup>३</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

<sup>४</sup> In the original there seems to be a *ka* after the guttural *ā*.

<sup>५</sup> Read *viśaiyaraiaṅ*. The *r* of *rai* looks like *ka*.

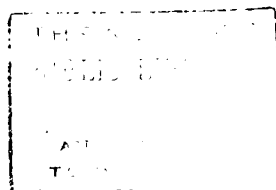
<sup>६</sup> Read =Eyiṇaṇ.

<sup>७</sup> Read =maṇḍapañ.

No. I.



E. Hultsch.



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Pāṇḍimaṅgalaṁṣaiyaraṇ, who attained to the dignity of prime-minister, made the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and consecrated (*the shrine*).

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<sup>1</sup> The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the *Additions and Correction* on pp. vi and vii. The following other abbreviations are used :— *ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *dh.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *W.* = Western.

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## APPENDIX I.

### SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NORTHERN INDIA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

For my List of Inscriptions of Southern India, published as an Appendix to Vol. VII. of this Journal, I have given a separate list of all dated inscriptions, arranged in the order of the Śaka years. Since something of the same kind appears desirable for my List of the northern inscriptions, which was issued as an Appendix to Vol. V., I herewith publish a similar list of dated northern inscriptions, arranged in the order of the years A.D. From this list I have omitted a small number of inscriptions which either contain no names at all or mention only private individuals of no historical importance; on the other hand, I have included in it, with the necessary references, the dates of 14 inscriptions<sup>1</sup> published or noticed after the appearance of my *Northern List*. Where the date of an inscription admits of exact calculation, I of course have given here the year A.D. previously found for it; otherwise I have converted years of the Mālava-Vikrama era into years A.D. by subtracting 57, and years of the Śaka, Kalachuri, Gupta-Valabhi, Harsha, Newār and Lakshmaṇasēna eras by adding 78, 248, 319, 605, 880 and 1120, respectively. The inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa (Nos. 387-390, and 392 of my *List*) I now consider to be dated, very probably, according to the Gupta (not the Kalachuri) era, and have therefore entered the years of their dates here as Gupta years and converted them accordingly; in consequence of this change I provisionally have taken the inscription No. 522 to be dated in A.D. 508 (not in A.D. 484). The year of the inscription No. 510 I have given as G. 335 (= A.D. 654), instead of G. 535, as the numerical symbols of the date have been read hitherto. Moreover, a Gwālior inscription, which has come to my notice quite lately, has convinced me that Mr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar is substantially right in taking the inscriptions Nos. 710, 542 and 544 to be dated in the [Vikrama] years 900, 955 and 988; and I therefore have given the years of those inscriptions here as A.D. 843, 898 and 931.

In my *Southern List* I have arranged the inscriptions mainly according to the dynasties to which they belong.<sup>2</sup> In the *Northern List*, where such an arrangement seemed impracticable, the inscriptions of one and the same dynasty or family are mostly separated from each other by other inscriptions, so that it is impossible to see at a glance or find out readily which of its members are mentioned in the List, or how the members of a particular dynasty or family are related to one another. To remedy this defect, I am giving here, after the list of dated inscriptions, genealogical or succession lists of a number of dynasties or families treated of in the northern inscriptions. The information furnished regarding the individual members of a dynasty, their relationship, titles, etc., is generally confined to what has been stated in the *Northern List*; the dates given refer in the first instance to the List of dated inscriptions, the numbers to undated inscriptions of the *Northern List*.

On page 19 f. below will be found a Table of Contents of the Appendix to Volume V. and of the Appendix I. here published.

<sup>1</sup> A fuller account of these and other (published and unpublished) inscriptions I hope to give on a future occasion, as a continuation of my *Northern List*.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogies of the southern dynasties will be given hereafter as a separate Appendix.



# A.—LIST OF DATED NORTHERN INSCRIPTIONS

ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THE YEARS A.D.<sup>1</sup>

A.D.	NUMBER	A.D.	NUMBER
371.—V. 428. <i>Varika ch.</i> Vishnuvardhana, .	1	493.—Ś. 415. †¶ <i>Gurjara</i> Dadda II.	
401.—G. 82. <i>Gupta</i> Chandragupta II. and a		<i>Prasāntarāga</i> , . . . . .	348
<i>Sanakānika ch.</i> , . . . . .	436	495.—Ś. 417. †¶ <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	349
407.—G. 88. [ <i>Gupta</i> Chandragupta II.], .	437	496 (P).—G. (P) 177. ¶ <i>Mahārāja</i> Jayanātha of	
412.—G. 93. <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	438	<i>Uchchakalpa</i> , . . . . .	388
415.—G. 96. <i>Gupta</i> Kumārāgupta I., .	439	502.—G. 183. ¶ <i>Drōṇasimha</i> of <i>Valabhī</i> . <sup>2</sup>	
417.—G. 98. [ <i>do.</i> ], . . . . .	440	508 (P).—[ <i>Parivṛjaka</i> ] <i>Mahārāja</i> Hastin	
423 (P).—V. 480 (P). <i>Ch.</i> Viśvavarman and min.		and <i>Mahārāja</i> Śarvanātha [of <i>Uchcha-</i>	
<i>Mayūṛākshaka</i> , . . . . .	2	<i>kalpa</i> ], . . . . .	522
432 (P).—G. 113 (P). <i>Gupta</i> Kumārāgupta I., .	442	510.—G. 191. <i>Gupta</i> Bhānugupta, and widow	
436.—V. 493. <i>do.</i> , and Bandhavarman,		of <i>ch.</i> Gōparāja, . . . . .	455
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448.—G. 129. <i>Gupta</i> Kumārāgupta I., .	443	<i>Hastin</i> , . . . . .	456
455.—K. 207. ¶ <i>Traikūṭaka</i> <i>Mahārāja</i>		512 (P).—G. (P) 193. ¶ <i>Mahārāja</i> Śarvanātha	
<i>Dahrasēna</i> , . . . . .	391	of <i>Uchchakalpa</i> , . . . . .	399
455-57.—G. 136-38. <i>Gupta</i> Skandagupta,		516 (P).—G. (P) 197. ¶ [ <i>do.</i> ], . . . . .	390
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<i>Surdāhīra</i> , . . . . .	446	457, 458	
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<i>Hastin</i> , . . . . .	451	533 (P).—G. (P) 214. ¶ <i>Mahārāja</i> Śarvanātha	
477.—G. 158. ¶ <i>Mahārāja</i> Lakshmana of		of <i>Uchchakalpa</i> , . . . . .	392
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478.—Ś. 400. †¶ <i>Gurjara</i> Dadda II.		540.—G. 221. ¶ <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	462
<i>Prasāntarāga</i> , . . . . .	347	540.—K. 292. ¶ <i>Mahārāja</i> Saingantasīha. <sup>3</sup>	
482.—G. 163. ¶ <i>Parivṛjaka</i> <i>Mahārāja</i>		559 (P 556).—G. 240 (P 237). ¶ <i>Guhasēna</i> of	
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<i>kas</i> , . . . . .	393	588.—G. 269. ¶ <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	473

<sup>1</sup> In this List *ch.* = chief; *do.* = ditto; *E.* = Eastern; *k.* = king; *min.* = minister and *W.* = Western. The sign † indicates that the inscription referred to is considered spurious; the sign ¶, that it is on copper-plates.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 4, and Plate. The inscription may possibly be spurious. The date of it might correspond to the 5th July A.D. 502, which, with mean intercalation, was the full moon day of the first Śrāvana, and on which there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

See *ibid.* p. 213.

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588 (P).—G. (P) 269. <i>Buddhist Mahānāman</i> , .	474	669.—K. 421. ¶ <i>Gujarāt Chalukya Yuvarāja</i>	
590.—G. 270. ¶ <i>Dharasēna II. of Valabhi</i> , .	475	Śrīśāraya-Śīlāditya, .	400
594.—K. 346. ¶ <i>A Gurjara k. (P)</i> , .	394	669.—G. 350. ¶ <i>Śīlāditya III. of Valabhi</i> , .	487
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627.—H. 22. ¶ <i>Harsha of Kanauj</i> , .	528	691.—K. 443. ¶ <i>Gujarāt Chalukya Yuva-</i>	
628.—K. 380. ¶ <i>Gurjara Dadda II. Prasān-</i>		<i>rāja Śrīśāraya-Śīlāditya and W. Chalukya</i>	
<i>tarāga</i> , .	395	<i>Vinayāditya</i> , .	401
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644 (P).—H. (P) 39. [ <i>Mahāśāmantā</i> ] <i>Ameṣu-</i>		750 (P).—H. (P) 145. <i>Dūtaka Yuvarāja</i>	
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649.—G. 330. ¶¶ <i>do.</i> , .	483, 484	<i>sēna</i> , .	498
650 (P).—H. (P) 45 (P). [ <i>Mahāśāmantā</i> ] <i>Ameṣu-</i>		758 (P).—H. (P) 153. <i>K. Jayadēva Parachakra-</i>	
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653 (P).—H. (P) 48. <i>K. Jishnugupta</i> , .	534	760.—G. 441. ¶ <i>Śīlāditya VI. of Valabhi</i> , .	499
653.—G. 334. ¶ <i>Dhruvasēna III. of Valabhi</i> , .	485	766.—G. 447. ¶ <i>Śīlāditya VII. Dhṛubata of</i>	
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656.—G. 337. ¶ <i>Kharagraha II. [Dharmā-</i>		804 (P).—Ś. 726 (R). <i>K. Jayachandra of</i>	
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661.—V. 718. <i>Guhila Aparājita</i> , .	5	<i>Kīragrāma</i> , .	351

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 297, and Plate.<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* p. 144, and Plate.—Compare No. 678, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 100.<sup>3</sup> See *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 8.<sup>4</sup> See *Nachrichten K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 527.

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804 (P).—Year 80. <i>K. Jayachandra of Trigarta and ch. Lakshmanachandra of Kīragrāma</i> . . . . .	569	951 and 953.—V. 1008 and 1010. <i>Guhila Allata</i> , . . . . .	34
842.—V. 898. <i>Chāḍavaṇa Chapdamabāsena</i> , . . . . .	12	954.—V. 1011. <i>Chandēlla Yasōvarman and Dhaṅga</i> , . . . . .	35
843.—V. 900. ¶ <i>Bhōjadēva I. Prabhāsa of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	710	955.—V. 1011. <i>Chandēlla Dhaṅga (P)</i> , . . . . .	36
853 (P).—¶ <i>K. Lalitāditya of Kārttikēyapura</i> , . . . . .	603	960.—V. 1016. <i>Vijayapāla of Kanauj and Gurjarapratihāra ch. Mathanadēva</i> , . . . . .	39
861.—V. 917. <i>Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala</i> . <sup>1</sup>		968.—V. 1025. <i>Nishkalanka, governor of Siyadōni</i> , . . . . .	40
861.—V. 918. <i>Paṇihāra (Pratihāra) Kakkuka</i> , . . . . .	13	971.—V. 1028. <i>Guhila Naravāhana</i> , . . . . .	42
862.—V. 919; Ś. 784. <i>Bhōjadēva of Kanauj and Vishpurama, governor of Luachchhagira</i> , . . . . .	14	971 (P).—V. 102[8]. <i>K. Chāmuṇḍarāja</i> , . . . . .	43
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875.—V. 932. <i>Ādivarāha (Bhōjadēva) of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	15	974.—V. 1030. ¶ <i>Chaulukya Mūlarāja I.</i> , . . . . .	45
876.—V. 933. <i>Bhōjadēva of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	16	974.—V. 1031. ¶ <i>Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. (Muñjarāja)</i> , . . . . .	46
881.—H. 276. <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	546	977.—V. 1034. <i>Kachchhapaghāta Vajradaman</i> , . . . . .	47
898.—Valabhi-s. 574. ¶ <i>Mahēndrāyudha (Mahēndrapāla) of Kanauj and Chālukya ch. Balavarman</i> . <sup>3</sup>		977.—V. 1034. <i>Guhila Śaktikumāra</i> , . . . . .	48
898.—V. 955. ¶ <i>Mahēndrapāla Bhāka of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	542	979.—V. 1036. ¶ <i>Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. (Muñjarāja)</i> , . . . . .	49
99.—V. 956. ¶ <i>Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj and Chālukya ch. Avanivarman II</i> . <sup>4</sup>		987.—V. 1043. ¶ <i>Chaulukya Mūlarāja I.</i> , . . . . .	50
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904.—G. 585. ¶ <i>Jainka</i> , . . . . .	502	997.—V. 1053. <i>Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikundī</i> , . . . . .	53
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939.—V. 996. <i>Rāshtrakūṭa Mammata of Hastikundī</i> , . . . . .	30	1027.—V. 1084. ¶ <i>Trilōchanapāla [of Kanauj]</i> , . . . . .	60
948.—V. 1005. <i>Dēvapāla of Kanauj and Nishkalanka, governor of Siyadōni</i> , . . . . .	31	1029.—V. 1086. ¶ <i>Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I.</i> , . . . . .	61
951.—V. 1008. <i>Nishkalanka, governor of Siyadōni</i> , . . . . .	33	1036.—V. 1093. <i>Yasahpāla [of Kanauj?]</i> , . . . . .	62
		1037 (P).—K. 789 (P). <i>Kalachuri Gāṅḍya</i> , . . . . .	406
		1038.—Ś. 960. ¶ <i>E. Gaṅga Vajrahasta</i> , . . . . .	355
		1042.—K. 793. ¶ <i>Kalachuri Karṇa</i> , . . . . .	407
		1042.—V. 1099. <i>Ch. Pūrṇapāla (P)</i> , . . . . .	64
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<sup>1</sup> See *Nachrichten K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 519. The date corresponds to Friday, 21st March A.D. 861.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXIX. Part I. p. 91, and Vol. LXX. Part I. Plate i. The published text gives the year as 921, but it is 927.—Compare No. 804.

<sup>3</sup> See *Nachrichten K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1904, p. 204. <sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* p. 205.

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1061.—Ś. 972. ¶ <i>Chaulukya</i> ( <i>Chálukya</i> ) Trilóchanapála of <i>Lādāśa</i> , . . . . .	356	1114.—V. 1171. ¶¶ Gōvindahandra of <i>Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	84, 692
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1065.—V. 1112. ¶ <i>Paramāra</i> Jayasimha, . . . . .	67	1117.—V. 1173. <i>Chandēlla</i> Jayavarman, . . . . .	86
1068.—Ś. 979. ¶ <i>E. Gaṅga</i> Vajrahasta, . . . . .	357	1117.—V. 1174. ¶ Gōvindahandra of <i>Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	87
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1060.—V. 1117. <i>Paramāra</i> Kṛishṇarāja of <i>Śrīmīla</i> , . . . . .	689	1119.—V. 1174 (for 1175 P). ¶ Gōvindahandra of <i>Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	88
1067.—V. 1123. <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	690	1119 (P).—V. 1175. ¶ <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	89
1075.—Ś. 997. <i>E. Gaṅga</i> Rājārāja I., and cā. Vanapati (Banapati). <sup>1</sup>		1119.—V. 1176. ¶ <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	91
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1078.—Ś. 999. ¶ <i>E. Gaṅga</i> Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, . . . . .	358	1119.—V. 1176. Mentions Gōpāla of <i>Gādhīpura</i> and k. Madana, . . . . .	92
1080.—V. 1136. <i>Paramāra</i> Chāmūṇḍarāja, . . . . .	69	1120.—V. 1177. ¶ Gōvindahandra of <i>Kanauj</i> and <i>Kalachuri</i> Yaśahkarna, . . . . .	93
1080.—V. 1137. <i>Paramāra</i> Udayāditya, . . . . .	70	1120.—V. 1177. ¶ <i>Kachchhapaghāta</i> Virasimha, . . . . .	94
1081.—Ś. 1003. ¶ <i>E. Gaṅga</i> Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, . . . . .	359	1122.—V. 1178. ¶ Gōvindahandra of <i>Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	95
1083 (P).—N. (P) 203. Vāṇadēva, son of k. Yaśōdēva, . . . . .	559	1122.—[K. 874]. ¶ <i>Kalachuri</i> Yaśahkarna, . . . . .	410
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1098.—V. 1154. <i>Chandēlla</i> Kīrtivarman and min. Vatsarāja, . . . . .	76	1129.—V. 1186. <i>Chandēlla</i> Madanavarman, . . . . .	101
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1114.—K. 866. Jājalla I. of <i>Ratnapura</i> , . . . . .	409	1184.—V. 1191. ¶ Gōvindahandra of <i>Kanauj</i> and <i>Singara</i> prince Vatsarāja (Lōhadadēva), . . . . .	109
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1455.—S. 1377. ¶ <i>Gāṇadēva of Koṇḍavidu</i> , and <i>Kapila-Gajapati of Kaṭaka</i> ,	376	1631.—V. 1688. <i>Tōmara ch. Mitrasēna of</i> <i>Guḍlior</i> ,	318
1458.—V. 1515. <i>Guhila Kumbhakarna</i> ,	295	1637.—N. 757. <i>K. Siddhinṛisimhamalla</i> ,	563
1460.—V. 1516. <i>Sindhurāja, Dāmi I., etc.</i> ,	296	1649.—N. 769. <i>K. Pratāpa</i> (Jayapratāpa- malla),	564
1484.—Year 60. <i>Muḥammad Shāh</i> (Maham- mada <i>Shāha</i> ),	572	1657.—N. 777. <i>do.</i> ,	565
1489.—V. 1545. <i>Guhila Rājamalla</i> ,	297	1667.—V. 1724. <i>Ch. Hṛdayasēna of Gaḍhā-</i> <i>dēsa and queen Sundaridēvi</i> ,	322
1498 and 1504.—V. 1556 and 1561. <i>do.</i> , and <i>queen Śrīṅgaradēvi</i> ,	301	1672.—N. 792. <i>K. Śrīnivāsa</i> ,	566
1499.—V. 1555. <i>Queen Rūḍadēvi of Vāghēla</i> <i>Vīrasimha of Daṇḍāhidēsa, and Sultān</i> <i>Mahmūd Baiqara</i> (Mahamūda),	299	1689.—N. 810. <i>Queen Riddhilakshmi, mother</i> <i>of k. Bhūpālēndramalla</i> ,	567
1499.—V. 1556. <i>Bāi Harira, and Sultān</i> <i>Mahmūd Baiqara</i> (Mahamūda),	300	1713.—V. 1770. <i>Ch. Saṁgrāmasimha of</i> <i>Mēwād</i> ,	323
1501 (P).—V. 1557 (P). <i>Guhila Rāyamalla</i> (Rājamalla) and <i>prince Prithvirāja</i> ,	306	1723.—N. 843. <i>Princess Yōgamati, mother</i> <i>of Lōkaprakāsa</i> ,	568
1525.—V. 1581. <i>Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdi</i> ,	308	1804.—V. 1861. ¶ <i>Ratnakumārikā, queen of</i> <i>ch. Jayantasimha [of Sambalpur]</i> ,	324
1530.—V. 1587. <i>Guhila Ratnasimha, and</i> <i>Sultān Bahādur</i> (Bahadara-sāha),	304	1817-20.—V. 1874-77. <i>Lalitatripurāsundari</i> , <i>widow of k. Rāṇabābāddrasāha</i> ,	325
1538.—V. 1596. <i>Emperor Humāyūn</i> (Humāūn),	305	1858 and 1860.—V. 1915 and 1917. <i>K.</i> <i>Śrīsimhadēva</i> (P)	328
1589.—V. 1646. <i>Emperor Akbar</i> (Akavara),	307		



## B.—GENEALOGICAL OR SUCCESSION LISTS.

### 1.—The (Early or Imperial) Guptas.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Mahārāja</i> Gupta.</li> <li>2. <i>Mahārāja</i> Ghatōtkacha, son of 1.</li> <li>3. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Chandragupta I.,<sup>1</sup> son of 2.</li> <li>4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Samudragupta, son of 3 from Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvi. (For numerous kings conquered by him see No. 509.) No. 509, 510, 511.</li> <li>5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Chandragupta II., son of 4 from Dattadēvi. A.D. 401, 407, 412.—No. 512, 513.</li> <li>6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Kumāragupta I., son of 5 from Dhruvadēvi.<sup>2</sup> A.D. 415, 417, 432 (P), 436, 448.—No. 514, 515.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Skandagupta, son of 6. A.D. 455-57, 460, 465.—No. 516, 517.</li> <li>8. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Puragupta, son of 6 from Anantadēvi.</li> <li>9. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Narasimhagupta, son of 8 from Vatsadēvi.</li> <li>10. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Kumāragupta II., son of 9 from Mahālakshmidēvi (P). No. 518.</li> </ol> <p style="text-align: right;">Budhagupta.<sup>3</sup> A.D. 484.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Bhānugupta.<sup>3</sup> A.D. 510.</p> |
|--|--|

### 2.—The Parivrājaka Mahārājas.

In the family of the king-ascetic Sāsarman :—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Mahārāja</i> Dēvādhyā.</li> <li>2. <i>Mahārāja</i> Prabhañjana, son of 1.</li> <li>3. <i>Mahārāja</i> Dāmōdara, son of 2.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. <i>Mahārāja</i> Hastin, son of 3. A.D. 475, 482, 503 (P), 511.</li> <li>5. <i>Mahārāja</i> Saṁkshōbha, son of 4. A.D. 528.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

### 3.—The Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Mahārāja</i> Ōghadēva.</li> <li>2. <i>Mahārāja</i> Kumāradēva, son of 1 from Kumāradēvi.</li> <li>3. <i>Mahārāja</i> Jayasvāmin, son of 2 from Jayasvāminī.</li> <li>4. <i>Mahārāja</i> Vyāghra, son of 3 from Rāmadēvi.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. <i>Mahārāja</i> Jayanātha, son of 4 from Ajjhitadēvi. A.D. 493 (P), 496 (P).</li> <li>6. <i>Mahārāja</i> Śarvanātha, son of 5 from Murundadēvi (Murundasvāminī). A.D. 503 (P), 512 (P), 516 (P), 523 (P).—No. 423.</li> </ol> |
|--|---|

### 4.—The Guptas of Magadha.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kṛishnagupta.</li> <li>2. Harshagupta, son of 1.</li> <li>3. Jīvitagupta I., son of 2.</li> <li>4. Kumāragupta, son of 3. (At war with [Maukhari] Īśānavarman.)</li> <li>5. Dāmōdaragupta, son of 4. (Fell in battle with a Maukhari.)</li> <li>6. Mahāsēnagupta, son of 5. (Defeated Sūsthitavarman.)</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Mādhavagupta, son of 6, (Contemporary of Harsha [of Kanauj].)</li> <li>8. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Ādityasēna, son of 7 from Śrīmattī. A.D. 671.—No. 550, 551.</li> <li>9. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Dēvagupta, son of 8 from Kōnadēvi.</li> <li>10. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vishnugupta, son of 9 from Kamaladēvi.</li> <li>11. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jīvitagupta II., son of 10 from Ijjādēvi. No. 552.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> For a powerful king Chandra see No. 508.

<sup>2</sup> From Dhruvadēvi (Dhruvasvāminī) Chandragupta II. apparently had another son, the *Mahārāja* Gōvinda-gupta; see *Annual Report Archaeol. Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1904, Part II, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> The relationship of these kings to those preceding them in the list cannot be given for the present.

## 5.—The Maukharis (Mukharas).

(a).—From Nos. 553 and 554.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Mahārāja</i> Harivarman.<br>2. <i>Mahārāja</i> Ādityavarman, son of 1 from Jayasvāmī.<br>3. <i>Mahārāja</i> Īśvaravarman, son of 2 from Harahagupta. No. 553. | 4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Īśanavarman, son of 3 from Upagupta. (At war with Magadha Gupta Kumāragupta.)<br>5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Śasavarman, son of 4 from [Lakshmi]vati. No. 554. |
|---|--|

(b).—From Nos. 555 and 556.

1. Yajñavarman; 2. his son Śārdūlavarman; 3. his son Anantavarman.

## 6.—The Maitrakas of Valabhi.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Śatāpati</i> Bhaṭṭarka (Bhaṭṭakka).<br>2. <i>Śatāpati</i> Dharasēna I., son of 1.<br>3. <i>Mahārāja</i> Drōṇasimha, younger brother of 2. A.D. 502 (P).<br>4. <i>Mahārāja</i> Dhruvasēna I., <sup>1</sup> younger brother of 3. A.D. 526, 535, 536, 540.<br>5. <i>Mahārāja</i> Dharapatta, younger brother of 4.<br>6. <i>Mahārāja</i> Guhasēna, son of 5. A.D. 559 (P556), 565, 566, 567.—No. 523.<br>7. <i>Mahārāja</i> Dharasēna II., <sup>2</sup> son of 6. A.D. 571, 588, 589.<br>8. Śīlāditya I. Dharmāditya, son of 7. A.D. 605, 609.<br>9. Kharagraha I., younger brother of 8.<br>10. Dharasēna III., son of 9. [No. 524.]<br>11. Dhruvasēna II. Bālāditya, younger brother of 10. A.D. 629, 639. | 12. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Dharasēna IV., son of 11. A.D. 645, 649.<br>13. Dhruvasēna III., son of Dharabhaṭṭa who was the son of 8. A.D. 653.<br>14. Kharagraha II. Dharmāditya, elder brother of 13. A.D. 656.<br>15. [ <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> ] Śīlāditya III., son of Śīlāditya II. who was the elder brother of 14. A.D. 669, 671, 684 (P).<br>16. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Śīlāditya IV., son of 15. A.D. 691, 694, 695, 701.<br>17. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Śīlāditya V., son of 16. A.D. 722.<br>18. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Śīlāditya VI., son of 17. A.D. 760.<br>19. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Śīlāditya VII. Dhrābhata, son of 18. A.D. 766. |
|--|---|

7.—The Kāśachuris.<sup>3</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Kṛishnarāja.<br>2. Śaṅkaragana, son of 1. No. 427. | 3. Buddharāja, <sup>4</sup> son of 2. A.D. 609. |
|---|---|

## 8.—The Gurjaras.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Sāmanta</i> Dadda I.<br>2. Jayabhata I. Vitarāga, son of 1.<br>3. Dadda II. Praśāntarāga, <sup>5</sup> son of 2. <sup>6</sup> (Protected a lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by | Harsha [of Kanauj].) A.D. 628, 633, 639, 640.<br>4. Jayabhata II., son of 3.<br>5. Dadda III. Bāhusabhaya, son of 4.<br>6. Jayabhata III., son of 5. A.D. 706, 786. |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> His sister's daughter was the Buddha devotee Duḍḍā.<sup>2</sup> For spurious plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dharasēnadēva of Ś. 400 = A.D. 478 see No. 346.<sup>3</sup> For later Kāśachuris see below, 20 and 21.<sup>4</sup> See *Southern List*, Nos. 5 and 6.<sup>5</sup> For spurious plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dadda II. Praśāntarāga of Ś. 400, 415 and 417 = A.D. 478, 493 and 495, see Nos. 347-349.<sup>6</sup> Another son of 2 was Rapagraha; see No. 397.

## 9.—The Gujarāt Chalukyas.

(a).—From No. 398.

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Jayasimharāja.                                    | 3. Vijayarāja, son of 2. A.D. 642. |
| 2. Buddhavarmanrāja Vallabha-Raṇavikrānta, son of 1. |                                    |

(b).—From Nos. 400, 401, and 404.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>W. Chalukya</i> Kirtivarman I. <sup>1</sup>  | 6. Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasārāja, son of 4. (In his unpublished Bālsār plates of Ś. 653 = A.D. 731 called Vinayāditya and Yuddhamalla. <sup>4</sup> ) |
| 2. <i>W. Chalukya</i> Pulakēśin II., son of 1. (Defeated Harshavardhana [of Kanauj].)  | 7. Pulakēśirāja Avānijanāśraya <i>etc.</i> , younger brother of 6. (Repulsed an attack of the Tājika i.e. Arab army.) A.D. 738.                   |
| 3. <i>W. Chalukya</i> Vikramāditya I., son of 2.   |   |
| 4. Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, <sup>2</sup> son of 2 and younger brother of 3.   |   |
| 5. <i>Yuvardja</i> Śryāśraya Śilāditya, son of 4. A.D. 669, 691 (of the time of the <i>W. Chalukya</i> Vinayāditya <sup>3</sup> ). |   |

10.—The dynasty of Harsha of Thāṇēsar and Kanauj.<sup>5</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Mahārāja</i> Naravardhana.   | 5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Rājyavardhana II., son of 4 from Yaśōmatīdēvi. (Subdued Dēvagupta and others.) |
| 2. <i>Mahārāja</i> Rājyavardhana I., son of 1 from Vajrinīdēvi.                | 6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Harsha (Harshavardhana), younger brother of 5. A.D. 627, 630.—No. 548.         |
| 3. <i>Mahārāja</i> Ādityavardhana, son of 2 from Apsarōdēvi.                   |  |
| 4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Prabhākaravardhana, son of 3 from Mahāśēnaguptadēvi. |  |

## 11.—The Pratihāras of Mahōdaya (Kanauj).

(a).—From Nos. 542, 544, and 710.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Mahārāja</i> Dēvaśakti.   | 6. <i>Mahārāja</i> Mahēndrapāla Bhāka, son of 5 from Chandrabhaṭṭārikādēvi. A.D. 898. |
| 2. <i>Mahārāja</i> Vatsarāja, son of 1 from Bhūyikādēvi.  | 7. <i>Mahārāja</i> Bhōjadēva II., son of 6 from Dēhanāgādēvi.                         |
| 3. <i>Mahārāja</i> Nāgabhaṭa, son of 2 from Sundarīdēvi. (Conquered Chakrāyudha. <sup>6</sup> ) | 8. <i>Mahārāja</i> Vināyakapāla Harsha, son of 6 from Mahīdēvidēvi. A.D. 931.         |
| 4. <i>Mahārāja</i> Rāmabhadra, son of 3 from Īsaṭādēvi.   |   |
| 5. <i>Mahārāja</i> Bhōjadēva I. Prabhāsa, son of 4 from Appādēvi. A.D. 843.                     |   |

(b).—From other inscriptions.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Rāmabhadra (Rāmādēva; = a, 4).   | 5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Dēvapāla, successor of <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Kṣhitipāla <sup>7</sup> . A.D. 948.  |
| 2. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Bhōjadēva (Ādivarāha, Mihira; = a, 5), successor <sup>7</sup> of 1. A.D. 862, 875, 876, 881. | 6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vijayapāla, successor of <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Kṣhitipāla. <sup>8</sup> A.D. 960. |
| 3. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Mahēndrapāla (Mahēndrāyudha; = a, 6), successor of 2. A.D. 893, 899, 903, 907.—No. 331.      | 7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Rājyapāla, successor of 6.   |
| 4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Mahīpāla, successor of 3. A.D. 914, 917.   | 8. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Trilōchanapāla, successor of 7. A.D. 1027.   |
|  | 9(?) <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Yaśahpāla(?) A.D. 1036.  |

<sup>1</sup> See *Southern List*, No. 10 ff.<sup>2</sup> For Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmanrāja, a younger brother of the *W. Chalukya* Pulakēśin II., see *ibid.* No. 17.<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.* No. 26 ff.<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* p. 2, note 1.<sup>5</sup> Ordinarily called here 'Harsha of Kanauj.'<sup>6</sup> This statement and the name Mihira of Bhōjadēva (Ādivarāha) are taken from the Gwalior inscription mentioned above, p. 1. See also below, 23, 4.<sup>7</sup> The word 'successor' here and below corresponds to the term *pāddanudhyāta* of the original records.<sup>8</sup> Kṣhitipāla has been taken to be identical with 4. Mahīpāla.—In No. 35 Dēvapāla is described as the son of Hērampāla who was a contemporary of Śāhi, the king of Kira.

## 12.—The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanyakubja (Kānauj).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yaśovigraha.</li> <li>2. Mahichandra (Mahāla, Mahtyala, Mahitāla), son of 1.</li> <li>3. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Chandradēva, son of 2. (Acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja, i.e. Kānauj.) A.D. 1097.</li> <li>4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Madanapāla (Madanadēva), son of 3. A.D. 1104, 1105, 1107, 1109.</li> <li>5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Gōvindachandra,<sup>1</sup> son of 4 from Rāha(Rāhapa)-dēvi; married Nayana-</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>kālidēvi and Gōsaladēvi. A.D. 1114, 1116, 1117, 1119, 1120, 1122, 1124, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1133, 1134, 1139, 1141, 1143, 1144, 1146, 1151, 1154.</li> <li>6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vijayachandra, son of 5. A.D. 1168, 1169.</li> <li>7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jayachandra,<sup>2</sup> son of 6. A.D. 1170 (coronation), 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1177, 1180, 1183 (P), 1187.</li> </ol> |
|--|--|

## 13.—The Guhilas of Mēdapāṭa (Mēvād.)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Rājā</i> Aparājita.<sup>3</sup> A.D. 661.</li> <li>2. Allāṭa, son of queen Mahālakshmi. A.D. 951, 953.</li> <li>3. Naravāhana, son of 2. A.D. 971.</li> <li>4. Śaktikumāra (son of 3). A.D. 977.—No. 338.</li> <li>5. Śuchivarman. No. 339.—For a list of the Guhila princes from Bappa to Śuchivarman and Naravarman see No. 234.</li> <li>6. <i>Mahārāja</i> Tējaśimha (Tējasvisimha). A.D. 1267.</li> <li>7. <i>Samastamahārājakula</i> Samarasimha, son of 6 from Jayatalladēvi. A.D. 1278, 1285, 1287.—</li> </ol> | <p>For a list from Bappa to Samarasimha see No. 243.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Arisimha.</li> <li>9. Hammira (Hamīra), son of 8.</li> <li>10. Kshētrasimha (Kshētasimha, Kshētra), son of 9.</li> <li>11. Lakhasimha (Laksha), son of 10.</li> <li>12. Mōkala, son of 11. (Defeated Sulṭān Firōz Shāh.) A.D. 1428.</li> <li>13. <i>Rājā</i> Kumbhakarna (Kumbharāja), son of 12. A.D. 1438, 1439, 1458.—For a list from Bappa to Kumbhakarna see No. 290.</li> <li>14. <i>Rājā</i> Rājamalla (Rāyamalla), son of 13; married Śringārādēvi, a daughter of Yōdha of Marusthāl. A.D. 1489, 1498, 1501, 1504.</li> <li>15. Saṁgrāmasimha, son of 14.</li> <li>16. Ratnasimha (son of 15). A.D. 1530.</li> </ol> |
|--|---|

14.—The Chāhamānas of Śākambhari.<sup>4</sup>

(a).—From No. 44.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gūvaka I. (Contemporary of Nāgavalōka.<sup>5</sup>)</li> <li>2. Chandrarāja, son of 1.</li> <li>3. Gūvaka II., son of 2.</li> <li>4. Chandana, son of 3. (Defeated Tōmara prince Rudrēna = Rudrapāla?)</li> <li>5. Vākpatirāja, son of 4. (Defeated Tantrāpāla.)</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Simharāja, son of 5. (Contemporary of a certain Lavapa.)</li> <li>7. Vighararāja, son of 6. A.D. 973.</li> </ol> <p>[The <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Simharāja had a brother named Vatsarāja, and (besides Vighararāja) the three sons Durlabharāja, Chandrarāja and Gōvindarāja.]</p> |
|---|---|

(b).—From an impression of No. 154.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sāmanta; 2. Jayarāja; 3. Vighra; 4. Chandra;</li> <li>5. Gōpēndraka; 6. Durlabha; 7. Gūvaka (= a, 1); 8. Śaśinripa (=Chandrarāja, a, 2);</li> <li>9. Gūvaka<sup>6</sup> (=a, 3); 10. Chandana (=a, 4);</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Vappayarāja (=Vākpatirāja, a, 5);</li> <li>12. Vindhyanripati; 13. Simharāj (= a, 6);</li> <li>14. Vighra (= a, 7); 15. Durlabha;</li> <li>16. Gundu; 17. Vākpati; 18. his younger</li> </ol> |
|---|--|

<sup>1</sup> Gōvindachandra had a son named Rājyapāla (see No. 119); and another son named Āsphōṭachandra, who as *Yvvardja*, according to an unpublished copper-plate, made a grant in A.D. 1134.

<sup>2</sup> Jayachandra had a son named Hariśchandra, born in A.D. 1175; see Nos. 164 and 165.

<sup>3</sup> This name does not occur in the lists given in Nos. 234, 243 and 290.

<sup>4</sup> For the Chāhamānas of Nadūla see No. 141.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., perhaps, the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa, above, 11, a, 3.

<sup>6</sup> This name (Gūvaka) is correct here.

14.—The Chāhamānas of Śākambhari—*contd.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| brother Viryārāma; 19. Chāmunda;<br>20. Singhaṭa; 21. Dāsala; 22. his brother<br>Vāṃala, married Rājadēvi; 23. his son<br>Prithvirāja, married Rāsalladēvi; 24. his | son Jayadēva (or Ajayadēva?), married<br>Sōmalladēvi; 25. his son Arṇōrāja.<br>For continuation see below, under c. |
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(c).—From Nos. 144, 154, and 176.

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|---|--|
| 1. Arṇōrāja (Avēlladēva; =b, 25).<br>2. Vīgraharāja (Vīśaladēva), son of 1. A.D. 1153,<br>1164.<br>3. Prithvirāja I., son of eldest brother of 2. A.D.<br>1167, 1169. | 4. Sōmśēvara, son of 1. A.D. 1170.<br>5. Prithvirāja II., son of 4. (Defeated Chandēlla<br>Paramardin.) A.D. 1182, 1187. |
|---|--|

## 15.—The Chaulukyas of Anahilapātaka.

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|--|--|
| 1. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Rāji.<br>2. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Mūlarāja I., son of 1. (Con-<br>quered Chāpōtkata princes.) A.D. 974, 987,<br>995.<br>3. Chāmundaarāja, son of 2.<br>4. Vallabharāja, son of 3.<br>5. Durlabharāja, brother of 4.<br>6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Bhīmadēva I. A.D. 1029.<br>7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Karna Trailōkyamalla, son of<br>6. A.D. 1091.<br>8. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jayasinhha Siddharāja, son of<br>7. A.D. 1138, 1139. | 9. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Kumārāpāla. (Defeated<br>Chāhamāna Arṇōrāja and Ballāla of Dhārā.)<br>A.D. 1145, 1150, 1151, 1153, 1163, 1169.—<br>No. 343.<br>10. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Ajayapāla. A.D. 1173, 1175.<br>11. Mūlarāja II.<br>12. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Bhīmadēva II. Abhinavasid-<br>dharāja. A.D. 1199, 1206, 1207, 1209, 1216,<br>1218 (?), 1226, 1230, 1231, 1238.— No. 527.<br>13. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jayantasinhha (Jayasinhha)<br>Abhinavasiddharāja. A.D. 1223.<br>14. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Tribhuvanapāla. A.D. 1242. |
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## 16.—The Chaulukya-Vāghēlās.

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|--|---|
| 1. Arṇōrāja, married Salakshapadēvi.<br>2. Lavanaśrāsṭha (Lūṇigadēva), son of 1; married<br>Madanadēvi.<br>3. <i>Mahāmāṇḍalēvara</i> Viradhevala, son of 2; mar-<br>ried Vayajaladēvi. A.D. 1230, 1232.<br>4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vīśaladēva <sup>1</sup> (Vīśvaladēva,<br>Viśvamalla), son of 3; married Nāgalladēvi.<br>(At war with [Dēvagiri-Yādava] Singhapa. <sup>2</sup> )<br>A.D. 1251, 1253, 1261.— No. 344. | 5. Pratāpamalla, younger brother of 4, did not<br>reign.<br>6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Arjunadēva, son of 5. A.D.<br>1264.<br>7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Śāratgadēva, son of 6. A.D.<br>1275, 1279, 1287, 1295. |
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17.—The Paramāras of Mālava.<sup>3</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Upēndrarāja <sup>4</sup> (Kṛishnarāja).<br>2. Vairisinhha I., son of 1.<br>3. Śtyaka I., son of 2.<br>4. Vākpati I., son of 3.<br>5. Vairisinhha II. Vajraṭa, son of 4. | 6. Śtyaka II. (Haraka), son of 5. (Defeated<br>[Rāshṭrakūṭa] Khoṭṭiga. <sup>5</sup> )<br>7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vākpatirāja II. Amōgha-<br>varaha (Muñjarāja <sup>6</sup> ), son of 6. (Conquered<br>Kalachuri Yuvarāja [II].) A.D. 974, 979. |
|--|--|

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Southern List*, No. 369.<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* No. 337 ff.<sup>3</sup> For other Paramāras see Nos. 69, 210 and 639 f.<sup>4</sup> This name and the names 2, 3 and 4 are given only in No. 340.<sup>5</sup> See *Southern List*, No. 104.<sup>6</sup> Also called Utpala; compare *ibid.* Nos. 140, 143, 150 and 328.

17.—The Paramāras of Mālava — *contd.*

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|---|---|
| <p>8. Sindhurāja (Sindhula ?), younger brother of 7.<br/> 9. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Bhōjadēva, son of 8. (At war with Indraratha,<sup>1</sup> Toggala(?), and [Chaulukya] Bhīma [I.]) A.D. 1021.<br/> 10. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jayasimha. A.D. 1055.<br/> 11. Udayāditya, relative of 9. (Defeated Kalachuri Karpa.) A.D. 1059, 1080. — No. 340.<br/> 12. Lakshmadēva, son of 11.<br/> 13. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Naravarman, brother of 12. A.D. 1104, 1107.<br/> 14. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Yaśovarman, son of 13 from(?) Mōmaladēvi. A.D. 1134, 1135.<br/> 15. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jayavarman, son of 14 (?). No. 341.<br/> 16. <i>Mahākumāra</i> Lakshmi-varman, son of 14. A.D. 1143.</p> | <p>17. <i>Mahākumāra</i> Harīschandra, son of 16. A.D. 1178 and 1179.<br/> 18. <i>Mahākumāra</i> Udayavarman, son of 17. A.D. 1200.<br/> 15*. Ajayavarman, son of 14.<br/> 16*. Vindhavarman, son of 15*.<br/> 17*. Subhavarman, son of 16*.<br/> 18*. <i>Mahārāja</i> Arjunavarman (Arjuna),<sup>2</sup> son of 17*. (Defeated Jayasimha.<sup>3</sup>) A.D. 1211, 1213, 1215.<br/> 19. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Dēvapāla. A.D. 1218, 1229, 1232 (?).<br/> 20. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Jayasimha, [son of 19]. A.D. 1256, 1269. — A.D. 1310 (?).</p> |
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## 18.—The Kachchhapaghātas (Kachchhapāris).

(a).—From Nos. 47, 73, and 78.

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|--|---|
| <p>1. Lakshmapa.<br/> 2. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vajradāman, son of 1. (Defeated a ruler of Gādhinagara, i.e. Kanauj, and conquered Gōpādri, i.e. Gwālior.) A.D. 977.<br/> 3. Mangalarāja.<br/> 4. Kirtirāja.</p> | <p>5. Mōladēva Bhuvanapāla Trailōkyamalla, son of 4; married Dēvavratā.<br/> 6. Dēvapāla Aparājita, son of 5.<br/> 7. Padmapāla, son of 6.<br/> 8. Mahipāla Bhuvanaikamalla, son of Sūryapāla, but called brother of 7.<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1093.<br/> 9. The successor of 8. A.D. 1104.</p> |
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(b).—From Nos. 65 and 71.

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|---|--|
| <p>1. Yuvarāja.<br/> 2. Arjuna, son of 1. (Ally or feudatory of [Chandēlla] Vidyādhara, slew Rājyapāla [of Kanauj].)<br/> 3. Abhimanyu, son of 2. (Contemporary of [Paramāra] Bhōja.)</p> | <p>4. Vijayapāla (Vijayādhirāja ?), son of 3. A.D. 1044.<br/> 5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vikramasimha, son of 4. A.D. 1088.</p> |
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(c).—From No. 94.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Gaganasimha.<br/> 2. Śaradasimha, successor of 1.</p> | <p>3. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Virasimha, son of 2 from Lashamadēvi. A.D. 1120.</p> |
|---|---|

## 19.—The Chandēllas (Chandrātreyas) of Jējābhukti.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Nannuka.<br/> 2. Vākpāti, son of 1.<br/> 3. Jayasakti (Jējā, Jējāka), son of 2.<br/> 4. Vijayasakti (Vijaya, Vijā, Vijāka), son of 2.</p> | <p>5. Rāhila, son of 4.<br/> 6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Harsha, son of 5; married Chāhamāna princess Kañchhukā. (Contemporary of Kshitipāla [of Kanauj].) No. 332.</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Southern List*, No. 733.<sup>2</sup> Compare *ibid.* Nos. 343 and 369.<sup>3</sup> See above, 15, 13.<sup>4</sup> Sūryapāla probably was a brother of Dēvapāla, and Mahipāla therefore a cousin of Padmapāla. Compare below, p. 17, note 6.

19.—The Chandéllas (Chandrâtréyas) — *contd.*

7. *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśovarman (Lakshavarman), son of 6; married Puppā. (Contemporary of Hérambapāla's son Dēvapāla [of Kauauj].) No. 333.
8. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dhaṅga (Vināyakapāla?), son of 7. A.D. 954, 955 (?), 998, 1002 (after his death).
9. Gaṇḍa, son of 8.
10. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vidyādharma, son of 9. (Contemporary(?) of Paramāra Bhōja.)
11. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayapāla, son of 10. (Contemporary of Kalachuri Gāṅgēya.)
12. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvarman, successor of 11, son of Bhuvanadēvi. A.D. 1051.
13. *Mahārājādhirāja* Kirtivarman, son of 11. (Conquered Kalachuri Karṇa.) A.D. 1098.—No. 334.
14. Sallakshapavarman, son of 13.
15. Jayavarman, son of 14. A.D. 1117.
16. *Mahārājādhirāja* Prithivivarman, younger brother of 14.
17. *Mahārājādhirāja* Madanavarman, son of 16. A.D. 1129, 1130, 1131, 1133, 1151, 1155, 1158, 1162.—No. 335.
18. Pratāpavarman, younger brother of 17, did not reign.
19. Yaśovarman, son of 17, did not reign.
20. *Mahārājādhirāja* Paramardin, son of 19. (Defeated by Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II.) A.D. 1167, 1168, 1171, 1182, 1184, 1195, 1201.
21. *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailōkyavarman (Trailōkya-malla). A.D. 1212, 1240, 1241.
22. *Mahārājādhirāja* Viravarman, son of 21, married Kalyānadēvi. A.D. 1261, 1262 (?), 1268, 1281, 1286.—No. 336.
23. Bhōjavarman. A.D. 1288.—No. 337.

20.—The Kalachuris<sup>1</sup> (Haihayas) of Tripuri.

1. Kōkkalla (Kōkalla) I., married Chandēlla princess Natṭā. (Contemporary of [*Mahārājādhirāja*] Bhōjadēva [of Kanauj], [Rāshtrakūṭa] Kṛishṇarāja [II.],<sup>2</sup> [Chandēlla] Harsha, and Śaṅkaragana.)
2. Mugdhatunga Prasiddhadhavaḷa, son of 1.
3. Bālaharsha, son of 2.
4. Yuvarāja I. Kēytravarsha, son of 2, married Nōhālā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avani-varman.
5. Lakshmanarāja, son of 4, married Rāhādā.
6. Śaṅkaragana, son of 5. No. 423.
7. Yuvarāja II., younger brother of 6. No. 429.
8. Kōkkalla (Kōkalla) II., son of 7.
9. Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, son of 8. A.D. 1037 (?).
10. *Mahārājādhirāja* Karṇa, son of 9, married Hūṇa princess Āvalladēvi. A.D. 1042.
11. *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśaṅkarṇa, son of 10. A.D. 1120, 1122.
12. Gayākarṇa (Gayakarṇa), son of 11, married Alhanadēvi, a daughter of the Guhila Vijayasimha and daughter's daughter of the Paramāra Udayāditya. A.D. 1151.
13. *Mahārājādhirāja* Narasimha, son of 12. A.D. 1155, 1158, 1159.
14. *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayasimha, younger brother of 13, married Gōsaladēvi. A.D. 1175, 1177.—No. 431.
15. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayasimha (Vijayadēva),<sup>3</sup> son of 14. A.D. 1180, 1196.—No. 432.

21.—The Kalachuris (Haihayas) of Ratnapura.<sup>4</sup>

1. Kaliṅgarāja, descendant of a younger son of Kōkalla. (Conquered Dakṣiṇakōśala.)
2. Kamalarāja, son of 1.
3. Ratnarāja (Ratnēsa) I., son of 2; married Nōnallā, a daughter of Vajjūka of the Kōmō maṇḍala.
4. Prithvīsa (Prithvidēva) I., son of 3; married Rājallā.
5. Jājalla I., son of 4. (Contemporary of one Sōmēśvara; defeated Bhujabala of Suvarnapura.) A.D. 1114.

<sup>1</sup> For the early Kalachchuris see above, 7.<sup>2</sup> Vijayasimha had a son named Ajayasimha; see No. 422.<sup>3</sup> See *Southern List*, No. 52 ff.<sup>4</sup> For another branch of the Kalachuri family see No. 391 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 86.

21.—The Kalachuris (Haihayas) of Ratnapura — *contd.*

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|---|---|
| 6. Ratnadēva II., son of 5. (Defeated E. Gaṅga Chōḍagaṅga.)<br>7. Prithvidēva II., son of 6. A.D. 1141, 1145, 1158. | 8. Jājalla II., son of 7; married Sōmalladēvi. A.D. 1167.<br>9. Ratnadēva III., son of 8. A.D. 1181.<br>10(?) Prithvidēva III., <sup>1</sup> son of 9(?). A.D. 1190(?). |
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## 22.—The Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara.

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|--|---|
| 1. <i>Mahārājādhirdja</i> Vajrahasta, son of a Kāmārṇava from Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family; (reigned 30 or 33 years). For two different lists of predecessors of his see Nos. 357 and 360. A.D. 1038 (coronation), 1058.—No. 685 (?).<br>2. Rājārāja I., son of 1 from Naṅgamā; (reigned 8 years). A.D. 1075.<br>3. <i>Mahārājādhirdja</i> Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, eldest son of 2 from Rājendra-Chōla's <sup>2</sup> daughter Rājasundari; (reigned 70 years). A.D. 1078 (coronation), 1081, 1118, 1135.<br>4. Kāmārṇava, son of 3 from Kastūrikāmōḍini; (reigned 10 years). A.D. 1143 (coronation).<br>5. Rāghava, son of 3 from Indirā of solar race; (reigned 15 years).<br>6. Rājārāja II., son of 3 from Chandralākhā; (reigned 25 years); married Suramā.<br>7. Aniyānabhīma (Anāṅgabhīma) I., younger brother of 6; (reigned 10 years). No. 670 ( <i>Ep. Ind.</i> Vol. VI. p. 200).<br>8. Rājārāja III. (Rājendra?), son of 7 from Bāghalladēvi; (reigned 17 years). | 9. Anāṅgabhīma II., son of 8 from Maṅkunadēvi (P Sadgūṇadēvi or Gūṇadēvi) of Chālukya family; (reigned 33 or 34 years). <i>Jour. As. Soc. Beng.</i> Vol. LXVII. Part I. p. 319.<br>10. Narasimha I., son of 9 from Kastūrādēvi; (reigned 33 years).<br>11. Bhānudēva I., son of 10 from Mālava king's daughter Sitādēvi; (died in the 18th <i>aṅka</i> -year of his reign).<br>12. Narasimha II., <sup>3</sup> son of 11 from Chālukya princess Jākalladēvi; (reigned 34 years). A.D. 1296.<br>13. Bhānudēva II., <sup>4</sup> son of 12 from Chōḍadēvi; (reigned 24 years). (At war with Gayāsādina, i.e. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughlaq, A.D. 1321-25.)<br>14. Narasimha III., son of 13 from Lakshmi; (reigned 24 years).<br>15. Bhānudēva III., son of 14 from Kamaladēvi; (reigned 26 years).<br>16. Narasimha IV., son of 15 from Hirādēvi of Chālukya family. A.D. 1384, 1395-97. |
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## 23.—The Pālas.

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|---|---|
| 1. Dayitavishṇu.<br>2. Vapyaṭa, son of 1.<br>3. <i>Mahārājādhirdja</i> Gōpāla I., son of 2; married the Bhadra king's daughter Dēddadēvi. No. 631, 632.<br>4. <i>Mahārājādhirdja</i> Dharmapāla, son of 3; married Rānpādēvi, a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala [A.D. 861]. (Defeated Indrarāja and others, and gave the sovereignty | of Mahōdaya to Chakrāyudha. <sup>5</sup> ) No. 633, 634 (year 32).<br>5. <i>Mahārājādhirdja</i> Dēvapāla, son <sup>6</sup> of 4. No. 635 (year 33), 636.—No. 635 mentions Dēvapāla's son, the <i>Yuvarāja</i> Rājyapāla.<br>6. <i>Mahārājādhirdja</i> Vīgrahapāla I., son of Jayapāla, the son of Vākpāla who was a younger brother of 4; married Haihaya princess Lajjā. |
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<sup>1</sup> I now suspect that the inscription No. 184 is really one of Prithvidēva II. and that the date given for it is incorrect. Prithvidēva III. may therefore have to be struck out from the genealogical list.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Rājendra-Chōla II., the Chōla king Kulōttunga-Chōla I.; see *Southern List*, No. 756 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.* No. 979, note.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* No. 579, note.

See above, 11, a, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Dēvapāla, according to his own plate No. 635 the son of Dharmapāla has been understood to be described in No. 633 as the elder brother (*pūruṣa*) of Dharmapāla's nephew Jayapāla. But I now take *pūruṣa* in No. 633 to denote Dēvapāla as the son of the elder brother (Dharmapāla) of Jayapāla's father Vākpāla. See above, p. 15, note 4.



23.—The Pālas — *contd.*

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| <p>7. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Nārāyanapāla, son of 6. No. 637, 638 (year 17), 639.</p> <p>8. Rājyapāla, son of 7; married Bhāgyadēvi, a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa Tunga.</p> <p>9. Gōpāla II., son of 8.</p> <p>10. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vīgrahapāla II., son of 9.</p> <p>11. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Mahīpāla I.,<sup>1</sup> son of 10. A.D. 1026.—No. 640, 641 (year 11).</p> <p>12. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Nayapāla, son of 11. No. 642 (year 15).</p> <p>13. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Vīgrahapāla III., son of 12. No. 643 (year 13 or 12?).</p> | <p>14. Mahīpāla II., son of 13.</p> <p>15. Śūrapāla, younger brother of 14.</p> <p>16. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Rāmapāla, brother of 15. (Killed Bhīma of Mithilā.)</p> <p>17. Kumārapāla, son of 16. No. 644.</p> <p>18. Gōpāla III., son of 17.</p> <p>19. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Madanapāla, son of 16 and Madanadēvi; married Chitramatikā. <i>Jour. As. Soc. Beng.</i> Vol. LXIX. Part I. p. 68 (year 8); No. 645 (year 19?).</p> <p>20 (?). Gōvindapāla.<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1175.</p> |
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## 24.—The Sēnas.

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|---|---|
| <p>1. Sāmantasēna, of the clan of Brahmakshatriyas.</p> <p>2. Hēmantasēna, son of 1; married Yasōdēvi.</p> <p>3. Vijayasēna, son of 2. (Defeated Nānya, Vira, Rāghava and others.) No. 647.</p> <p>4. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Ballālasēna, son of 3.</p> | <p>5. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Lakshmanasēna, son of 4. No. 648 (year 3); <i>Jour. As. Soc. Beng.</i> Vol. LXIX. Part I. p. 62.</p> <p>6. <i>Mahārājādhirāja</i> Viśvarūpasēna, son of 5. No. 649, 650 (year 14).</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> See *Southern List*, No. 733, note.<sup>2</sup> A king Mahēndrapāla is mentioned in note on No. 645.

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12.—The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) . . . . .	" " "	13
13.—The Guhilas of Mēdāpāṭa (Mēvād) . . . . .	" " "	13
14.—The Chāhamānas of Śākambhari . . . . .	" " "	13
15.—The Chaulukyas of Anahilapāṭaka . . . . .	" " "	14
16.—The Chaulukya-Vāghēlās . . . . .	" " "	14
17.—The Paramāras of Mālava . . . . .	" " "	14
18.—The Kachchhapaghātas (Kachchhapāris) . . . . .	" " "	15
19.—The Chandēllas (Chandrātrēyas) of Jējābhukti . . . . .	" " "	15
20.—The Kalachuris (Haihayas) of Tripuri . . . . .	" " "	16
21.—The Kalachuris (Haihayas) of Ratnapura . . . . .	" " "	16
22.—The Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara . . . . .	" " "	17
23.—The Pālas . . . . .	" " "	17
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## APPENDIX II.

### SUPPLEMENT TO THE LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

At Professor Hultzsch's suggestion I now publish genealogical or succession lists for my List of Inscriptions of Southern India, which has appeared as an Appendix to Vol. VII. of this Journal. These lists are similar to those published for the northern inscriptions in Appendix I. to this volume. The main difference is that, because the List of dated southern inscriptions has been arranged in the order of the Śaka years, Śaka years have been principally quoted here also, instead of years A.D. But, to facilitate comparison, the years A.D. corresponding to the first and last Śaka years quoted under each king have also been given; and to the heading of every subdivision I have added, where it was possible, the years A.D. corresponding to the first and last known (Śaka or other) years of the family or dynasty treated of under that particular heading. The *lists* are based on the information furnished by my *Southern List*; but I have added, with the necessary references, a few dates and other statements, not contained in the *List*, chiefly from the volumes of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and unpublished materials in my possession.

On p. 26 f. below I have given a Table of Contents of the Appendix to Volume VII. and of the Appendix II. here published. Two synchronistic Tables will be issued with a subsequent Part of this Journal.

Now that I have finished this work I see, more clearly perhaps than anybody else, how my *Lists* might have been improved, and I can only express the hope that they may at least have paved the way for something better.

#### A.— GENEALOGICAL OR SUCCESSION LISTS.

##### 1.— The Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi (Vātāpi).<sup>1</sup>— A.D. 578-757.

1. Jayasimha I.
2. Raṇarāga, son of 1.
3. *Mahārāja* Polekēśin (Pulakēśin) I.<sup>2</sup> Raṇavikrama,<sup>3</sup> son of 2; married Durlabhadēvi of the Batpūra family. (Acquired Vātāpipurī.)
4. *Mahārāja* Kirtivarman I. (Kīrtirāja, Kirtivarmarāja?) Raṇaparākrama, Puru-Raṇaparākrama, son of 3. A.D. 578.— Ś. 500 (year 12).
5. Maṅgalēśa (Maṅgalēśvara, Maṅgalarāja, Maṅgalīśa<sup>4</sup>) Raṇavikrānta, Urū-Raṇavikrānta, younger brother of 4. (Conquered the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja;<sup>5</sup> killed the Chālikya Svāmīrāja.) A.D. 601-2.— Ś. [523-24] (year 5).— No. 3, 4, 6; see also No. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr. Fleet's Table in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., opposite p. 2.— For the Gujarāt Chalukyas see above, Appendix I. p. 12; for the W. Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, below, p. 7; and for the E. Chalukyas, below, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> For spurious plates of his of Ś. 411<sup>6</sup> = A.D. 488, and for others of perhaps the same king of Ś. 310 = A.D. 388, see Nos. 2 and 1.

<sup>3</sup> The name or epithet Satyāśraya, borne by Pulakēśin I. and the kings 6, 7, 10-13 and probably 4, is omitted here and below.

<sup>4</sup> So the name is spelt in No. 150 only.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I. p. 11.

6. *Mahārāja*<sup>1</sup> Polekēśin (Pulakēśin) II.,<sup>2</sup> son of 4. (Defeated Harsha [of Kananj]; at war with Āppāyika and Gōvinda, etc.) A.D. 612, 634.— Ś. 534 (year 3), 556.— Nos. 11-13, 14 (year 5; spurious), 547 (year 8).

7. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya I. Anivārta Rāparasika Rājamalla, son of 6. (Defeated [the Pallavas] Narasiṃha[varman I.], Mahēndra[varman II.] and Īśvara or Īśvarapōtarāja, i.e. Paramēśvaravarman I., of Kāñchi, below, p. 20.) No. 18 (year 3), 19 (year 10), 20 (spurious?).<sup>3</sup>

8. *Mahārāja* or *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandrāditya, son of 6 and eldest brother<sup>4</sup> of 7; married Vijayabhāṭṭārikā (Vijayamahādēvi). A.D. 659.— Ś. [581] (year 5).— No. 24.

9. *Mahārājādhirāja* Ādityavarman, son of 6. No. 25 (year 1).

10. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vinayāditya Rājāśraya, son of 7. A.D. 686(?)–694.— Ś. 608 (year 5; spurious), 611 (year 10), 613 (year 11), 614 (year 11), 616 (year 14).— No. 31.

11. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayāditya<sup>5</sup> Niravadya, son of 10. A.D. 699–729(?).— Ś. 621 (year 3), 622 (year 4), 627 (year 10), [631] (year 13), 645 (year 28; spurious), 651 (year 34; spurious).— No. 28, 38–40.

12. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya II. Anivārta, son of 11; married Lōkamahādēvi and her younger sister Trailōkyamahādēvi of the Haihaya family. (Defeated the Pallava Nandipōtavarman, i.e. Nandivarman, below, p. 20.) A.D. 735 (?).— Ś. 656 (year 2; spurious).— No. 39, 40, 42–47.

13. *Mahārājādhirāja* Kirtivarman II. Nṛpasimharāja,<sup>6</sup> son of 12 from Trailōkyamahādēvi. A.D. 754, 757.— Ś. [676], 679 (year 11).— No. 50.

## 2.— The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālikhēḍ (Mānyakhēṭa).<sup>7</sup>— A.D. 753–969.

1. Dantivarman I.<sup>8</sup>

2. Indrarāja I.,<sup>9</sup> son of 1.

3. Gōvindarāja I., son of 2.

4. Kakkarāja (Karkarāja) I., son of 3.

5. Indrarāja II., son of 4.

6. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dantidurgarāja (Dantivarman<sup>9</sup> II.) Khadgāvalōka Sāhasatunga<sup>10</sup> Vairamēgha,<sup>11</sup> son of 5. (Conquered Vallabha, i.e., apparently, the W. Chalukya Kirtivarman II.) A.D. 753.— Ś. 675.

7. Kṛishnarāja I. (Kāṇṇēśvara<sup>11</sup>) Akālavarsha Śubhatunga, son of 4. (Defeated Rāhappa.) No. 55.

8. Yuvārāja, afterwards *Mahārājādhirāja*,<sup>12</sup> Gōvindarāja II. Prabhūtavaraha Vikramāvalōka, son of 7. A.D. 770, 779.— Ś. 692, 701.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his spurious plates No. 14 and in inscriptions of his successors the title is *Mahārājādhirāja*.

<sup>2</sup> For his younger brother Vishnuvardhana I., the founder of the E. Chalukya dynasty, see below, p. 16. According to the (spurious?) plates No. 17 Pula kēśin II. had another younger brother, Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmanarāja, whose son was Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja (Jayāśraya?).— In the spurious inscription No. 16 Pulakēśin II. perhaps is called Ereyya; and according to the spurious plates No. 15 he had a son or daughter (?) Ambēra or Ambērā.

<sup>3</sup> For spurious plates of Ś. 532 (?) = A.D. 610 (?) (year 16) see No. 21; for other spurious plates, No. 22.

<sup>4</sup> For Vikramāditya's younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman see the Gujārāt Chalukyas, App. I. p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> He probably had a younger sister named Kuṅkumamahādēvi; see No. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Note 3 on p. 9 of the *List* is incorrect. Nṛpasimharāja is an epithet of Kirtivarman II.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Dr. Fleet's Table in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., opposite p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> These two are mentioned in No. 71 only.

<sup>9</sup> In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. p. 23, No. 49, and p. 29, No. 76, the name is Dantiga.

<sup>10</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's *Report* for 1904–5, p. 57, and compare No. 969.

<sup>11</sup> These names are given in No. 66 only.

<sup>12</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 184; the date given there corresponds to the 22nd December A.D. 779.

9. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dhruvarāja (Dhruva, Dhōra, Dōra) Dhāravarsha Nirupama Kalivallabha (Kaliballaba) Śrīvallabha<sup>1</sup> (Śriballaha) Iddhatējas,<sup>2</sup> younger brother of 8. (Set aside 8; defeated Vatsarāja.<sup>3</sup>) Nos. 57-59.

10. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Kambayya (i.e. Stambha) Raṇāvalōka, son of (?) 9 (Śrīvallabha). No. 60.

11. *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōvindarāja III.<sup>4</sup> (Gōyinda) Prabhūtavarsha Jagattuṅga I.,<sup>5</sup> son of 9; married Gāmuṇḍabbe. (Defeated [his brother?] Stambha and others; reduced [the W. Gaṅga?] Mārāsarva [i.e. Mārassalaba<sup>6</sup>?]; and conquered Dantiga of Kāñchi, i.e., perhaps, the Gaṅga-Pallava Dantivarman.<sup>7</sup>) A.D. 794-813.—Ś. 716, 726, 730\*, 730, 735\*, 735.

12. *Mahārājādhirāja* Amōghavarsha I.<sup>8</sup> Nṛpatuṅga Mahārāja-Śarva (Mahārāja-Shaṇḍa<sup>9</sup>) Atiśayadhavala Durlabha<sup>10</sup> Vira-Nārāyaṇa, son of 11. (Founded Mānyakhēṭa.) A.D. 817-877.—Ś. 738, 757, 765(?), 775 (for 773), 782 (spurious), 787, 788 (year 52), 799.—No. 71, 1055.

13. *Mahārājādhirāja* Kṛishṇarāja II. (Kṛishṇavallabha, Kannara) Akālavarsha Śubhatuṅga, son of 12; married a daughter of [the Kalachuri] Kōkkalla [I.],<sup>11</sup> a younger sister of Śaṅkuka. A.D. 902-911.—Ś. 822 (for 824), 824, 831 (for 833), 832.

14. Jagattuṅga II., son of 13; married Lakshmi and Gōvindāmbā, daughters of [the Kalachuri] Kōkkalla's son Śaṅkaragaṇa Raṇavigraha; did not reign.

15. *Mahārājādhirāja* Indrarāja III. (Indradēva) Nityavarsha (Nityamvarsha), son of 14 from Lakshmi; married Vijāmbā, a daughter of Ammapadēva, the son of [the Kalachuri] Kōkkalla's son Arjuna; successor of 13. (Uprooted, according to No. 86, Mēru, according to No. 91, Mahōdaya.) A.D. 914, 916.—Ś. 836, 838.

16. Amōghavarsha II., son of 15; according to No. 305 reigned for one year.

17. *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōvindarāja IV. (Gojjigadēva) Prabhūtavarsha Suvarṇavarsha Sāhasāṅka, younger brother of 16; described as successor of 15. A.D. 918-933.—Ś. 840, 851, 852, 855.

18. *Mahārājādhirāja* Amōghavarsha III.<sup>12</sup> Baddiga<sup>13</sup> (Baddega, Vaddiga), son of 14 from Gōvindāmbā and younger brother of 15; married Kundakadēvi, a daughter of [the Kalachuri] Yuvarāja [I.].

19. *Mahārājādhirāja* (*Chakravartin*<sup>14</sup>) Kṛishṇarāja III. (Kannara, Kaṇṇara, Kaṇṇara-dēva) Akālavarsha, son of 18. (Slew Dantiga and Vappuka, Vappuga; deposed [the W. Gaṅga] Rāchamalla [I.] and put in his place Būtuga [II.]; defeated the Pallava Anṇiga;<sup>15</sup> in battle at Takkōla killed the Chōḷa Rājāditya Mūvaḍi-Chōḷa;<sup>16</sup> and conquered the [Kalachuri] Chēdi Sahaśrārjuna, an elderly relative of his wife.) A.D. 940-961.—Ś. 862, 867, 871, 872\*,

<sup>1</sup> This epithet, which is applied also to other kings, is specially given here on account of Nos. 59 and 60.

<sup>2</sup> This epithet occurs in No. 91 only.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the Pratihāra Vatsarāja, App. I. p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> For his brother Indrarāja, made by him ruler of Lāṭa, see below, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Epithets like Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa, Vira-Nārāyaṇa, Raṭṭa-Kandarpa, etc., are generally omitted here and below.

<sup>6</sup> See No. 122. <sup>7</sup> See below, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> According to the spurious plates No. 127 his daughter Abbalabbā was married by the W. Gaṅga Būtuga I.; see below, p. 5.—Śaṅkhā, the queen of the Gaṅga-Pallava Nandivarman, was perhaps another daughter of his; see No. 652 and below, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Occurs in No. 84 only.

<sup>10</sup> Occurs in No. 305 only.

<sup>11</sup> See App. I. p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. p. 29, No. 76, we have a date of Amōghavarsha's reign, in Ś. 859, which regularly corresponds to Thursday, 7th September A.D. 937. Another date, of Ś. 861, the year Vikārin, *ibid.* p. 30, No. 77, would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 939, but does not admit of verification.

<sup>13</sup> He gave his daughter Bēvakanimmaḍi, the elder sister of Kṛishṇarāja III., in marriage to the W. Gaṅga Būtuga II.; see No. 130 and below, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> This title occurs in No. 1056 only.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. the Pallava Nōḷamba Anṇiga; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. Introduction, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> See below, p. 22.

873, 876\*, 880, 884\*.—Nos. 100-103 (years 16, 17, 19 and 26), 1058-1061 (years 17, 21, 22?, and 24).

20. Jagattuṅga III.,<sup>1</sup> younger brother of 19; did not reign.

21. *Mahārājādhirāja* Khotṭiga (Kottiga, Khōṭika) Nityavarsha, younger brother of 19. A.D. 971.—Ś. 893.

22. Nirupama,<sup>2</sup> younger brother of 19; did not reign.

23. *Mahārājādhirāja* Kakkarāja II.<sup>3</sup> (Kakkaladēva, Kakkara, Karkara) Amōghavarsha Nripatuṅga, son of 22. A.D. 972, 973.—Ś. 894, 896\*.

24. Indrarāja IV., son's son of 19. A.D. 982.—Ś. 904 (date of his death).

### 3.—The Rāshtrakūṭas of Gujarāt (Lāṭa).

(a).—From No. 54.—A.D. 757.

1. Kakkarāja I.

2. Dhruvarāja, son of 1.

3. Gōvindarāja, son of 2; married a daughter of Nāgavarman.

4. *Mahārājādhirāja* Kakkarāja II., son of 3. A.D. 757.—Ś. 679.

(b).—From Nos. 65, 67-70, 77, 78 and 81.—A.D. 812-888.

1. Indrarāja, brother of, and made ruler of Lāṭa by, the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvindarāja III. (above, p. 3).

2. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Karkarāja (Kakkarāja) Suvarpavarsha, son of 1. (After defeating some Rāshtrakūṭas, placed Amōghavarsha I., above, p. 3, on the throne.) A.D. 812, 817.—Ś. 734, 738.

3. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Gōvindarāja Prabhūtarvarsha, younger brother of 2. A.D. 813, 827.—Ś. 735, 749.

4. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dhruvarāja I. Dhāravarsha Nirupama, son of 2. A.D. 835.—Ś. 757.

5. Akālarvarsha Śubhatuṅga, son of 4.

6. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dhruvarāja II. Dhāravarsha Nirupama, son of 5. (Defeated Mihira.<sup>4</sup>) A.D. 867.—Ś. 789.

7. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Talaprahārin Dantivarman Aparimitavarsha, younger brother<sup>5</sup> of 6. A.D. 867.—Ś. 789.

8. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Kṛishṇarāja Akālarvarsha, son of 7 (?). A.D. 888.—Ś. 810.

### 4.—The Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ (Talavanapura).<sup>6</sup>

(a).—From the copper-plate inscriptions,<sup>7</sup> especially Nos. 113, 115 and 127.—A.D. 247-938.

In the Jāhnavēya family and Kāṇvāyana gōtra :—

1. Kōṅgapivarman-dharmamahādhirāja (Kōṅgaṇi-mahādhirāja).

2. Mādhava-mahādhirāja I., son of 1.

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in No. 93 only.

<sup>2</sup> In the *List* he has been taken to be, probably, the Dhōrappa whose daughter Voddīyavvā was married by the Yādava Vaddiga of Sēṇadēśa, below, p. 12; but compare now *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> In No. 105 he is said to have meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Akālarvarsha, i.e. Kṛishṇarāja III.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Pratibāra Bhōjadēva (Ādivarāba); see App. I. p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Dhruvarāja II. had another younger brother named Gōvindarāja; see No. 77.

<sup>6</sup> For the E. Gaṅgas of Kālīṅganagara see App. I. p. 17; for the pedigree of the Gaṅga-Bāpa Prithivīpati II., below, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> From the *List* it will be seen that the copper-plate inscriptions from which the genealogy is compiled are considered spurious. Here I would only point out that, under no circumstances, could the early dates given above be regarded as authentic. To omit other arguments, if Avinīta (6) reigned in A.D. 466, his great-grandfather Harivarman (8) could not have reigned in A.D. 247; and similarly, the time between A.D. 466 and A.D. 718, the

3. Harivarma (Arivarma)-mahādhira, son of 2. A.D. 247, 266.— Ś. 169, 188.
4. Vishṇugōpa-mahādhira, son of 3.
5. Mādhava-mahādhira II., son of 4. A.D. 350 (?).— Ś. 272 (?).<sup>1</sup>
6. Avinita Koṅgaṇi-mahādhira, son of 5 from a sister of the Kadamba Kṛishṇavarma-mahādhira.<sup>2</sup> A.D. 466.—[Ś.] 388.— No. 111 (year 29).<sup>3</sup>
7. Durvinita Koṅgaṇi-vṛiddharāja, son of 6 from a daughter of Skandavarman who is described as *Rājā* of Punnāḍa. No. 113 (year 3),<sup>4</sup> 114 (year 35).
8. Mushkara Koṅgaṇi-vṛiddharāja, son of 7.
9. Śrīvikrama Koṅgaṇi-mahādhira, son of 8 from a daughter of Sindhurāja.
10. Bhūvikrama Koṅgaṇi-mahādhira Śrīvallabha, son of 9.
11. Śivamāra I. Prithivī-Koṅgaṇi-mahārāja Navakāma, younger brother (according to No. 127, son) of 10. A.D. 713.— Ś. 635 (year 34).— No. 116(?).
12. *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrīpuruṣa Prithivī-Koṅgaṇi-mahārāja, son's son (according to No. 127, son) of 11. A.D. 750-776.— Ś. 672 (year 25), 684, 698 (year 50).
13. Śivamāra II. Koṅgaṇivarma-dharmamahārājādhirāja Saigoṭṭa,<sup>5</sup> son of 12. (According to No. 121 anointed as king by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda and the Pallava Nandivarman.)
14. Vijayāditya, younger brother of 13.
15. Rājamalla I. Satyavākya Koṅgaṇivarma-dh.,<sup>6</sup> son of 14.
16. Eṛegaṅga I. Nītimārga Koṅgaṇivarma-dh., son<sup>7</sup> of 15.
17. Rājamalla II. Satyavākya Koṅgaṇivarma-dh., son of 16. [His Narasāpura plates, in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. p. 25, No. 90, are dated in Ś. 824 = A.D. 902, but the published date is wrong as regards both the week-day and the *nakshatra*.]
18. Būtuga I. Guṇaduttaraṅga, younger brother of 17, married Abbalabbā, a daughter of [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Amōghavarsha [I.].
19. Eṛegaṅga II. Nītimārga Koṅgaṇivarma-dh. Komara-veḍeṅga ('whose forehead was adorned with the *paṭṭabandha* of, or by, Eṛeyappa'<sup>8</sup>), son of 18. [The Gaṭṭavādi plates in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. p. 225, No. 269, which record a grant made by him with the permission of his paternal uncle Rājamalla II. (17), are dated in Ś. 826, on a day which quite regularly corresponds to Sunday, 25th November A.D. 904.]
20. Narasiṅga Satyavākya Koṅgaṇivarma-dh. Vira-veḍeṅga, son of 19.
21. Rājamalla (?) III. Nītimārga Koṅgaṇivarma-dh. Kachcheya-Gaṅga, son of 20.
22. Būtuga II. Satyanītivākya Koṅgaṇivarma-dh., Nanniya-Gaṅga, Jayaduttaraṅga, Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa, etc., younger brother of 21, married a daughter of [the

date given for Śivamāra I. (11),— about 250 years,— is much too long a period to be filled by only four or five successive generations.—While correcting the proofs, I find that by the latest published volume of Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* (Vol. X. Introduction, p. 4) 'Koṅgaṇivarmma, the progenitor of the Gaṅga line,' probably belonged 'to the end of the 2nd century.' Since Bhūvikrama, the 9th of the direct descendants of Koṅgaṇivarman, according to the above genealogy would have reigned to nearly the end of the 7th century, this would give an average duration of 50 years for 10 successive reigns, which is an impossibility.

<sup>1</sup> But in No. 110, from which the date is taken, Mādhava's name is not given.

<sup>2</sup> For Kadambas named Kṛishṇavarman see below, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> In No. 111 Avinita is not mentioned by name, but only described as Koṅgaṇi-mahārāja or Koṅgaṇi-rāja.

<sup>4</sup> In No. 113 Avinita and Durvinita are not mentioned by name, but only described as Koṅgaṇi-mahādhira and Koṅgaṇi-mahārāja.

<sup>5</sup> For a grant stated to have been made in Ś. 261 = A.D. 339 by the Gaṅga *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara* Saigoṭṭa Permāṇḍi Śivamāra, a feudatory of king Amōghavarsha, see No. 120.

<sup>6</sup> I.e., here and below, -dharmamahārājādhirāja.

<sup>7</sup> In No. 121 the son of Rājamalla [I.] is Raṇavikramayya.

<sup>8</sup> The above is taken from Dr. Fleet's account of No. 127. A similar statement in the Gaṭṭavādi plates *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII. p. 227, *sva-pitṛivyēṇa Rājamallādēvēṇa śrīmad-Eṛeyappa(h)-paṭṭa-baddha(h)* is by Mr. Rice understood to mean that Eṛegaṅga by his uncle Rājamalla II. was crowned as Eṛeyappa.



Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha III.] Baddega. (On the death of Baddega-secured the kingdom for [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Kṛishṇarāja [III.]; caused fear to Kakkarāja of Aṭchapura, Bijja-Dantivarman of Banavāsi, Rājavarman, Dāmari of Nuluvngiri, and Nāgavarman; defeated [the Chōla] Rājāditya.) A.D. 938.— Ś. 860.<sup>1</sup>

(b).—From the stone inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>—A.D. 887-977.

1. Śivamāra [I.].<sup>3</sup>
2. Śripurusha, son of 1.
3. Raṇavikrama, son of 2. [According to Dr. Fleet, identical with 5, below.]
4. Rājamalla, son of 3. [According to Dr. Fleet, identical with 6, below.] No. 123.
5. Nītimārga Koṅṅunivarma-dh.<sup>4</sup> Permanāḍi. [According to Dr. Fleet, identical with 3, above.]
6. Satyavākya Pemmānāḍi, eldest son of 5. [According to Dr. Fleet, identical with 4, above.] No. 124.
7. Satyavākya Koṅṅunivarma-dh. Permanāḍi. [According to Dr. Fleet, Būtuga I.] A.D. 887.— Ś. 809 (year 18).
8. Eṇeyapa, Eṇeyapparasa. (Assisted Ayyapadēva against Viramahēndra.<sup>5</sup>) No. 126.
9. Rāchamalla I. (Rachhyāmalla), son<sup>6</sup> of 8. (Deposed by the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja III.; killed by 10, below.)
10. Būtuga II. (Būtayya, Bhūtārya) Satyavākya Koṅṅunivarma-dh. Permānāḍi, Nanniya-Gaṅga, Jayaduttaraṅga, Gaṅga-Gāṅgēya, Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa, son of . . . from Bhujjabbarasi; married Rēvakanimmaḍi, a daughter of [the Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha III.] Baddega and elder sister of Kannaradēva, i.e. Kṛishṇarāja III. (Treacherously stabbed the Chōla Rājāditya; and killed Rāchamalla I., above, 9, in whose place he was put by Kṛishṇarāja III.) A.D. 949.— Ś. 872\*.
11. Maruḷadēva, son of 10 from Rēvakanimmaḍi; married Bijjabe.
12. Raachha(?)—Gaṅga, son of 11.
13. Mārasimha [II.].<sup>7</sup> Satyavākya Koṅṅunivarma-dh. Permānāḍi, Chaladuttaraṅga, Jagad-ēkavīra, Nalambakulāntaka, etc., son of 10 from Kallabbarasi; successor of 12. (Conquered the northern region for [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Kṛishṇarāja [III.]; defeated Kṛishṇarāja's opponent Alla; crowned [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Indrarāja [IV.]; defeated Vajjaladēva,<sup>8</sup> the younger brother of Pātālamalla; destroyed the Śabara chief Naraga; conquered the Chālukya Rājāditya; etc.) A.D. 968(?)–975.— Ś. 890 (spurious),<sup>9</sup> 893, 896\*, 896.— No. 131, 136.

<sup>1</sup> The date (which is irregular) cannot be authentic because the defeat [and death] of the Chōla Rājāditya, recorded in the plates so dated, must have taken place after A.D. 938; see below, p. 22. Besides, Amōghavarsha III. Baddega, whose death is mentioned in the plates, apparently was alive in December A.D. 939; see above, p. 8, note 12.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Dr. Fleet's Table in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 59.— I have spent much time in trying to arrange in their proper order the W. Gaṅga stone inscriptions in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.*, but have had to give up the task as hopeless, mainly, no doubt, on account of my not being familiar with the language in which they are written. In the above, therefore, I only give the names which occur in my *List*, No. 123 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For Śivamāra [II.] see the pedigree of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa Prithivīpati II., below, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, here and below, -dharmamahārājādhirāja.

<sup>5</sup> In the *List* Viramahēndra has been stated to be in all probability identical with the E. Chalukya Chālukya-Bhīma II. Gaṇḍamahēndra. But Viramahēndra as well as Ayyapadēva may have belonged to the Pallava Nalamba family. Compare now *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. 18, and Vol. XII. Introduction, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See No. 95.

<sup>7</sup> For Mārasimha [I.] see below, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly the Śīlāra Vajjaḍa I. of the Northern Koṅṅa, below, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> In the spurious No. 129 Mārasimha is described as the younger brother of Harivarman-mahārājādhirāja, the son of Mādava-mahārājādhirāja.

14. Pañchaladēva Satyavākya Koṅḡipivarma-dh., successor of 13. A.D. 975.—Ś. 897.—See No. 104, 106.

15. Rāchamalla II.<sup>1</sup> Satyavākya Koṅḡipivarma-dh. Permanāḍi. A.D. 977.—Ś. 899.<sup>2</sup>—No. 137.

5.—The Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi (Kalyāṇa).<sup>3</sup>—A.D. 973-1189.

1. *Mahārājādhirāja* Taila II. (Tailapa, Tailapayya, Tailappa, Nārmaḍi-Taila<sup>4</sup>) Āhavamalla Rapaṅgabbhima (?),<sup>5</sup> son of Vikramāditya IV.<sup>6</sup> from Bonthādēvi, a daughter of the [Kalachuri] Chēdi Lakshmana; married Jākavvā, a daughter of Bhammaha-Raṭṭa. (Conquered the Rāshtrakūṭas Kakkarāja [II.] and Rapastambha, Rapakambha; imprisoned (killed) [the Paramāra] Muñja Utpala, i.e. Vākpatirāja II.; killed [the W. Gaṅga] Pañchala;<sup>7</sup> restored the Chālukya sovereignty and reigned for 24 years, from Ś. 895=A.D. 973.) A.D. 973-997.—Ś. [895], 902, 904, 911 (for 912), 919.

2. *Mahārājādhirāja* Satyāśraya<sup>8</sup> (Sattiga, Sattima) Iṅivabedāṅga Akalanācharita, son of 1. A.D. 1002, 1008.—Ś. 924, 930.

3. Yaśōvarman (Daśavarmān), younger brother of 2; married Bhāgyavatī (Bhāgaladēvi); did not reign.

4. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya V. Tribhuvanamalla, son of 3. A.D. 1009.—Ś. 930 (for 931).

5. *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayasimha II.<sup>9</sup> Jagadēkamalla I., younger brother of 4.—(Contemporary of [the Paramāra] Bhōja; at war with the Chōla Rājendra-Chōla [I.].) A.D. 1018(?)—1040.—Ś. 940 (?), 941, 944, 946, 950, 955, 957, 962.—See also No. 147.

6. *Mahārājādhirāja*<sup>10</sup> Sōmēśvara I. Trailōkyamalla Āhavamalla, son of 5; No. 167 mentions his queen Kētaladēvi. A.D. 1044-1068.—Ś. 966, [967], 968, 970, 973 (for 974), 975, 976, 984, 988, 990.

7. *Mahārājādhirāja* Sōmēśvara II.<sup>11</sup> Bhuvanaikamalla, son of 6. (Defeated the Chōla Vīra-Chōla, i.e. Vīrarājendra.<sup>12</sup>) A.D. 1071-1075.—Ś. 993, 996, 997.—No. 180, 181, 182(?), 183.

8. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramāditya VI. (Vikramārka, Vikrama) Tribhuvanamalla, Permāḍi (Permāḍidēva, Permāḍirāya), younger brother of 7; No. 198 mentions his queen Lakshmādēvi. [The first year of his own Chā. Vi. era (and his reign) corresponds to Ś. 998=A.D. 1076.] A.D. 1077-1125.—Ś. 999, [999, 1001, 1004, 1006], 1008 (for 1009), 1009, [1009, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1018, 1020, 1021, 1024, 1025, 1029, 1030, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1043, 1044 ?], 1045, 1047.—No. 168 (of Ś. 977), 182(?), 222-224.

9. Jayasimha III.,<sup>13</sup> younger brother of 8. A.D. 1072-1079.—Ś. 993, 999, [1001].

<sup>1</sup> He perhaps had a younger brother named Rakkasa; see Nos. 133 and 134.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 330, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, opposite p. 428; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., opposite p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> This name occurs in No. 259 only.

<sup>5</sup> See No. 328.

<sup>6</sup> For a list of his ancestors see No. 150.

<sup>7</sup> See also No. 259.

<sup>8</sup> No. 152 mentions a *Mahāmāṇḍalīvara* Kundamarasa who possibly was a son of his.

<sup>9</sup> His elder sister (a younger sister of Vikramāditya V.) was Akhādēvi; see No. 153. — Between Vikramāditya V. and Jayasimha II. No. 179 enumerates Ayyapa II.—A daughter of Jayasimha II., Hammā or Avvalladēvi, was married by the Yādava Bhīllama III. of Sēṇadēśa; see No. 331 and below, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> This title here and in some cases below is not given in the *List*, but is taken from the inscriptions.

<sup>11</sup> In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. p. 181, No. 136, two dates are given, one for the death of Sōmēśvara I. and the other for the accession of Sōmēśvara II. The former corresponds to the 29th March A.D. 1068, but this was a Saturday not, as required by the wording of the original date, a Sunday. The latter regularly corresponds to Friday, 11th April A.D. 1068.

<sup>12</sup> See *ibid* p. 182; and below, p. 28.

<sup>13</sup> His full name Trailōkyamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi-Jayasimha or Trailōkyamalla-Vīra-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permanāḍi-Jayasimha is given in the notes on Nos. 176 and 188.

10. Vishṇuwardhana Vijayāditya, another brother of 8. A.D. 1064, 1066.—Ś. 986, 988.
11. Jayakarṇa, son of 8. A.D. 1087, 1121.—Ś. [1009, 1043].
12. *Mahārājādhirāja* Sōmēśvara III.<sup>1</sup> (Sōma) Bhūlōkamalla, son of 8. A.D. 1128-1130.—Ś. 1051\*, [1050] (year 3), [1052] (year 6).—No. 230, 231.
13. *Pratāpa-chakravartin* Jagadēkamalla II., Perma Jagadēkamalla, son of 12. A.D. 1139-1149.—Ś. [1061] (year 2), [1064] (year 5), [1066] (year 7), [1069] (year 10), [1071] (year 13 ?).—No. 225, 234, 238.
14. *Mahārājādhirāja* Taila III. (Tailapa, Nūrmādi-Taila, Nūrmādi-Tailapa) Trailōkyamalla, younger brother of 13. A.D. 1154, 1155.—Ś. 1076, [1077] (year 6).—Nos. 243-246.
15. *Mahārājādhirāja* Sōmēśvara IV. (Vīra-Sōmēśvara, Sōmana) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 14. A.D. 1184, 1189.—Ś. 1106, 1111.—No. 253.

#### 6.—The Kaḷachuryas of Kalyāṇi.<sup>2</sup> — A.D. 1128-1183.

1. Kṛishṇa.
2. Jōgama, son of 1.
3. *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Permādi (Paramardin), son of 2. Feudatory of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara III. A.D. 1128.—Ś. 1051\*.
4. *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* or, later, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Bhujabala-chakravartin* Bijjala<sup>3</sup> (Bijjana) Tribhuvanamalla Niśsaṅkamalla, son of 3. A.D. 1155-1168.—Ś. [1077], 1079, [1080] (year 3 ?), 1080, 1083 (year 6), [1087] (year 10), [1090] (Kaḷachurya year 16).—No. 232 (year 6), 238, 245, 281-284.
5. *Mahārājādhirāja* *Bhujabala-chakravartin* (*Chakravartin*) Sōvidēva (Sōma, Sōmēśvara) Rāya-Murāri, son of 4; married Sāvaladēvi. A.D. 1168-1174.—Ś. [1090], [1093] (year 6 ?), [1095] (year 7), 1096.—No. 290.
6. *Mahārājādhirāja* *Bhujabala-chakravartin* (*Chakravartin*) Saṅkama Niśsaṅkamalla, younger brother of 5. A.D. 1178, 1179.—Ś. [1100] (year 3), [1101] (year 3), [1101] (year 5).—No. 294.
7. *Bhujabala-chakravartin* (*Chakravartin*) Āhavamalla, [younger] brother of 6. A.D. 1180-1183.—Ś. [1102], [1103] (year 3), 1103, [1105] (year 8).
8. *Mahārājādhirāja* Singhapa, younger brother of 7. A.D. 1183.—Ś. 1105.

#### 7.—The Raṭṭas of Saundatti (Sugandhavartin) and Belgaum (Vēpugrāma).<sup>4</sup> — A.D. 980-1228.

1. Nanna.
2. Kārtavīrya (Katta) I., son of 1. Feudatory of the W. Chālukya Taila II. A.D. 980.—Ś. 902.
3. Dāyima (Dāvari), son of 2.
4. Kanna (Kannakaira) I., younger brother of 3.
5. *Mahāsāmanta* Eṛega (Eṛaga, Eṛeyammarasa), son of 4. A.D. 1040.—Ś. 962.
6. *Mahāsāmanta* Aṅka, younger brother of 5. A.D. 1048.—Ś. 970.
7. Sēna (Kālasēna) I., son of 5; married Mailaladēvi.
8. *Mahāsāmanta* Kanna (Kannakaira) II., son of 7. A.D. 1082, 1087.—Ś. [1004, 1009].

<sup>1</sup> A younger sister of his, Mailalamahādēvi, was married by the Kādamba (of Goa) Jayakēśin II.; see *s.g.* No. 261, and below, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 471.—For the early Kaṭachchuris see App. I. p. 11; for the Kaḷachuris of Tripuri and Ratnapura, *ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> He had a younger brother, named Mailjugidēva; see below, p. 18, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 551.—The *Mahāsāmanta*s Pṛithvirāma and Śāntivarman in Nos. 79 and 142 of the *List* were no Raṭṭas, but belonged to the Baissa family; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII. p. 220.

9. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kārtavīrya (Katta) II., younger brother of 8; married Bhāgaladēvi (Bhāgalāmbikā). A.D. 1087.—Ś. 1009.—No. 181, 220.

10. *Maṇḍalēśvara* Sēna (Kālasēna) II., son of 9; married Lakshmidēvi. A.D. 1087 (P), 1096(P).—Ś. [1009 P], [1018 P].

11. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ohakravartin Kārtavīrya (Kattama) III., son of 10; married Padmaladēvi. No. 263(P).

12. Lakshmidēva I. (Lakshmaṇa, Lakshmidhara), son of 11; married Chandrike (Chandrikā-dēvi, Chandaladēvi).

13. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kārtavīrya IV., son of 12; married Eohaladēvi and Mādēvi. A.D. 1201-1218.—Ś. 1124\*, 1127\*, 1131\*, 1141\*.

14. *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna, younger brother of 13. A.D. 1204, 1208.—Ś. 1127\*, 1131\*.

15. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Lakshmidēva II., son of 13 from Mādēvi. A.D. 1228.—Ś. 1151\*.

8.—The Kādambas of Hāngal (Pānthipura, Virāṭanagara).<sup>1</sup>—A.D. 1068-1196.

1. Jayavarman II.<sup>2</sup>

2. Māvulidēva, son of 1.

3. Tailapa I., son of 1.

4. Śāntivarman II., son of 1; married Siriyādēvi of the Pāṇḍya family.

5. Chōkidēva, son of 1.

6. Vikrama, son of 1.

7. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kīrtivarman II., son of 3. Feudatory of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. A.D. 1068.—Ś. 990.

8. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tailapa II. (Taila), son of 4; married Bāchaladēvi of the Pāṇḍya family. A.D. 1108, 1129.—Ś. [1030, 1050].

9. Tailama,<sup>3</sup> son of 8.

10. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kāmadēva,<sup>4</sup> son of 9. A.D. 1189, 1196.—Ś. 1111, [1118].—No. 425.

9.—The Kādambas of Goa (Gōve, Gōpaka-paṭṭana,-puri).<sup>5</sup>—A.D. 1007 (P)-1250.

1. Gāhalla Vyāghramārin.

2. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Shashṭhadēva I., son of 1. A.D. 1007 (P).—Ś. 928 (for 929) (P).

3. Jayakēsin I., son of 2. Feudatory of the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. (Took his abode at Gōpakapaṭṭana; uprooted Kāmadēva, etc.) A.D. 1052.—Ś. 973 (for 974).

4. Vijayāditya (Vijayārka) I., son of 3.

5. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jayakēsin II., son of 4; married Mailalamahādēvi, a daughter of the [W.] Chālukya Vikramāditya [VI.]. A.D. 1147 (P).—Ś. [1069] (P).

6. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṅkaṇa-chakravartin Śivachitta Permāḍi (Vira-Permāḍi, Paramardin), son of 5; married Kamalādēvi, a daughter of Kāmadēva and Chāṭṭaladēvi, A.D. 1158-1174.—Ś. 1080, [1082] (year 14), [1085] (year 17), [1091] (year 23), [1093] (year 25), [1094] (year 26), [1096] (year 28).—No. 255.

7. Vijayāditya (Vijayārka, Vijaya) II. Vishnuchitta Vāṇibhūṣaṇa, younger brother of 6; married Lakshmi. A.D. 1158, 1171.—Ś. 1080 (*Yuvarāja*), [1093].

<sup>1</sup> For the early Kādambas see below, p. 19.—Kādambas, other than those mentioned here and under 9, whose names are given in the *List*, are the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harikēśarin (in No. 168 of Ś. 977—A.D. 1055) and the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kētarasa, 'lord of Uchchaṅgīgiri' (in note on No. 250 of Ś. 1098\* and 1095\*—A.D. 1170 and 1172; compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Introduction, p. 6).

<sup>2</sup> For a list of his ancestors, beginning with Mayūravarman I., see the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 559.

<sup>3</sup> According to Dr. Fleet, *ibid.*, he had two elder brothers, Mayūravarman II. and Mallikārjuna.

<sup>4</sup> According to the same, *ibid.*, he had an elder brother named Kīrtidēva II.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 565.

8. Jayakēśin III. (Vīra-Jayakēśin), son of 7; married Mahādēvi. A.D. 1199, 1201.— Ś. [1121] (year 13), [1123] (year 15).

9. Tribhuvanamalla, son of 8; married Māpikādēvi.

10. Śivachitta Shashthadēva II.,<sup>1</sup> son of 9. A.D. 1250.— Ś. [1172] (year 5).

10.— The Sindas of Yelburga (Erambarage, Erambirage).<sup>2</sup>—A.D. 1122 (?)–1160.

1. Ācha (Āchugi) I.

2. Nāka, brother of 1.

3. Siṅga (Siṁha) I., brother of 1.

4. Dāsa, brother of 1.

5. Dāva (Dāma), brother of 1.

6. Chāvunḍa (Chauṇḍa) I., brother of 1.

7. Chāva, brother of 1.

8. Bamma, son of 1.

9. Siṅga II., younger brother of 8.

10. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ācha (Āchama, Āchugi) II., son of 9; married Mahādēvi (Mādēvi). Feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. (Repulsed [the Śilāhāra] Bhōja [I.]; put to flight Lakshma.) A.D. 1122 (?).— Ś. [1044 ?].

11. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Permāḍi (Pemma) I. Jagadēkamalla, son of 10. (Vanquished Kulāśekharaṅka, besieged and beheaded Chatta, put to flight [the Kādamba of Goa] Jayakēśin [II.], and defeated Bittiga, i.e. the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana.) A.D. 1144.— Ś. [1066].— No. 224, 234.

12. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍa (Chāmunḍa) II., younger brother of 11; married Dēmaladēvi and Siriyādēvi. A.D. 1163, 1169.— Ś. 1084 (for 1085), [1091].

13. Āchidēva III., son of 12 from Dēmaladēvi. A.D. 1163.— Ś. 1084 (for 1085).

14. Pemmāḍi II., son of 12 from Dēmaladēvi. A.D. 1163.— Ś. 1084 (for 1085).

15. Bijjala, son of 12 from Siriyādēvi. A.D. 1169.— Ś. [1091].

16. Vikrama, son of 12 from Siriyādēvi. A.D. 1169.— Ś. [1091].

11.— The Guttas of Guttal (Guttavoḷal).—A.D. 1181–1262.

1. Māgutta.

2. Gutta I., son of 1.

3. Mahāśmanta (?) Malla (Mallidēva), son of 2. Subordinate (?) of the Mahāśmantā-dhipati Gōvindarasa who was a feudatory of the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. No. 223.

4. Vīra-Vikramāditya I., son of 3.

5. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jōyidēva (Jōma) I., son of 4. Feudatory of the Kalachurya Āhavamalla. A.D. 1181.— Ś. 1103.

6. Gutta II., brother of 5.

7. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra-Vikramāditya II.,<sup>3</sup> son of 6; married Paṭṭamādēvi. A.D. 1187–1213.— Ś. 1110\*, 1113, 1136\*.

8. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jōyidēva (Jōvidēva) II., son of 7. A.D. 1237.— Ś. 1160\*.

<sup>1</sup> His sister was married to the prince Kāmadēva (Kāvaṇa), the son of Lakshmidēva and Lakshmi.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 578.—For other Sindas mentioned in the *List* compare No. 144 (Pulikāla, a son of Kaumara, with the date Ś. 911 for 912=A.D. 990); 156 (the Mahāśmanta Nāgātiyarasa, son of Pulikāla, with the date Ś. 955=A.D. 1038); 189 (the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Muḥja, with the date Ś. [1004]=A.D. 1082); 238 (Īśvara, 'lord of Karahāṭa,' compare *Ep. Cars.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 85, and Vol. XI. Introduction, p. 14); 253 (the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Irmaḍi-Rāchamalla, surnamed Sindagōvinda, of Kurugōḍadurga); and perhaps 972 (Śōmēśvara, with the date Ś. 1180 for 1181=A.D. 1210).

<sup>3</sup> His daughter Tuljvaladēvi (Tulvaladēvi) was married to Ballāja, son of Siṁha (Siṅga, Siṅgidēva), lord of the Sāntaḷi *maṇḍala*; see No. 340.

9. Vikramāditya (Vikrama) III., brother of 8; married Mailaladēvi.  
 10. Gutta III.,<sup>1</sup> son of 9. A.D. 1262.—Ś. [1184], 1185\*.

12.—The Śilāras<sup>2</sup> of the Southern Koṅkaṇa.—A.D. 1008.

1. [Sa]ṇaphulla, a favourite of [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Kṛishṇarāja [I. ?].
2. Dhammiyara, son of 1. (Founded Valipattana.)
3. Aiyaparāja, son of 2.
4. Avasara I., son of 3.
5. Âdityavarman, son of 4.
6. Avasara II., son of 5.
7. Indrarāja, son of 6.
8. Bhīma, son of 7.
9. Avasara III., son of 8.
10. Maṇḍalika Raṭṭa (Raṭṭarāja), son of 9. Feudatory of the W. Chālukya Satyāśraya. A.D. 1008.—Ś. 930.

13.—The Śilāras (Śilāhāras) of the Northern Koṅkaṇa.<sup>3</sup>—A.D. 843 (?)–1259.

1. Kapardin I., 'lord of Koṅkaṇa.'
2. Mahāśāmantā Pulaśakti (Pulaśakti<sup>4</sup>), son of 1. Feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I. A.D. 843(?)—Ś. 765(?).
3. Mahāśāmantā Kapardin II. (Laghu-Kapardin), son of 2. A.D. 851, 877.—Ś. 775 (for 773), 799.
4. Vappuvanna (Ghayuvanta ?), son of 3.
5. Jhañjha,<sup>5</sup> son of 4.
6. Goggi (Goggirāja), brother of 5.
7. Vajjaḍa I.,<sup>6</sup> son of 6.
8. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Aparājita Mṛigāṅka Birudaṅka-Rāma, son of 7. (Contemporary of Gōma, Aiyapadēva, [the Yādava] Bhīllama [II. of Sēunadēśa] and . . . ?) A.D. 997.—Ś. 919.
9. Vajjaḍa II., son of 8.
10. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Arikēśarin (Kēśidēva ?), elder (?) brother of 9. A.D. 1017.—Ś. 939.
11. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chhittarāja, son of 9. A.D. 1026.—Ś. 948.
12. Nāgārjuna, younger brother of 11.
13. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mummuni (Māmvāpirāja), younger brother of 12. A.D. 1060 (?)—Ś. 982 (?).
14. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarādhipati Kuṅkaṇa-chakravartin Anantapāla (Anantadēva), son of 12. A.D. 1094.—Ś. 1016.
15. Haripāla.<sup>7</sup> A.D. 1154.—Ś. 1076.
16. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarādhipati or Mahāśāmantādhipati Mallikārjuna. A.D. 1156.—Ś. 1078.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 579, Gutta III. had the two brothers Hiriyadēva and Jōyidēva III.—In addition to the above, No. 292 of the *List* mentions the Gutta Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sampakarasa with a date in Ś. [1101]—A.D. 1179.

<sup>2</sup> For a certain Kañchiga of the Seḷaṇa race and a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gō[v]uṇarasa of the Śilāhāra race, see note on No. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 539.

<sup>4</sup> So the name is spelt in Nos. 72, 73 and 80 only.

<sup>5</sup> Lakshmi (Lachchhiyavvā), the wife of the Yādava Bhīllama II. of Sēunadēśa, was probably a daughter of his; see No. 331 and below, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> The relationship of 15-18 to the preceding ones and to one another cannot be given for the present.

17. *Mahārājādhirāja Koṅkaṇa-chakravartin Aparāditya*. A.D. 1185, 1186.—Ś. 1107, 1109\*.  
 18. *Mahāsāmantādhipati Koṅkaṇa-chakravartin Sōmēśvara*. A.D. 1259.—Ś. 1181.

14.—The Śilāhāras (Śailāhāras, Siyaḷāras) of Kōlhāpur (Kollāpura).<sup>1</sup>—A.D. 1058-1194.

1. Jatiga I.
2. Nāyivarmaṇ (Nāyimma), son of 1.
3. Chandrarāja, son of 2.
4. Jatiga II., son of 3.
5. Goṅka (Goṅkala, Gōkalla, Gōkala), son of 4.
6. Gūvala I. (Gūhala<sup>2</sup>), younger brother of 5.
7. Kīrtirāja, brother of 6.
8. Chandrāditya,<sup>3</sup> brother of 7.
9. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mārasimha*, son of 5. A.D. 1058.—Ś. 980.
10. Gūvala II., son of 9.
11. Gaṅgadēva,<sup>4</sup> brother of 10.
12. Bhōjadēva I., brother of 11.
13. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ballāla*, brother of 12. No. 316.
14. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarāditya*, brother of 13. A.D. 1110-1135.—Ś. 1032\*, [1033\*], 1040, 1058\*.—No. 316, 320.
15. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijayāditya* (Vijayārka), son of 14. A.D. 1143-1150.—Ś. 1065\*, 1066\*, 1073\*.
16. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bhōjadēva II.*<sup>5</sup> (Vīra-Bhōjadēva), son of 15. A.D. 1178-1194.—Ś. 1101\*, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, [1115].●

15.—The Yādavas of Sēuṇadēśa.—A.D. 1000-1142.

1. Dṛiḍhaprahāra.<sup>6</sup>
2. Sēuṇachandra I., son of 1. (Founded Sēuṇapura.)
3. Dhāḍiyappa, son of 2.
4. Bhillama I., son of 3.
5. Rāja (Rājan, Śrīrāja), son of 4.
6. Vaddiga (Vandiga), son of 5; married Voddīyavvā, a daughter of Dhōrappa.<sup>7</sup> Follower of [the Rāshṭrakūṭa] Kṛishnarāja [III.].
7. *Mahāsāmanta* Bhillama II., son of 6; married Lakshmi (Lachchhiyavvā), a daughter of [probably the Śīlāra] Jhañjha. (Defeated [the Paramāra] Muñja, i.e. Vāḱpatirāja II., for Raṇaraṅgabhimā, i.e., apparently, the W. Chālukya Taila II.) A.D. 1000.—Ś. 922.
8. Vēsū (Vēsuka P), son of 7; married Nāyaladēvi, a daughter of the Chālukya *Maṇḍalika-tīlaka* Gōgi.<sup>8</sup>
9. *Mahāsāmanta* Bhillama III., son of 8; married Hammā (Avvalladēvi), a daughter of the [W.] Chālukya Jayasimha [II.]. A.D. 1025.—Ś. 948\*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> So the name is given in No. 315 only.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in No. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned only in No. 321, which also places Ballāla before Bhōjadēva I.

<sup>5</sup> He probably had a son named Gaṇḍarāditya; see No. 327.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned in No. 331 only.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 4, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> According to Dr. Bhandarkar perhaps the Śīlāra Goggi; by myself stated to be identical, perhaps, with the Goggirāja in *Northern List*, No. 354; but for a Chālukya named Goggi see now rather *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introduction, p. 6, and Vol. XI. Introduction, p. 9.

10. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *Mahāmaṇḍalandītha* Sēṇaachandra II.<sup>1</sup> (Sēṇa), of the family of 9. A.D. 1069.—Ś. 991.

11. *Mahāśāmantā* Sēṇadēva. A.D. 1142.—Ś. 1063 (for 1064).

16.—The Yādavas (or Sēvaṇas) of Dēvagiri.<sup>2</sup>—A.D. 1191-1305.

1. Sēvaṇa.<sup>3</sup>

2. Mallugi, son of 1.

3. Amaragaṅga, son of 2.

4. Karṇa, younger brother of 3.

5. *Mahārājādhirāja Pratāpa-chakravartin* Bhīllama, son of 4. A.D. 1191.—Ś. 1113.

6. Jaitugi I. (Jaitrapāla, Jaitapāla), son of 5. (Killed the king of Trikalīṅga, liberated and made [the Kākatīya] Gaṇapati lord of the Andhra country.) No. 336.

7. *Mahārājādhirāja Pratāpa-chakravartin* (Chakravartin, *Praudha-pratāpa-chakravartin*, *Bhujabala-pratāpa-chakravartin*) Sīṅghaṇa (Sīmhaṇa, Sīmha, Sīmha), son of 6. (Overthrew [the Hoysala] Ballāja [II.], the Andhra king, Kakkalla, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, [the Śilāhāra] Bhōja[II.], and Arjuna, i.e., probably, the Paramāra Arjunavarman.<sup>4</sup>) A.D. 1207-1246.—Ś. 1128 (for 1129), 1135\*, 1136\*, 1137, 1140, 1144, 1145\*, 1145, 1148\*, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160\*, 1162, [1164], [1168] (year 37).—No. 353.

8. Jaitugi II. (Jaitrapāla), son of 7; did not reign.

9. *Mahārājādhirāja Bhujabala-praudha-pratāpa-chakravartin* Kanhara (Kanhāra, Kandhara, Kṛishṇa), son of 8. A.D. 1249-1258.—Ś. 1172\*, 1171, 1174\*, 1175 (year 7), [1181].

10. *Praudha-pratāpa-chakravartin Mahārāja* Mahādēva, younger brother of 9. (Defeated [the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā] Viśala.<sup>5</sup>) A.D. 1261-1271(?).—Ś. 1183, [1184] (year 3), 1185\*, [1185], 1187, 1189, 1193 (?).

11. Āmaṇa, son of 10; apparently did not reign.

12. *Mahārājādhirāja Praudha-pratāpa-chakravartin* Rāmachandra (Rāmadēva, Rāma), son of 9; took away the kingdom from 11. A.D. 1272-1305.—Ś. 1193, 1194, 1199\*, 1199, [1204] (year 12 or 13), [1205] (year 12), [1206] (year 14), [1208] (year 16), 1212\*, 1219\*, 1222, 1227.

17.—The Hoysalas (Poysalas) of Dōrasamudra.<sup>6</sup>—A.D. 1040(?)–1330.

1. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vinayāditya<sup>7</sup> Tribhuvanamalla (?); married Keḷeyabbe (Keḷeyabbarasi, Keḷeyaladēvi, Kēḷiyadēvi). A.D. 1040(?).—Ś. 961(?).

2. Eḷeyaṅga (Eḷaga), son of 1; married Echaladēvi.

3. Ballāja I., son of 2; married Padmaladēvi, Chāvalidēvi and Boppadēvi. (Defeated Jagaddēva.<sup>8</sup>) A.D. 1103.—Ś. 1025.

4. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Viṣṇuvardhana (Viṣṇu, Bittidēva, Bittiga) Tribhuvanamalla Bhujabala-Gaṅga, son of 2; married Śāntaladēvi and Lakshmīdēvi (Lakumadēvi). (Defeated the Chōḷa feudatories Narasimhavarmān and Adiyama, the lord of Mālava, Jagaddēva,<sup>9</sup> [the Chōḷa] Iruṅḡōḷa, and [the Kādamba of Goa] Jayakēśin [II.]; his minister Gaṅgarāja defeated the army of the [W.] Chālukya Permādīdēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI.) A.D. 1115-1137.—Ś. 1037,

<sup>1</sup> The exact relationship of 10 and 11 to the preceding ones and to one another cannot be given at present.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> The names 1-4 are taken from Bhīllama's inscription No. 334. Instead of them, No. 351 has Amaragaṅgēya and, in his family, Mallugi from whom sprang Bhīllama; while No. 369 has Sīṅghaṇa, his son Mallugi, and, after him, Bhīllama.

<sup>4</sup> See App. I. p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.* p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the Table in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 493.

<sup>7</sup> It now appears that Vinayāditya was the son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nṛpa-Kāma, for whom we have dates in Ś. 944 and in the year Prabhava [949]—A.D. 1022 and 1027 (but the second date, which admits of verification, is incorrect); see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Part I. Introduction, p. 10, and Text, p. 586, Nos. 43 and 44.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps identical with, or an ancestor of, the Jagaddēva in No. 237.



1039, 1045, 1053, 1060\*.— No. 384(?), 399, 405, 406.

5. Udayāditya, son of 2; died before 4.<sup>1</sup>

6. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Narasimha I. (Nārasimha, Nārasinga) Tribhuvanamalla Bhujabala-Vira-Gaṅga Pratāpa-Hoysala, son of 4 from Lakshmidēvi; married Ēchaladēvi. A.D. 1159.— Ś. 1081.— No. 410, 411, 413.

7. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or, later, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Pratāpa-chakravartin* Ballāla II.<sup>2</sup> (Vira-Ballāla) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 6; married Padmaladēvi. (Defeated the army of Sōmana, i.e. the W. Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV., and Jaitrasimha, the minister of [the Dēvagiri-Yādava] Bhīllama; besieged Uchchaṅgi and captured its Pāṇḍya king Kāmadēva.) A.D. 1181-1207.— Ś. 1104\*, 1113(?), 1114, 1114 (for 1115), 1117\*, 1118\*, [1118], 1121, [1124] (year 11), [1127] (year 15), [1129] (year 17).—No. 415, 417, 432, 433.

8. *Mahārājādhirāja* *Pratāpa-chakravartin* Narasimha II.<sup>3</sup> (Vira-Nārasimha), son of 7; married Kāladēvi.<sup>4</sup> (Described as establisher of the Chōla kingdom.<sup>5</sup>) A.D. 1223, 1231.— Ś. 1145, [1153].

9. Sōmēśvara (Vira-Sōmēśvara, Sōma), son of 8; married Sōmaladēvi, Bijjalā, and the Chālukya princess Dēvaladēvi. A.D. 1253.— Ś. 1175\*.—No. 437, 438.

10. *Mahārājādhirāja* *Pratāpa-chakravartin* (*Nīśāṅka-pratāpa-chakravartin*) Narasimha III.<sup>6</sup> (Vira-Narasimha, Nārasimha), son of 9 from Bijjalā. A.D. 1254-1286.—Ś. [1176], 1177, 1184\*, 1190, 1191 (for 1195 ?), 1192\*, 1198, 1200, 1208.—No. 452.

11. Vira-Rāmanātha, son of 9 from Dēvaladēvi. A.D. 1257-1271.— Ś. [1178] (year 2), [1183] (year 7 ?), [1191, 1192] (year 15), [1193] (year 17).

12. *Mahārājādhirāja* [*Pratāpa-chakravartin*] Ballāla III.,<sup>7</sup> son of 10. A.D. 1310, 1330.— Ś. [1232], 1252.<sup>8</sup>

#### 13.— The Dynasties of Vijayanagara.

(a).—First (or Yādava) Dynasty.<sup>9</sup>—A.D. 1340-1478.

1. Saṅgama I.

2. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harihara I. (Vira-Hariyappa-Voḍeyar), son of 1. A.D. 1340.— Ś. 1261 (for 1262).

3. Kampa (Kampaṇa I.), son of 1.

4. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *Mahārājādhirāja* Bukkarāya I. (Bukkarāja, Bukka, Bhukka, Vira-Bukkarāya, Vira-Bukkarāya-Voḍeyar, Vira-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar), son of 1 from Kāmākshī. A.D. 1353-1356.— Ś. 1276\*, 1277, 1278.— No. 458 (?), 461 (of Ś. 1290 = A.D. 1368 ?).

5. Mārāpa, son of 1.

6. Muddapa (Mudgapa ?), son of 1.

7. Vira-Virupanna-Oḍeyaru I., son of 4 from Jommādēvi.<sup>10</sup> A.D. 1354.— Ś. 1276.

8. Saṅgama II., son of 3. A.D. 1356.— Ś. 1278.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Part I. Introduction, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. pp. 3 and 76 a date is given for the coronation festival of Ballāla II., which correctly corresponds to Sunday, 22nd July A.D. 1173.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. V. Part I. p. 461, line 4, a date is given for the coronation festival of Narasimha II., which corresponds to Thursday, 16th April A.D. 1220, when the *tithi* of the date commenced 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 162, note 12.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 24, under the Chōla Rājārāja III.

<sup>6</sup> No. 447 mentions a *Daṇḍandya* Sōma who is described as the king's dear son, and Sōma's sister's sons, the *Daṇḍandya*śas Malhīdēva and Chikka-Kēṭaya.—Narasimha's minister Perumalēdēva slew Ratnapāla; see No. 451, note.

<sup>7</sup> The date, given for his coronation in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 103, line 4, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 31st January A.D. 1292.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Part I. p. 312, No. 66; the date given there, the latest correct date known to me, corresponds to Monday, 25th September A.D. 1330.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Prof. Hultsch's Table in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 327.—Bukkarāya I. perhaps had a daughter named Januāmbikā; see No. 469.

9. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kampana II. (Kampana-Uḍaiyar, Vira-Kampana or Kampana-Uḍaiyar, Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar), son of 4. A.D. 1365-1371.—Ś. 1286 (for 1287), [1290], 1293.<sup>1</sup>
10. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jammaṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of 9. A.D. 1374.—Ś. 1296.
11. *Mahārājādhirāja* Harihara II. (Vira-Harihara, Virapratāpa-Harihara, Arihararāya), son of 4 from Gaurī (Gaurāmbikā). A.D. 1379-1404.—Ś. 1301, 1304, 1307, 1309\*, 1313, 1315, 1317, 1317 (for 1318), 1321.—No. 476, 477, 478 (date of his death in Ś. [1326] = A.D. 1404<sup>2</sup>).
12. Virūpāksha I. (Viruppana-Uḍaiyar II.), son of 11 from Mallādēvi of the family of Rāmadēva, i.e., probably, the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāmachandra. A.D. 1384.—Ś. 1305 (for 1306).<sup>3</sup>
13. Mallinātha (Mallapp-Oḍeyar), son of 4.<sup>4</sup> No. 456, note.
14. Nārāyaṇadēv-Oḍeyar, son of 13.<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1397.—Ś. 1319.
15. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *Mahārājādhirāja* Bukkarāya II. (Bukkarāja, Virapratāpa-Bukkamahārāya), son of 11 from Pampā.<sup>5</sup> A.D. 1405.—Ś. [1327].<sup>6</sup>—No. 1062.
16. *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvarāya I. (Dēvarāja, Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya), son of 11 from Malāmbikā (Mallādēvi). A.D. 1406, 1410.—Ś. 1328 (coronation), 1332.—No. 482.
17. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vira-Mallappa-Voḍeyar, son of 16 from Mallayavve. A.D. 1411.—Ś. 1334\*.
18. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vijaya (Vira-Vijaya, Virapratāpa-Vijaya), son of 16 from Hāmāmbikā. A.D. 1416, 1422 (?).—Ś. 1338, 1344 (?).
19. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvarāya II. (Dēvarāja, Abhinava-Dēvarāja, Vira-Dēvarāya, Virapratāpa-Dēvarāya), son of 18 from Nārāyaṇāmbikā. A.D. 1424-1446.—Ś. 1346, 1347, 1348, 1353\*, [1355, 1356], 1368.
20. Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, younger brother of 19. A.D. 1446.—Ś. [1368] (date of his (?)<sup>7</sup> death).
21. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rājādhirāja Mallikārjuna (Virapratāpa-Praudha-Immaḍi-Dēvarāya), son of 19 [from Ponnalādēvi<sup>8</sup>]. A.D. 1449, 1465.—Ś. 1371, 1387.
22. [*Mahārājādhirāja*] Virūpāksha II. [Virapratāpa-Virūpākshamahārāya], son of 19 [from Simhaladēvi]. A.D. 1467-1478.—Ś. 1390\*,<sup>9</sup> 1392, 1396\*,<sup>9</sup> 1400.<sup>10</sup>

(b).—Second (or Tuḷuva) Dynasty.—A.D. 1498-1567.

1. Timma, married Dēvakī.
2. Īvara, son of 1; married Bukkamā.
3. Narasa<sup>11</sup> (Nṛisimha, Nṛihari), son of 2. A.D. 1498.—Ś. [1400].<sup>12</sup>
4. Vira-Nṛisimha (-Narasimha, -Nārasimha), son of 3 from Tippāji.
5. *Mahārājādhirāja* Kṛishṇarāya (Kṛishṇadēvamahārāya, Virapratāpa-Vira-Kṛishṇarāya), son of 3 from Nāgalā (Nāgāmbikā, Nāgamāmbā). (Captured the Gajapati king's son

<sup>1</sup> For dates from Ś. 1288 = A.D. 1361 to Ś. [1296] = A.D. 1374, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 325 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See now also Dr. Fleet in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 300 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For dates from Ś. 1301 = A.D. 1379 to Ś. 1318 = A.D. 1396, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 328 f.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 331, No. 10. <sup>5</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 172, No. 25.

<sup>6</sup> For dates from Ś. [1304] = A.D. 1382 to Ś. 1329\* = A.D. 1406, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 329 f.

<sup>7</sup> If it were not for the slightly later date of No. 496, I should take the above to be the date of the death of Dēvarāya II.; but see also Mr. Venkayya's *Report* for 1903-4, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Text, p. 284.

<sup>9</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 331f., Nos. 11 and 14.

<sup>10</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. Part I. p. 448, No. 153; the date given there correctly corresponds to Friday, 4th December A.D. 1478.

<sup>11</sup> The first dynasty was overthrown by the minister and general, the Śāluva Nṛisimharāya, and after the usurpation by him of the Vijayanagara kingdom, Narasa in turn took it away from Nṛisimharāya's family. See Nos. 501 and 502, and notes.

<sup>12</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 330, No. 3.

Virabhadra<sup>1</sup> and took Koṇḍaviḍu.) A.D. 1509-1529.—Ś. 1430 (for 1431; coronation ?), 1434 (for 1435), 1435, 1435 (for 1436), 1436, 1437, 1442, 1444 (for 1445), 1448, 1450, 1451.

6. Raṅga, son of 3 from Ōbāmbikā.

7. *Rājādhirāja* Achyutarāya (Virapratāpa-Achyutarāya, Achyutendra), son of 3 from Ōbāmbikā. A.D. 1530-1540.—Ś. 1452, 1453, 1455\*, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463\*.

8. Venkaṭarāya, son of 7.

9. *Mahārājādhirāja* Sadāśivarāya (Virapratāpa-Sadāśivarāya), son of 6 from Timmāmbā. A.D. 1543-1567.—Ś. [1465], 1466\*, 1467, 1469, 1470, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1482 (for 1483), 1483, 1482 (? for 1485), 1488.

(c).—Third (or Kaṇṇāṭa) Dynasty.—A.D. 1567-1644.

1. Rāmarāja II.,<sup>2</sup> ruler of the Kaṇṇāṭa kingdom, husband of the sister<sup>3</sup> of Sadāśivarāya of the second dynasty. No. 530.

2. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tirumalarāya (rāja) I., younger brother of 1. A.D. 1567.—Ś. 1488 (of the reign of Sadāśivarāya).

3. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrīraṅgarāya II. (Virapratāpa-Śrīraṅgarāya), son of 2. A.D. 1575-1584.—Ś. 1497, 1500, 1506.

4. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Venkaṭapati I. (Vira-Venkaṭapatimahārāya), younger brother of 3. (Defeated Mahamandaśāhu, son of Malikibharāma, i.e. Muḥammad Shāh, son of Malik Ibrāhīm of Golkonḍa.) A.D. 1592, 1601.—Ś. 1514, 1523.

5. Rāmadēva IV. (?). A.D. 1620, 1621.—Ś. 1542,<sup>4</sup> 1543.

6. Venkaṭapati II. (Vira-Venkaṭapatimahārāya, Peda-Venkaṭa), elder son of Śrīraṅgarāya IV., who was a son of 1. A.D. 1634, 1636.—Ś. 1556, 1558.

7. Śrīraṅgarāya VI., son of Pina(China)-Venkaṭa III. (the younger brother of 6) and adopted son of Gōpāla who was the son of Śrīraṅga V. and grandson of Venkaṭādri, the youngest brother of 1. A.D. 1644.—Ś. 1566.

#### 19.—The Eastern Chalukyas (Chālukyas) of Vēṅgi.<sup>5</sup>—A.D. 632-1143.

1. *Yuvarāja*, afterwards *Mahārāja*, Viṣṇuvardhana I.<sup>6</sup> (Biṭṭarasa) Vishamasiddhi (Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana,<sup>7</sup> Kubja-Viṣṇu), son of the W. Chalukya Kīrtivarman I. and younger brother of Pulakēśin II.;<sup>8</sup> (reigned 18 years). No. 547 (year 8 of Pulakēśin II).—A.D. 632.—Ś. [554] (year 18 of Viṣṇuvardhana I.).

2. *Mahārāja* Jayasimha I. (Sarvasiddhi), son of 1; (reigned 33 years). No. 549 (year 18).

3. Indra-bhaṭṭāraka (Indrarāja), younger brother of 2; did not reign.<sup>9</sup>

4. *Mahārāja* Viṣṇuvardhana II. (Vishamasiddhi), son of 3; (reigned 9 years). A.D. 664, 668.—Ś. [586] (year 2), [589] (year 5).

5. *Mahārāja* Maṅgi-yuvarāja (Vijayasiddhi), son of 4; (reigned 25 years). A.D. 673.—Ś. [595] (year 2)<sup>10</sup>.—No. 552 (year 20).

<sup>1</sup> According to *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Introduction, p. 26, and Text p. 127, No. 107, Virabhadra was the son of Pratāparudra.

<sup>2</sup> For his ancestors see No. 539, and for a complete genealogical Table of the family to which he belonged, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. Table facing p. 238. Here (from 2 to 7) only those members of the family are given of whom there are inscriptions in the *List*.

<sup>3</sup> More probably Sadāśivarāya's cousin, the daughter of Kṛishṇarāya.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 331, No. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Prof. Hultzsch's Table in *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 32, and Dr. Fleet's Table in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 283.—For the E. Chālukyas of Piṭhāpuram and Śrīkūrmam see No. 575 ff.

<sup>6</sup> No. 559 mentions an enemy of his, (a king) Daddara.

<sup>7</sup> This name occurs first in No. 557, where also, for the first time, the duration of the reigns is given.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> According to Nos. 568 and 574 he reigned for 7 days.

<sup>10</sup> This is the date of a grant which will be published by Prof. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 238.

6. Jayasimha II., son of 5; (reigned 13 years).
7. Kōkkili, younger brother of 6 from a different mother; (reigned 6 months).
8. Vishṇuvardhana III., eldest brother of 7; (reigned 37 years).
9. *Mahārāja* Vijayāditya I. (Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭāraka) Vikrama-Rāma, son of 8; (reigned 18 years).
10. *Mahārāja* Vishṇuvardhana IV. (Vishṇurāja), son of 9; (reigned 36 years).
11. *Mahārājādhirāja*<sup>1</sup> Vijayāditya II.<sup>2</sup> Narēndramrigarāja Chālukya-Ārjuna, son of 10; (variously stated to have reigned 40, 44, or 48 years). No. 553, 554.
12. *Mahārāja* Vishṇuvardhana V. (Kali-Vishṇuvardhana), son of 11; (reigned 1½ years). No. 555.
13. *Mahārāja* Vijayāditya III. (Gūnaga-, Gūnagāṅka-, Gūnaka-, Gūnakenalla-Vijayāditya), son of 12; (reigned 44 years). (Slew Maṅgi; frightened Kṛishṇa, i.e., perhaps, the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja II., and Saṅkila, and burnt their city Kiranapura.) No. 556.
14. Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I., younger brother of 13; did not reign.
15. *Mahārājādhirāja* Chālukya-Bhīma I. (Bhīma) Vishṇuvardhana Drōh-Ārjuna, son of 14; (reigned 30 years). (Conquered Kṛishṇavallabha, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja II.) No. 557.
16. Vijayāditya IV. Kollabigaṇḍa (°gaṇḍa-bhāskara) Kaliyarttyaṅka, son of 15; married Mēlāmbā; (reigned 6 months).
17. *Mahārāja* Ammarāja I. Vishṇuvardhana Rājamahēndra, eldest son of 16, not from Mēlāmbā; (reigned 7 years). No. 558, 559.
18. Vijayāditya V.,<sup>3</sup> eldest son of 17; (reigned half a month).
19. Tāha (Tāḍapa, Tālāpa, Tālā), son of Yuddhamalla I., who was the paternal uncle of 15; (reigned one month).
20. Vikramāditya II., son of 15; (variously stated to have reigned 9 or 11 months, or one year).
21. Bhīma,<sup>4</sup> son of 17; (reigned 8 months).
22. Yuddhamalla II. (Malla), eldest son of 19; (reigned 7 years).
23. *Mahārājādhirāja* Chālukya-Bhīma II.<sup>5</sup> (Bhīma, Rājabhīma) Vishṇuvardhana Gaṇḍamahēndra Rājamārtapaṇḍa Kaṇṇiyadāta, son of 16 from Mēlāmbā and younger brother of 17; married Lōkamahādēvi; (reigned 12 years). (Conquered Rājamayya, Dhalaga, Tātabikki,<sup>6</sup> Bijja, Ayyapa, [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Gōvindarāja [IV.], the Chōla Lōvabikki, and his own predecessor Yuddhamalla II.) Nos. 560-562.
24. *Mahārājādhirāja* Ammarāja II. Vijayāditya VI. Rājamahēndra, son of 23 from Lōkamahādēvi; (reigned 25 years). A.D. 945.—Ś. 867 (coronation, in the 12th year of his life).—Nos. 564-567, 1065.
25. Dāna (Dānārpa), eldest brother of 24 from a different mother; married Āryamahādēvi; (reigned 3 years<sup>7</sup>).
- Interregnum of 27 years.
26. Śaktivarman Chālukya-Chandra, son of 25; (reigned 12 years).
27. *Mahārājādhirāja* Vimalāditya Vishṇuvardhana Birudaṅka-Bhīma Mummaḍi-Bhīma Bhūpamahēndra, son of 25 from Āryamahādēvi and younger brother of 26; married Kundavā,

<sup>1</sup> In inscriptions of his successors the title is *Mahārāja*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 553 mentions his brother, the prince Nṛipa-Rudra, born in the Haihaya family.

<sup>3</sup> He is the Bēta (Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta) who is placed at the head of the genealogy of the E. Chālukyas of Piṭhāpuram; see No. 578.

<sup>4</sup> He is mentioned in No. 560 only.

<sup>5</sup> See now above, p. 6, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> No. 562 has Dhaladi and Tātabikyana.

<sup>7</sup> No. 574 gives the length of Dāna's reign as 30 years and omits the interregnum.

a daughter of [the Chôla] Râjarâja [I.] and younger sister of Râjendra-Chôla [I.]; (stated to have reigned 7 years). A.D. 1011.—*Ś.* 933 (coronation).—No. 568 (year 8).

28. *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Râjarâja<sup>1</sup> Vishnuvardhana, son of 27 from Kundavâ; married Ammaṅgadêvi, a daughter of [the Chôla] Râjendra-Chôla [I.]; (reigned 40 or 41 years). A.D. 1022, 1053 (?).—*Ś.* 944 (coronation), [975 ?] (year 32).

29. Vijayâditya VII.,<sup>2</sup> brother of 28; for 15 years ruler of Vēṅgi. See Nos. 571, 572, 754 and 1084.

30. Râjendra-Chôḍa [II.], son of 28 from Ammaṅgadêvi, at first ruler of Vēṅgi, as Kulôttuṅgadêva, i.e. Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa (-Chôla) I.<sup>3</sup> [in A.D. 1070] was anointed in the Chôḍa kingdom; married, besides others, Madhurântakî, the daughter of [the Chôla] Râjendradêva; (reigned 49 years).

31. Mummaḍi-Chôḍa Râjarâja, son of 30, after Vijayâditya VII. (29) ruler of Vēṅgi for one year.

32. *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vira-Chôḍa Vishnuvardhana, son of 30 and younger brother of 31, after him ruler of Vēṅgi, appointed as such in A.D. 1078 (*Ś.* 1001\*), but after six years [temporarily] recalled. Nos. 572 and 573, of the 21st and 23rd years [of 30, i.e. about A.D. 1090-91 and 1092-93]; see also No. 773.

33. *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Chôḍaganga Râjarâja Vishnuvardhana, eldest son of 30, ruler of Vēṅgi, appointed as such (after the [temporary] recall of 32) in A.D. 1084 (*Ś.* 1006). No. 571, of the 17th year [of 30, i.e. about A.D. 1086-87].

34. Vikrama-Chôḍa Tyâgasamudra, son of 30; (reigned 15 years).

35. Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa II., son of 34. A.D. 1148.—*Ś.* 1056 (for 1065).<sup>4</sup>

#### 20.—The Kakatiyas (Kakatyas, Kakatisas) of Anumakonda.—A.D. 1163-1316.

1. Durjaya.

2. Bêta (Betmarâja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1.

3. Prôla (Prôlârâja, Prôdarâja) Jagatikêsarî, son of 2; married Muppama (Muppala)-dêvi. (Made the [W.] Châlukya Tailapadêva, i.e. Taila III., prisoner; defeated Gôvindarâja (Gôvinda-Dandêsa) and Guṇḍa of Mantrakûṭa (Mantena-Guṇḍa); conquered but re-instated Chôḍôḍaya; put to flight Jagaddêva<sup>5</sup>).

4. *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Rudradêva (Rudra), son of 3. (Subdued a certain Domma; conquered Mailigidêva;<sup>6</sup> burnt the city of Chôḍôḍaya.) A.D. 1163.—*Ś.* 1084.

5. Mahâdêva (Mâdhava), brother of 4; married Bayyâmbikâ.

6. Ganapati<sup>7</sup> (Gapapa) Chhalamattigandâ, son of 5; married Nârâma (Nârâmbâ) and Pêrama (Pêramâmbâ), sisters of his general Jâya (Jâyana, Jâyapa-Nâyaka). (Defeated [the Dêvagiri-Yâdava] Simhapa (Singhapa), the kings of Chôla, etc.) A.D. 1213-1249.—*Ś.* 1135, 1153, 1157, 1172\*.

7. *Mahâmaṇḍalachakravartin* Pratâparudra<sup>8</sup> of Êkasîlânagari, i.e. Warangal. (His general Muppiḍi entered Kâñchi and installed Mânâvîra as governor.) A.D. 1316.—*Ś.* 1238.

<sup>1</sup> He translated the *Mahâbhârata* into Telugu. For descendants of his at Śrîkûrmam see No. 577 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 'Vijayâditya VI.' in No. 754 is a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> See the genealogy of the Chôlas, below, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also No. 581 of *Ś.* 1066 = A.D. 1171.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Jagaddêva of No. 237.

<sup>6</sup> He has been stated to be, probably, the Dêvagiri-Yâdava Mallugi; but he may possibly be identical with Mailugidêva, a younger brother of the Kalachurya Bijjala; compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII. Introduction, p. 27, and Vol. XI. Introduction, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> For his daughter Ganapâmbâ (Ganapâmbikâ) see No. 589; for a brother-in-law of his, No. 591.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 199.

21.—The Kadambas of Banavāsi (Vaijayanti).<sup>1</sup>

1. Mayūrasārman. Was made ruler of a tract of country by the Pallavas of Kāñchi.
2. Kaṅgavarman, son of 1.
3. Bhagiratha, son of 2.
4. Raghu, son of 3.
5. Kākusthavarman (Kākustha), brother of 4. (Gave his daughters in marriage to Gupta and other kings.) No. 602 (*Yuvarāja* ; year 80).
6. *Dharmamahārāja Śāntivarman* (Śāntivaravarman), son of 5. No. 603 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 31).
7. *Dharmamahārāja* or *Mahārāja Mṛigēśavarman* (Mṛigēśa, Mṛigēśavaravarman, Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman), eldest son of 6. No. 604 (year 3), 605 (year 4), 606 (year 8).
8. *Dharmamahārāja* Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṭivarman, brother of 7(?). No. 607 (year 2).
9. *Dharmamahārāja* Ravivarman (Ravi), son of 7. (Conquered Vishṇuvarman and other kings.) No. 608, 609, 610 (year 11).
10. Bhānuvarman, younger brother of 9.
11. Śivaratha, brother of 9.
12. *Mahārāja* Harivarman, son of 9. No. 611 (year 4), 612 (year 5).
13. *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman I., younger brother of 6.
14. *Dharmamahārāja* Vishṇuvarman, eldest son of 13 from a daughter of Kaikāya.
15. *Yuvarāja* Dēvavarman, son of 13(?). No. 613.
16. *Mahārāja* Siṃhavarman, son of 14.
17. *Mahārāja* Kṛishṇavarman II., son of 16. No. 614 (year 7).

## 22.—The Pallavas of Kāñchi.

(a).—From Nos. 616–620, and 622.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman.
2. *Yuvmahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman.
3. Buddhyaṅkura, son of 2 from Chārudēvi. No. 616.<sup>3</sup>
4. *Yuvmahārāja*, afterwards *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*, Śiva-Skandavarman. No. 617 (year 10 of his predecessor), 618 (year 8 of his own reign).
5. *Mahārāja* Skandavarman I.
6. *Mahārāja* Viravarman, son of 5.
7. *Mahārāja* Skandavarman II., son of 6.
8. *Dharmayuvmahārāja* or *Yuvarāja* Vishṇugōpavarman (Vishṇugōpa), son of 7.
9. *Dharmamahārāja* Siṃhavarman,<sup>4</sup> son of 8. No. 620 (year 8), 619 (year 11).<sup>5</sup>
10. *Mahārāja* Virakōrohavarman, great-grandfather of . . . (?). No. 622.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Table in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 30.— For the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and Goa, see above, p. 9.<sup>2</sup> I think it useful to give here the names from these (copper-plate) inscriptions, although I am unable to state the relationship or exact sequence of all the persons denoted by them.<sup>3</sup> The names of 3 and his mother are taken from the edition of the grant by Prof. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 145.<sup>4</sup> According to the account given under Nos. 619 and 620 there were two kings called Siṃhavarman. But in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 160 Prof. Hultzsch has shown it to be highly probable that such was not the case, and that the genealogy of the family really was as stated above.The spurious plates No. 621 are of the first year of the reign of a *Dharmamahārāja* Nandivarman.

(b).—From Nos. 623-636.

Mythical genealogy from Brahman to Aśōkavarman. After him, Skandavarman,<sup>1</sup> Kalindavarman, Kāṇagōpa, Viṣṇugōpa, Virakūroha, Virasimha, Simhavarman, Viṣṇusimha and others. Then :—

1. Simhavishṇu Avānisimha.
2. Mahēndravarmān I. (probably also denoted by the names Mahēndra, Mahēndrapōtarāja, Lalitāṅkura, Śatrumalla, Guṇabhara, Satyasimha, Purushōttama), son of 1. Nos. 623-626.
3. Narasimhavarmān I.<sup>2</sup> (Narasimhavishṇu?), son of 2. (Defeated [the W. Chalukya] Pulakēśin [II.], above, p. 2; took Vātāpi.) No. 627.
4. Mahēndravarmān II., son of 3.
5. Paramēśvaravarmān (Paramēśvarapōtavarmān) I., Ugradanḍa Paramēśvara, Lōkāditya, son of 4. (Defeated [the W. Chalukya] Vikramāditya [I.] Raṇarasika, above, p. 2.) No. 628.
6. Narasimhavarmān II., Narasimhavishṇu, Rājasimha (Atyantakāma, Śrībhara, Raṇajaya), son of 5, married Raṅgapatākā. Nos. 629-631.
7. Mahēndra, i.e. Mahēndravarmān III., son of 6. No. 632.
8. Paramēśvaravarmān (Paramēśvarapōtavarmān) II., son of 6.
9. *Mahārāja* Nandivarman<sup>3</sup> (Nandin, Nandipōtarāja, Nandippōttaraiyaṇ, Nandippōttaraśār) Pallavamalla, also called Kshatriyamalla and Śrīdhara, according to (the spurious?) No. 634 son of 8, but according to No. 635 descended from Bhīma-varman (the younger brother of 1), between whom and Nandivarman there intervened Buddhavarman, Ādityavarman, Gōvindavarman, and N.'s father Hiranya whose wife was Rōhipi. (His general Udayachandra, according to No. 634, slew the Pallava king Chitramāya, defeated the Śabara king Udayana and the Nishāda chief Prithivivyāghra, and subjected the district of Viṣṇurāja, i.e. the E. Chalukya Viṣṇuvardhana III., above, p. 17, to the Pallava.) No. 633 (year 18), 634 (year 21), 635 (year 22), 636 (year 50).

### 23.—The Gaṅga-Pallavas.

Mythical genealogy from Brahman to Pallava; in his family were Vimala, Koṅkanika and other kings. After them :—

1. Dantivarman; perhaps identical with the Dantiga of Kāñchi who was conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvindarāja III.<sup>4</sup>
2. Nandivarman, Vijaya-Nandivikrama, Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, son of 1; married Śāṅkhā of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, perhaps a daughter of Amoghavarsha I. Nripātunga. (Contemporary, probably, of the Bāpa Vikramāditya I.) No. 648 (year 3), 649 and 1067 (year 17), 650 (year 52), 651 (year 62).
3. Nripātungadēva, Vijaya-Nripātungavarman, Vijaya-Nripātungavikrama, Vijaya-Nripātungavikramavarman, son of 2. (Contemporary of Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar, i.e., perhaps, the Gaṅga Prithivīpati I.<sup>5</sup>) No. 652 (year 8), 1068 and 1069 (year 21), 653 (year 26).
4. Kampavarman, Vijaya-Kampa, Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman, perhaps a brother of 3. No. 1070 (year 8), 657 (year 10), 658 (year 15), 656 (year 23).

<sup>1</sup> For some of these names see p. 19, under *a*.

<sup>2</sup> In No. 680 called Narasiṅgapōttaraiyar.— In No. 20 the kings 3, 4 and 5 are called Narasimha, Mahēndra, and Śvara or Śvarapōtarāja.— In No. 49 we have the name Narasimhapōtavarmān for Narasimhavarmān.

<sup>3</sup> In No. 49 called Nandipōtavarmān (represented as defeated by the W. Chalukya Vikramāditya II.).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 21.

5. Skandaśishya,<sup>1</sup> Vijaya-Skandaśishyavikramavarman. No. 644 (year 14).
6. Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, Vijaya-Narasimhavigramavarman. No. 645 (year 3), 646 (year 18), 647 (year 24).
7. Vijaya-Iśvaravarman. No. 654 (year 12), 655 (year 17).

#### 24.—The Bāpas.

The Asura Bali (Mahābali); his son Bāpa; in his lineage, Bāpādhirāja. In his family :—

1. Jayanandivarman. Ruled the land west of the Andhra country.
2. Vijayāditya I., son of 1.
3. Malladēva<sup>2</sup> Jagadēkamalla, son of 2.
4. Bāpavidyādhara, son of 3.
5. Prabhumēru, son of 4.
6. Vikramāditya I. Jayamēru, surnamed Bāpavidyādhara (Vāpavidyādharaśāya, °rāja) son of 5; married Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Pratipati-Araiya, i.e. the Gaṅga Prithivipati I., the son of Śivamahārāja-Perumāṇaḍiga, i.e. Śivamāra [II.].<sup>3</sup> Nos. 659-662.
7. Vijayāditya II. Puḡalvippavargaṇḍa, son of 6.
8. Vikramāditya II. Vijayabāhu, son of 7; a friend of [probably the Rāshtrakūṭa] Kṛishṇarāja [II.].<sup>4</sup> No. 663.

#### 25.—Pedigree of the Gaṅga-Bāpa Prithivipati II.

In the Gaṅga family descended from the sage Kaṇva there was, at Kuvalālapura, Koṅkaṇi. In his lineage, in which were Vishṇugōpa, Hari, Mādhava, Durvinita, Bhūvikrama, etc.,<sup>5</sup> there was :—

1. Śivamāra [II.].<sup>6</sup>
2. Prithivipati I.<sup>7</sup> Aparājita, son of 1. (Saved king Diṇḍi's sons Iriga and Nāgadanta, the one from [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Amōghavarsha [I.], the other from death; defeated the Pāṇḍya Varaguna.)
3. Mārasimha [I.],<sup>8</sup> son of 2.
4. Prithivipati II. Hastimalla Vīra-Chōla (Śembiyaṇ Māvali-Vānarāya), 'king of the people of Paṇivai,' 'lord of Paṇivipuri,' son of 3. Feudatory of the Chōla Parāntaka I. Parakēsarivarman,<sup>9</sup> and made by him lord of the Bāpas. No. 669 (year 9 of Parāntaka I.), 670 (year 15 of the same), 671.

#### 26.—The Chōlas.<sup>10</sup>—A.D. 907-1267.

From Brahman through the Sun to Śibi. In his race, in which there were Kōkkiḷi, Chōla, Karikāla, Kōchchaṅkaṇ and other kings, there was :—<sup>11</sup>

1. [Vijayālaya] Parakēsarivarman. Nos. 672-675, 1071; (years 4-34).
2. [Āditya I.] Rājakēsarivarman, son of 1. Nos. 676-680; (years 3-27).

<sup>1</sup> The relationship, if any, of 5-7 to those mentioned under 1-4 or to one another, and their time, cannot be given for the present.

<sup>2</sup> For a Bāpa king Śrīvadhūvallabha Malladēva-Nandivarman see the spurious plates No. 668 of Ś. 261 = A.D. 339.

<sup>3</sup> See below.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See the genealogy of the W. Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ, above, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> In Nos. 659 and 660 called Koṅṇuṇi(Koṅṇuṇivarma)-dharmamahārāja Śivamahārāja Perumāṇaḍiga. For Śivamāra [I.] see above, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> In Nos. 659 and 660 called Pratipati-Araiya; in No. 653 perhaps referred to by the name Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiya.

<sup>8</sup> For Mārasimha [II.] see above, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Prof. Hultzsch's Table in *South-Ind. Inser.* Vol. III. p. 196.

<sup>11</sup> The above is taken from No. 685; for another account see No. 712, where it is stated that the kings of this family are alternately called Rājakēsarīn and Parakēsarīn.



3. Parāntaka I. Parakēsarivarman Vīra-Nārāyaṇa Saṃgrāma-Rāghava, son of 2; his queen is mentioned by the name or title Kōkkilāṇaḍi. [Commenced to reign between 15th January and 25th July A.D. 907,<sup>1</sup> in Ś. 828-29.] (Conferred the title of 'lord of the Bāṇas' on the Gaṅga Prithivīpati II.; defeated the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha.) Nos. 681-693, 1072-1075; (years 9-40).—A.D. 946.—Ś. [868] (year 40).

4. Rājāditya [Rājakēsarivarman], Māvaḍi-Chōḷa, son of 3 from Kōkkilāṇaḍi; married Mahādēvaḍi, the daughter of Ilāḍarāyar (Lāṭarāja). (Conquered [the Rāshtrakūṭa] Kṛishṇarāja [III.], but fell in battle.<sup>2</sup>) No. 1056.—A.D. 949.<sup>3</sup>—Ś. 871 (year 2).

5. Gaṇḍarāditya (Gaṇḍarādityavarman) [Parakēsarivarman], son of 3.

6. Arimjaya (Arikulakēsarīn ?) [Rājakēsarivarman], son of 3.

7. Parāntaka II.<sup>4</sup> [Parakēsarivarman], son of 6.

8. Āditya II. Karikāla [Rājakēsarivarman], son of 7. (At war with Vīra-Pāṇḍya.) No. 694 (?); (year 4).

9. Madhurāntaka [Parakēsarivarman], Uttama-Chōḷa,<sup>5</sup> son of 5 from Udaiyapirāṭṭiyār Śambiyāṇ Mahādēviyār.<sup>6</sup> No. 695 (?); (year 5).

10. Rājārāja I.<sup>6</sup> Rājakēsarivarman (Rājārājakēsarivarman) Rājāśraya, Arumoli, Mummuḍi-Chōḷa, son of 7; his queens were Lōkamahādēvi, Chōḷamahādēvi, Abhimānavalli, Trailōkyaamahādēvi and Pañchavapmahādēvi. [Commenced to reign between 25th June and 25th July A.D. 985, in Ś. 907.] (Conquered [the W. Chālukya] Satyāśraya.) Nos. 696-720, 1076, 1077; (years 7-29).—A.D. 991-1012.—Ś. [918] (year 7), [918] (year 11), [921, 922] (year 15), 928, 934 (year 28).

11. Rājendra-Chōḷa I.<sup>7</sup> Parakēsarivarman, Muḍigonḍa-Rājendra-Chōḷa, Muḍigonḍa-Gaṅgegonḍa-Rājendra-Chōḷa, Nigarili-Chōḷa, Uttama-Chōḷa(?), son of 10. [Commenced to reign between 27th March and 7th July A.D. 1012, in Ś. 934.] (Defeated [the W. Chālukya] Jayasimha [II.] at Muṣaṅgi, Muṣaṅgi; at war with Indiradaṇ (Indraratha ?), Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukṭi, Raṇasūra of Dakṣiṇa-Lāṭa, Gōvindaachandra of Vaṅgāla-dēśam, [the Pāla ?] Mahipāla [I. ?], and Saṃgrāma vijayōttuṅavarman of Kaḍāram.) Nos. 721-737, 1078, 1079; (years 2-31).—A.D. 1020-1042.—Ś. 943\* (year 9), 954 (year 31 for 21), 955 (year 22), 959 (year 26), [964] (year 31).

12. Rājādhirāja I.<sup>8</sup> Rājakēsarivarman, Jayaṅgonḍa-Chōḷa. [Commenced to reign between 15th March and 3rd December A.D. 1018, in Ś. 939-40.] (Conquered the allied kings of the South Mānābharaṇa, Vīra-Kēraḷa and Sundara-Pāṇḍya; [the W. Chālukyas] Āhavamalla, Vikki, and Vijayāditya, i.e. Sōmēśvara I., Vikramāditya VI., and Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya; Śāṅgamayaṇ; the Ceylon kings Vikramabāhu, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Vīra-Śālāmēgaṇ, and Śrīvallabha-Madanarāja; and, in the northern region, Gaṇḍar-Dinakaraga (Gaṇḍarāditya ?), Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇapati, and Madhusūdana; subdued Vīra-Pāṇḍya.) Nos. 738-43 (years 22-35).—A.D. 1039-1053.—Ś. [961] (year 32 for 22), [965] (year 26), [966] (year 27), [968] (year 29), 970\* (year 30), 975 (year 35).

13. Rājendradēva<sup>9</sup> Parakēsarivarman,<sup>10</sup> younger brother of 12. [Commenced to reign on 28th May A.D. 1052, in Ś. 974.] (With his elder brother 12 set up a pillar of victory at

<sup>1</sup> The above results from No. 691 and from a new date supplied by Mr. Venkayya, which will be published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> At Takkōla; see No. 95 and above, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This date must be shortly subsequent to the death of Rājāditya.

<sup>4</sup> His daughter Kundavaiyār, the elder sister of 10, was married by Vallavaraiyar Vandiyadēvar; see No. 716.

<sup>5</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for the year ending with May 1905, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> His daughter Kundavā, the younger sister of 11, was married by the E. Chālukya Vimalāditya; see p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> His daughter Ammaṅgadēvi was married by the E. Chālukya Rājārāja.

<sup>8</sup> According to Prof. Hultzsch, *Southeast. Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 195, perhaps a son of Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (11).

<sup>9</sup> His daughter Madhurāntakī was married by the E. Chālukya Rājendra-Chōḷa [II.], i.e. the king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I., below, 17.

<sup>10</sup> In No. 751: Rājakēsarivarman.

Kollāpuram and defeated [the W. Chālukya] Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I.) at Koppam; in Ceylon decapitated the Kalinga king Vīra-Śālāmēgaṇ and took the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharaṇa prisoners.) Nos. 744-751, 1080; (years 3-12 or 11).—A.D. 1055-1062.—Ś. [977] (year 4), 979 (year 6), 984 (year 12 for 11 P.).

14. Rājamahēndra<sup>1</sup> Rājakēsarivarman. No. 752 (year 2).

15. Virarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman, Vīra-Chōla,<sup>2</sup> Karikāla-Chōla<sup>3</sup> (Āhavamallakulakāla, Āhavamallanai-mummaḍi-veṇ-kaṇḍa, Kōṇēriṇmaikonḍāṇ, etc.); his queen is mentioned by the name and title Arumoli-Nāṅgaiyār and Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāl. [Commenced to reign between 11th September A.D. 1062 and 10th September A.D. 1063, in Ś. 984-85.] (Defeated at Kūḍal-saṅgamam [the W. Chālukya] Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I.) and his sons Vikkalaṇ and Śiṅgaṇaṇ, i.e. Vikramāditya VI. and Jayasimha III.; deprived Sōmēśvara [II.] of the Kaṇṇara country and invested Vikramāditya [VI.] as heir-apparent; bestowed Vēṅgī on [the E. Chalukya] Vijayāditya [VII.]; expelled Dēvanātha and other *Sāmantas* from Chakrakōṭṭa, and recovered Kanya-kubja.) Nos. 753, 754, 1081-1084; (years 4-7).—A.D. 1067.—Ś. [989] (year 5).<sup>3</sup>

16. Adhirājēndra<sup>4</sup> Parakēsarivarman; his queen is mentioned by the title Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyār. No. 755 (year 3).

17. Rājēndra-Chōla II.,<sup>5</sup> afterwards called (*Chakravartin* or, later, *Tribhuvanachakravartin*) Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., Rājakēsarivarman, Jayadhara, Viṣṇuvardhana-mahārāja, *Mahārājādhirāja* Viṣṇuvardhana (Parāntaka, Virudarājabhayaṃkara, etc.), son<sup>6</sup> of the E. Chalukya Rājārāja from Ammaṅgaḍēvī, the daughter of Rājēndra-Chōla I. (above, 11); married Madhurāntakī, a daughter of Rājēndradēva (above, 13), Dīnachintāmaṇi, Ēḷisai-Vallabhi, and Tyāgavallī; queens are mentioned also by the titles Bhuvanamuḷuduḍaiyāl and Ulaguḍaiyāl. [Commenced to reign between 14th March and 8th October A.D. 1070, in Ś. 991-92.] (Defeated Vikkalaṇ and Śiṅgaṇaṇ, i.e. the W. Chālukyas Vikramāditya VI. and Jayasimha III.) Nos. 756-793, 1085; (years 2-49).—A.D. 1073-1118.—Ś. [995] (year 4), 998 (year 7), [1007] (year 16), 1030 for 1028 (year 37), 1035, [1035] (year 44), [1036] (year 45), 1036 (year 45), 1037 (year 45), [1039] (year 48), 1040 (year 49).

18. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* or *Mahārājādhirāja* *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Vikrama-Chōla Parakēsarivarman Akalaṅka Tyāgavārākara (Tyāgasamudra), son of 17; his queens are mentioned by the names or titles Mukkōkkilāṇaḍi, Tyāgapatākā, and Dharapimuḷuduḍaiyāl. [Commenced to reign on 29th June A.D. 1118, in Ś. 1040.] (Put to flight the Teliṅga Vīmaṇ, i.e. Bhīma, of Kuḷam and invaded Kalinga.) Nos. 794-808; (years 4-17).—A.D. 1122-1135.—Ś. [1044] (years 4 and 5), [1045] (year 5), 1049 (year 9), [1050] (years 10 and 11), [1056] (year 16), 1054 for 1057 (year 17).

19. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. Rājakēsarivarman, son<sup>7</sup> of 18 Nos. 810 and 811 (years 8 and 14).—A.D. 1143.—Ś. 1056 for 1065.<sup>7</sup>

20. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Rājārāja II. Parakēsarivarman [son of 19 (?)] ; his queen is mentioned by the name or title Mukkōkkilāṇaḍiḍaḷ. [Commenced<sup>8</sup> to reign between 27th March

<sup>1</sup> By Prof. Hultzsch provisionally placed between 13 and 15, as perhaps a son and temporary co-regent of 13.

<sup>2</sup> According to Prof. Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscrip.* Vol. III. p. 195, these two surnames suggest that Virarājēndra may have been one of the younger brothers of Rājēndradēva (13), who is stated to have conferred the title Karikāla-Chōla on his younger brother Vīra-Chōla.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Venkayya has sent me a date of the 7th (regnal) year and Ś. 991 = A.D. 1089.

<sup>4</sup> By Prof. Hultzsch provisionally placed between 15 and 17.

<sup>5</sup> In Nos. 325 and 350 called Rājiga-Chōla.

<sup>6</sup> No. 784 mentions Kundavai Ālvār, a daughter of the E. Chalukya Rājārāja and younger sister of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I.

<sup>7</sup> I have assumed in the above that Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. Rājakēsarivarman is identical with the E. Chalukya Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II. I possess unpublished dates of his of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15, but have not arrived yet at a final result regarding the commencement of his reign.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 2.

and 11th July A.D. 1146, in Ś. 1068.] Nos. 812, 813, 1086; (years 3-15).—A.D. 1161.—Ś. [1083] (year 15).

21. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Rājādhirāja II.<sup>1</sup> Rājakesarivarman.

22. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Kulōttunga-Chōla III. Parakesarivarman, Vīrarājendra-Chōla, Tribhuvanavīra (Kōṇērimēṇkoṇḍa, Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍa, Kōṇērimaikoṇḍa); his queen is mentioned by the title Bhuvanamulududaiyāl (yār). [Commenced to reign between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1178, in Ś. 1100.] (Assisted Vikrama-Pāṇḍya against the son of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and bestowed Madurai on the former; at war with the Chēra king Vīra-Kēraḷa?) Nos. 814-842, 1087, 1088; (years 3-37).—A.D. 1180-1215.—Ś. [1102] (year 3), [1106] (year 7), [1107] (year 8), [1111] (year 12), [1113] (year 14), [1116] (years 16 and 17), [1117] (year 17), [1118, 1119] (year 19), 1119 (year 19 for 20), [1121] (year 21), [1127] (year 27), [1128] (year 29), [1133] (year 34), [1137] (year 37).<sup>2</sup>

23. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Rājārāja III. Rājakesarivarman.<sup>3</sup> [Commenced to reign between 27th June and 10th July A.D. 1216, in Ś. 1138.] (Was held captive by Kōpperuñjīṅga, but liberated by the generals of the Hoysala Vīra-Nārasimha, i.e. Nārasimha II.<sup>4</sup>) Nos. 843-862; (years 4-28).—A.D. 1220-1243.—Ś. [1142] (years 4 and 5), [1144] (year 7), [1148] (year 10), [1154] (year 17), [1155] (year 18), [1156] (year 19), [1159] (year 22), 1160\* (year 22), [1160] (year 23), 1165 (year 28).<sup>5</sup>

24. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Rājendra-Chōla III. [Commenced<sup>6</sup> to reign between 21st March and 20th April A.D. 1246, in Ś. 1168.] (Subdued his uncle, [the Hoysala] Vīra-Sōmēśvara, Sōmēśvara.) Nos. 863-865, 867, 868; (years 3-22).—A.D. 1249-1267.—Ś. [1171] (year 3), [1174] (year 7), [1188] (year 21), [1189] (year 22).

#### 27.—The Pāṇḍyas of Madhurā.<sup>7</sup>—A.D. 1190-1567.

1. *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Jātavarman Kulasēkhara Rājagambhīradēva, descended from the Moon. [Commenced to reign between 30th March and 29th November A.D. 1190, in Ś. 1112.] Nos. 889 and 890 (years 14 and 25).—A.D. 1204, 1214.—Ś. [1125] (year 14), [1136] (year 25).

2. *Tribh.*<sup>8</sup> Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.; 'presented the Chōla country' or 'was pleased to take the Chōla country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikondaśōlapuram.' [Commenced to reign between 29th March and 4th September A.D. 1216, in Ś. 1138.] Nos. 891-896 (years 7-19).—A.D. 1223-1235.—Ś. [1145] (year 7), [1147] (year 9), [1156] (year 19).

3. *Tribh.* Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. [Commenced to reign between 15th June A.D. 1238 and 18th January A.D. 1239, in Ś. 1160.] Nos. 897-899 (years 11-13).—A.D. 1249-1251.—Ś. [1171] (year 11), [1172, 1173] (year 13).

<sup>1</sup> Provisionally I place here this king, for whom I have dates of the regnal years 2, 8, 10, 11 and 13, which have not yet yielded a satisfactory result for the commencement of his reign. According to one date he undoubtedly seems to have been the successor of Rājārāja II.

<sup>2</sup> For a date of the 39th year, corresponding to the 25th January A.D. 1217, in Ś. 1138, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 5, No. 94.

<sup>3</sup> This surname occurs in No. 848 only.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> For two dates of the 32nd year, corresponding to the 7th February and 22nd April A.D. 1248, in Ś. 1169 and 1170, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 6, Nos. 96 and 97.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> The mutual relationship of the kings enumerated here cannot be given at present; and it is impossible to say whether any, or which, king or kings intervened between any two kings whose names are put down here close to one another.—For the Pāṇḍya *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvaras* of the Kōṇṭapa and Nōjambavāḍi see the note on No. 140.

<sup>8</sup> Here and below = *Tribhuvanachakravartin*.

4. *Tribh. or Mahārājādhirāja Tribh. Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.* [Commenced to reign between 20th and 28th April A.D. 1251, in Ś. 1173.] (Defeated Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāla<sup>1</sup> and [the Kākatiya] Gaṇapati; took Śrīraṅgam from 'the moon of Karpāta,' i.e. the Hoysala Sōmēśvara.) Nos. 900-905, 907-909; (years 2-11).—A.D. 1253-1261.—Ś. [1175] (years 2 and 3), [1179] (year 7), [1181] (year 9), [1182] (year 10), [1183] (year 11).

5. *Tribh. Vira-Pāṇḍya.* [Commenced to reign between 11th November A.D. 1252 and 13th July A.D. 1253, in Ś. 1174-75.] Nos. 906 and 910 (years 7 and 15).—A.D. 1259, 1267.—Ś. [1181] (year 7), [1189] (year 15).

6. *Tribh. Māṇavarman Kulāśekhara I.* [Commenced to reign between 19th March and 27th June A.D. 1268, in Ś. 1189-90.] Nos. 911, 919-921; (years 10-40).—A.D. 1278-1308.—Ś. [1199] (year 10), [1215] (year 26), [1216] (year 27), [1229] (year 40).<sup>2</sup>

7. *Tribh. Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.* [Commenced to reign between 13th September A.D. 1275 and 15th May A.D. 1276, in Ś. 1197-98.] Nos. 912-918 (years 6-15).—A.D. 1281-1290.—Ś. [1203] (year 6), [1207] (year 10), [1209] (year 12), [1211] (year 13 for 14), [1212] (year 15).

8. *Tribh. Māṇavarman Kulāśekhara II.* [Commenced to reign between 6th March and 23rd July A.D. 1314, in Ś. 1235-36.] Nos. 922-924 (years 4-8).—A.D. 1317-1321.—Ś. [1239] (year 4), [1240] (year 5), [1243] (year 8).

9. *Tribh. Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.* [Commenced to reign between 1st December A.D. 1334 and 1st November A.D. 1335, in Ś. 1256-57.] Nos. 925 and 926 (years 6, and 8 for 18).—A.D. 1340, 1352.—Ś. 1262 (year 6), [1274] (year 8 for 18).

10. *Tribh. Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.* No. 927.—A.D. 1372.—Ś. 1293 (year 15).

11. *Tribh. Vikrama-Pāṇḍya*<sup>3</sup> *Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṇ (Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ).* [Commenced to reign between 13th January and 27th July A.D. 1401, in Ś. 1322-23].—A.D. 1408, 1418.—Ś. [1330] (year 8), 1389 (year 17).

12. *Tribh. Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Arikēsariḍēva.* [Commenced to reign between 18th June and 19th July A.D. 1422, in Ś. 1344.] Nos. 928-931 (years 32-39).—A.D. 1453-1461.—Ś. [1375] (year 32), 1377 (year 33), [1378] (year 35), 1381 for 1383 (year 39).

13. *Tribh. Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya.*<sup>3</sup> [Commenced to reign between 13th March and 28th July A.D. 1443, in Ś. 1364-65].—A.D. 1455, 1457.—Ś. [1377] (year 13), [1378] (year 14).

14. *Tribh. Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulāśekhara.* No. 932.—A.D. 1499.—Ś. 1421 (year 20).

15. *Tribh. Jaṭavarman Kōṇēрмаikoṇḍāṇ . . . Perumāḷ Śrīvallabha.* No. 933.—A.D. 1537.—Ś. 1459 (year 3).

16. *Tribh. Māṇavarman Kōṇēрмаikoṇḍāṇ Sundara-Pāṇḍya III.* No. 934.—A.D. 1555.—Ś. 1477 (year 24).

17. *Tribh. Jaṭavarman Kōṇēрмаikoṇḍāṇ Śrī-Perumāḷ Alagaṇ-Perumāḷ Ativirarāma Śrīvallabha.*—No. 935.—A.D. 1567.—Ś. 1489 (year 5).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Telugu-Chōḍa *Tribhuvanaśākhavartin Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla*, who commenced to reign in A.D. 1250, see Nos. 884-887; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 58, No. 100, mentions a Gaṇḍagōpāla in connection with the Hoysala Sōmēśvara.

<sup>2</sup> An unpublished date of the 40th regnal year, supplied to me by Mr. Venkayya, corresponds to Monday, 18th March A.D. 1308, and in the original is stated to fall in Ś. 1229.

<sup>3</sup> I add these kings from the list of unpublished Pāṇḍya dates in my possession.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the above, Pāṇḍya kings are mentioned also in Nos. 936-938 of the *List*, and the names of numerous other Pāṇḍya kings occur in unpublished dates which remain to be examined.

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